Title:
Chronos and Kairos
Intoxication and the quest for transcendence

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ABSTRACT

Chronos and Kairos
Intoxication and the quest for transcendence

In the midst of the ordinary time (chronos), extraordinary time (kairos) happens
Mark Freier 2006

The concept of time is fundamental to our being, time structures not only everyday reality, but in many ways who we are and how we perceive ourselves and our world. Intoxication alters this experience fundamentally, it creates a ‘time-out’ where conventional codes are somehow less relevant or do not apply at all. The ancient Greeks had two words for time, chronos and kairos, where the former refers to chronological or sequential time, the latter signifies "a time in between", an undetermined period of time in which "something" special happens. With the rise of industrialization and the invention of the clock, chronos, or quantitative time, has become the dominant mode while kairos, which is more qualitative in nature, is hardly acknowledged at all. Paradoxically, while technology enables us to move faster than ever before, reflected in an ever-increasing flow of information, goods and human bodies, time itself has become a scarce commodity.

Within this landscape, drugs and intoxication quickly become a way to escape the oppressive iron hold of chronos, beginning with teenage consciousness which is especially susceptible to the slow and relentless progression of hours and minutes in schools by day and at home by night. Here the act of ingesting even a mildly mind altering substance like tobacco repetitively has a profound effect on the manner in which time is experienced by the user. Cigarette smoking becomes a way to break this oppressive temporal wave, by filling a long and brutally dull day into “an endless succession of happy occasions” (Lenson 1995:41). Smoking, like many other consuming habits, inserts a time-out, or comma within the “run-on sentence that consciousness has become without cigarettes”, and in this manner, each cigarette becomes a kairos, an occasion, or privileged moment that interrupts the tyranny of chronos, the “glacier of chronometry” (ibid.). This in turn is closely connected to the mechanization of time and contemporary work ethics, since intoxication is essentially a fabricated “time-out” or “antichronology”, it closely resembles the childhood world of play. Lenson calls this the “toyland syndrome” where intoxication becomes a regression that is really an attempt to return to the point where development began to go wrong in the first place.

Paradoxically however, for many playful souls embarking on their journeys beyond the “glacier of chronometry” the very means enabling temporary transcendence becomes the source of a new, although slightly different, type of drudgery. Here, intoxication as time-out becomes that future reward, in a somewhat bizarre yet highly destructive downward spiral where time-out becomes transformed into time-in as the addicts every waking moment is geared towards securing the next fix. Whether that next fix is a cigarette, a drink or a shot of heroin, the dynamics are quite similar, although the consequences of choosing heroin, in addition to cigarettes for example, will be harsher seeing as a heroin habit is obviously more problematical to incorporate into conventional life. This paper seeks to explore the frequently overlooked yet powerful core dynamic between kairos and chronos as it relates to intoxication.
within a contemporary matrix of consumer metaphysics, illustrated with empirical examples from my own fieldwork among hidden drug populations in Trondheim, Norway.

References

Identity Politics and the Quest for Peace and Development: Past Experience and Future Prospects

An Abstract

By

Muddathir Abdel-Rahim

(ISTAC, IIUM, Malaysia)

The recently negotiated peace agreement of The Sudan has renewed hopes that – despite the prolonged and tragic conflicts which have until recently ravished the country and its people – The Sudan and the Sudanese are about to commence a new phase in their history: one in which peace will prevail and development, long considered a dream or a mirage, will emerge as a practical proposition capable of being seriously pursued for the benefit of all.

There can be no doubt – especially at this juncture – that questions of culture and identity are among the most important core issues involved that call for close examination and in-depth analysis.

Having attempted to consider various aspects of this theme on a number of occasions in the course of the past four decades (including the inaugural address which was delivered by Prime Minister Sirr al-Khatim al-Khalifa at the beginning of the Round Table Conference on the Problem of the Southern Sudan in March 1965 and, a few years later, in my paper titled “Arabism, Africanism and Self-identification in The Sudan”), I now propose to look more closely-first-at the evolution of Sudanese identity from its earliest, primordial, origins and forms through subsequent stages until the present time when the concept of the “New Sudan” has gained wide popularity. In portraying the evolutionary process under consideration however I intend not merely to describe the unfolding of the said process as a narrative but – and this is my second point – to disentangle and analyse the various socio-political factors and forces which have either helped or hindered the unfolding of the process in question at the various stages of its evolution. Having done that, I will then proceed – thirdly – to evaluate future prospects in the light of existing trends and possible alternatives taking into consideration, as far as possible, regional and international factors involved.
Title

Islamic Movements and Micropolitics of Development
(Hamas Non Governmental Organizations as a Case Study)

Topic

Medical Clinics run by Al Salah Islamic Association

Presentation Format

Paper Session

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Islamic Movements and Micropolitics of Development
(Hamas Non Governmental Organizations as a Case Study)

Topic
Medical Clinics run by Al Salah Islamic Association

Abstract

In my research, I will examine the theories of micropolitics of development to the Islamic movements. I will examine global and local, ethnicity, gender, development professionals, bureaucracy, religion and culture. I am taking Hamas Islamic Movement’s charitable organizations as a case study. Hamas tries to spread Islamic values without violence through the provision of services, through productive work with the community, and by caring for humanity, especially when there a bad need for such services in the Palestinian society. I will also test the contribution of the role of the charitable organizations in the victory in the latest Palestinian elections 2006.

Introduction:
The dramatic political change in Palestine after the victory of Hamas in the latest elections took place in the Palestinian territories, January 2006, begs a cretin question about the reasons led Hamas to this victory. One of these factors is that Hamas runs charitable organizations in the occupied territories. Through charitable organizations, Hamas tries to spread Islamic values without violence through the
provision of services, through productive work with the community, and by caring for humanity, especially when there a bad need for such services in the Palestinian society.

**Why Al Salah Islamic Association?**

Al Salah Islamic Association is a charitable organization run by Hamas which is considered as the largest political faction in the Palestinian Islamic movement, and they won 56 % of the seats in the parliament. Al Salah Islamic association is one of Hamas charitable organizations and the largest association established in 1987 with 270 employees. I have chosen the medical clinics because it is one of Al Salah programs, and it has a history as it founded since 1994.

In my research, I will examine the theories of micropolitics to the medical clinics program. I will examine global and local, ethnicity, gender, development professionals, bureaucracy, religion and culture. It seems to me that religion could be the most important element affects the program.

**Methodology:**

After searching in the Middle East resources for the last ten years, no information mentioned the medical clinics run by Al Salah Islamic Association. There fore, I made three interviews through International phones calls to Gaza Strip. I interviewed the general manager and supervisor of the medical clinics ( Ali Nassar 43 years old), who is also, a board member of Al Salah Islamic Association since 1994. I interviewed two of the beneficiaries as well, a woman and a man. the woman ( Aom Hassan 35 years old) who refused to give me her first name and family name for security reasons. The man ( Mahmoud 35 years old) refused to give his family name for security reasons.
I am going to analyze the interview to the best of my knowledge. I also made a presentation about this research project at the class on Tuesday April 18th 2006, in addition to a brochure distributed to the students in the class.

**Challenges:**

Collecting information from Al Salah Islamic Association is a challenge, because this organization is run by Hamas movement, and they suspect outsiders. Even I am Palestinian from Gaza, but being at the United States is a suspicion for Al Salah members. I know a friend of mine from Gaza who introduced me to the manager of the medical clinics program association and asked to agree for interviewing him.

The manager of the medical clinics program did not answer two questions:

1- What kind of Islamic organizations support your program financially?
2- After the victory of Hamas, do you think that stopping financial resources to the new government run by Hamas will affect your work?

Because of the sensitivity of the program that it belongs to Hamas, the two beneficiaries whom I interviewed refused to mention their full detail information

**Background:**

“Hamas: "Islamic Resistance Movement" is a Palestinian Islamic Sunni organization established in 1987 during the first Intifada, and started as an offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood movement in Egypt…. Hamas has created a network of social welfare programs throughout the West Bank and Gaza, explaining part of its popularity, but it is best known throughout the world for its military wing”.

The Gaza Strip is unique among its population, where most of them are refugees. Over half of the refugees live in eight camps. Most of the people who fled to the Gaza Strip as a result of the 1948 Arab-Israeli war were from Jaffa, towns and villages south of Jaffa, and from the Beersheva area in the Negev. According to the latest update of the United Nations for Relief and Work Agency (UNRWA), 200,000 refugees came to Gaza, whose original inhabitants numbered only 80,000. Such an influx severely burdened this narrow strip of land; an area of only 360 square kilometers. Over three-quarters of the current estimated population of some 1.4 million are registered refugees; representing 22.42 percent of all UNRWA registered Palestine refugees. Regarding the labor force in Gaza Strip, the International labor organization mentioned that in April 2005, the unemployment in the Gaza Strip estimated by 35.4% against 29.4% in 1995. However, the British parliamentary International Development Select Committee estimated unemployment to be around 60% - 70%.

Al Salah Islamic Association is a branch of Hamas social programs in the Gaza Strip. Al Salah Islamic Association was established in 1987, and then authorized by the Palestinian National Authority in 1995. The Association runs different educational, health, social and relief programs. It has a main headquarters in Gaza and five other branches with 270 employees”. http://www.alsalah.org/

**Main programs of the Associations:**

Al Salah Association offers services through five main programs;

1- Adopt orphans; 1500 orphans adopted, who receive a comprehensive care; educational, economical and social care.

2- Two schools teaching 720 orphan students from sixth to twelfth grade.

3- Support 3200 needy families financially, they receive 250,000 US $ a month.

4- Four medical clinics in Gaza Strip.

5- Eight kindergartens.
Medical Clinics:

Al Salah Islamic Association has four main medical clinics in the Gaza Strip, and the first one was established in 1994. The medical clinics offer General Medicine, Neurology, Dentistry, Laboratory, Service Obstetrics and have a pharmacy with inexpensive medicine. The medical program offers services to Palestinians in camps who suffer from cut off the cities, closures, invasions, home demolitions and unemployment.

The medical clinics were established on different times; Al Salah Medical Clinic 1994, Haifa 2001, Java 2002 and Beisan, 2003. “All are Palestinian cities under Israeli occupation”. The first medical clinic was established in Al Maghazy refugee camp. Because the medical service offered at the camps last only (8.00 am – 2.00 pm), by UNRWA medical clinic and the medical clinic run by the Ministry of Health. This service was not enough to cover 22,000 populations. And the service offered does not cover all the needs of the patients, the service is very weak. A service of general medicine, there is no specialty. The patient had to move to other cities to receive a medical treatment, which costs him 7 US $ to let the doctor see him plus the transportation and medicine payments, which is very expensive. The idea of establishing a medical clinic was to facilitate Palestinian’s life, and make it easy. There are 97 employees working at the four medicals clinics, third of them are females.

Objectives:

1- Help patients with a high quality service with a low cost.
2- Provide job opportunities for unemployed doctors, nurses and pharmacists.
3- Save patients’ efforts, time and money by providing a medical service close to their homes.
4- Provide continuous assessment and improvement to the community.

Stakeholders:
- 1.3 Million inhabitant in the Gaza Strip.
- Islamic NGOs.
- Palestinian National Authority.
- International NGOs.

**Beneficiaries:**

1000 patients receive a medical service daily by the four medical clinics.

**Service:**

There are several departments at the clinics include: Family medicine, dentists, heart, surgery, nerve, bones, optician, nose and ear, skin, pregnancy, physical therapy, ultra sound, laboratory, pharmacy. In addition, there are society awareness programs, lately we conducted a workshop about the bird flu.

“The service offered by the medical clinics run by Al Salah Islamic Association is better than the medical clinics run by other local NGOs. The service offered by Al Salah Islamic association is different even from the medical service offered by the Palestinian Ministry of Health. “It differs in term of the quality of services, providing the difference diagnostics specialist clinics with simple fees and offering many medical devices” (Aom Hassan). The notion is that the service provided is improved compared with the first year, moreover to new medical specialists opened significantly, which encourage more people to go to Al Salah medical clinics. “Through the last 10 years, the service offered in the medical clinics increased 600% compared with the first year” (Ali Nassar).

I do agree, as Palestinian from Gaza who is familiar with the nature if the NGOs work in the Gaza Strip, I think that Al Salah Association present a good service compared with other NGOs working in the same field. Many of Palestinians prefer to go to Islamic medical clinics rather than other medical clinics, because of professionalism, good service and transparency.
Global and Local:

Changes in natural environment have contributed to the birth of new global institutional arrangements to monitor and condition the human impact. Many of the changes are particularly severe in developing countries. International development co-operation is to a great extent carried out through local projects and local dynamics of development. Medical clinics program is an example which effected by the global institution. Medical clinics receive about US$ 500,000 annually, and these money go to buy new equipments, salaries, building new rooms for patients’ serving. These amounts of money received from different sources; the biggest part is from regional and International Arab and Islamic foundations, and International NGOs like European Union and The United States Agency for International Development (USAID). USAID through which the U.S. funds development projects in scores of countries around the world enacted the "Certificate Regarding Terrorist Financing" on December 31, 2002, requiring all recipients to sign the certificate in order to receive financial aid. It states that the organization certifies that "it has not and will not provide material support or resources to any individual or entity that it knows, or has reason to know, is an individual or entity that advocates, plans, sponsors, engages in, or has engaged in terrorist activity" or anyone acting as an agent for such individuals or groups. Recipients of U.S. financial aid must sign certificates pledging not to give material support or resources to any individual or group that is involved in terrorist activity, while Palestinian Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs) object to signing such a certificate. It was a notion that Al Salah Islamic Association has singed that certificate, which is a condition to receive a USAID funds. “Al Salah Islamic Association signed the certificate, because we believe that we are a non terrorist organization, we are a humanitarian organization, offer humanitarian services to needy people” (Ali Nassar).

It seems to me that Al Salah Association signed the certificate for different reasons. Al Salah signed the certificate in the time were The Palestinian NGO Network (PNGO), an umbrella organisation
comprising 92 Palestinian NGOs, has urged groups not to sign the agreement, because the NGOs contend that the US requirement is extremely political and anti-Palestinian in nature and is particularly problematic within the Palestinian context, where the definition of "terrorism" is contentious. Therefor, Hamas Charitable organizations want to be the initiative to the international community and to the donors that they don’t practice “terrorism”, and the proof is that that they signed the certificate. Another reason stand behind that is that after September 11th, the Palestinian Monetary Fund demanded the accounts of 39 charities and NGOs working in the occupied Gaza Strip should be frozen, including al-Salah Islamic Society. The move affected the four medical clinics as well as other projects of Al Salah Association, and they have been looking for any resource of fund, where the USAID could be a good financial resource, which will enable them to continue implementing their programs.

**Ethnicity:**

Ethnicity is a concept of self identification and consciousness; it deals with a feeling or a need to belong to a group. Ethnic groups can be defined according to skin color, religion, language, territory, myths and historical landmarks. According to the Palestinian refugee homepage, more than 80% of the populations in Gaza Strip are refugees. Yet, the medical service is offered to patients is the same. No different between a refugee and a citizen. In spite of the small number Christians represent at the Palestinians community (1.1-2.4%). “The Islamic medical clinics make no difference in offering the service. They do not discriminate based on political affiliation, background, or religion” (Aom Hassan). It is significant that the majority of Palestinian people in Gaza Strip are organized; they belong to one political party or even supporters. “Hamas members and supporters do not enjoy with a better treatment compared with non-Hamas members or supporters (Mahmoud). “If a Christian asked for a medical service, we will offer him a service with all respect and appreciation, because there is no any
consideration for an ethnicity, religious or color backgrounds. The bottom line is that s/he is a patient” (Ali Nassar). Orphans and poor people do not pay any money for the medical service.

From my opinion, ethnic equality in providing the service could be a reason for transparent issue to the Al Salah Association, but it is not a big deal stand behind the popularity and the power if the program.

**Gender:**

Gender plays a significant part of the medical clinics work, because female is a part of the medical work. Employees are both males and females. Females are doctors, nurses and pharmacists, and third of the employees are females. Female doctors work in all field of medicine within the clinics, treating both men and women, and vise versa. Apparently, “there is no gender differentiation in providing the service. Service provided to all males and females. However, females are two third males who visit the medical clinics” (Aom Hsasan). Female patients and their husbands assume that they will find female gynecologists. Many Palestinians expect all female working in Islamic clinics to be dressed modestly and veiled either. Certainly, one can find Islamic clinics fulfill his desire to send his sister, daughter or wife to work at Islamic clinics or to be healed at Islamic clinics. This happens because the society in the Gaza Strip classified as a conservative society, and they have more belonging to religion. Therefore, Islamic clinics are a good choice to the people. On the other hand, Islamic clinics have a good moral reputation compared with other NGOs clinics. In my opinion, gender issues is important because people in Gaza deal with this issue on religious backgrounds. Meanwhile, I believe that gender is not the element of the medical clinics power.

**Development professionals:**

One of the significant points that distinguished Al Salah Association to be considered a transparent organization is that no place for mediation in hiring a job for any employee within the medical clinics.
“Hiring a job at any of the medical clinics depends basically on the scientific backgrounds, qualifications, professional experience and a good reputation as well” (Ali Nassar). Al Salah people “Development professionals” have a social role as well. They conduct a sight visit to the patients at their homes, basically those who are seriously sick, in a way of condolence and solidarity. In addition, development professionals conduct field work to examine the social and economical situation of the families visit the medical clinics for the first time. They decide who is poor and who is not, and accordingly, poor people served for free.

As a Palestinian from Gaza, I don’t think that development professionals hired a job for professional basics only. I believe there is a bias. I assume that if there are two candidates one is pro-Hamas and the other is not pro-Hamas with the same qualifications and experience, the administration will choose the person who is pro-Hamas for different reasons. First of all, most of the welfare associations run by Hamas have the same ideology and contribute to convey a special message. The second point is that the employees at the medical clinics for example work under Hamas umbrella, and it will be better if they have the same ideology. Finally, Hamas as a movement is interested to find job vacancies for its members, where rarely Hamas members could find a job within the governmental sector. Loosely speaking, development professionals is not a big factor for the medical clinics power.

**Bureaucracy:**

The medical clinics follow an administrative policy. “Each medical center has a manager who runs the daily works and has all delegations and authority within the center, and the administrative board does not interfere at his work at all. The clinic manager coordinates directly with the general manager and the Ministry of Health. The general manager supervises the four medical clinics, and contacts the donors. Throughout the daily works, management bureaucracy that affects the service negatively is strongly forbidden” (Ali Nassar). The medical clinics offer a service according to an organized system. “I think
there is an organized mechanism and rules in conducting these services in which all of clients must record their names at the reception office, then they refer to the specialized clinic according to their needs. After completing the different diagnostic procedures, the clients go to pharmacy to have the determined medical drugs without delay” (Mahmoud).

Talking about bureaucracy in term of social power, medical clinics contributed in the street popularity of Hamas movement. “The medical clinics and other social projects assist Hamas in achieving the victory in the last election” (Aom Hassan).

I believe that the welfare associations play an important role in the areas of relief and charity work; preschool, primary and elementary education; library development; the education and rehabilitation of physically and mentally disabled children and adults; primary and tertiary health care (one of the best hospitals in the occupied territories is Islamic, women's income-generating activities; literacy training; the care of orphans (which includes all aspects of their life from infancy to age 16); the care of the elderly; the care and placement of "illegitimate" children, who come to them as abandoned infants; and youth and sports activities. Islamic services directly reach tens of thousands of people and impact hundreds of thousands more. It would be more helpful to highlight some general trends characterizing the medical clinics as an example of the Hamas welfare NGOs; first of all, management and staff are well educated, highly trained and professionals; many individuals hold advanced degrees from Western universities. The second point is that the services provided are generally of high quality and are perceived as such by the population. In addition, most of the service offered to poor people, and most of the medical clinics are located at camps areas. The direct target group could be widows, orphans, women and children. Who could be the only kind of NGOs work with this type of people. Finally, the medical clinics are official and legally registered with the Palestinian Ministry of interior and a committee member with the Ministry of Health for deciding the medical need assessments of the people.
in Gaza Strip. All these facts positively contributed in the bureaucracy of Hamas in the street. Which led the ex-president of Al Salah Islamic Association to be elected as the mayor of the second biggest city in Gaza Strip, “Deir Al Balah” in the municipal elections took place in May 2005 in the Palestinian territories. Moreover, led to the significant victory of Hamas in the latest parliament elections took place in January 2006 where Hamas got 56% of the seats.

**Religion and Culture:**

The majority of Palestinians in Gaza are Muslims, and they are classified as conservative people. This is why I am going to discuss the role of Islam as a religion on the medical clinics, which I believe is the most important factor. I think that this understanding is derived from the holly Quran and the sayings of profit Mohammed “Peace Be Upon Him” (PBUH). God has made the purpose of the journey of humankind through life clear in His glorious Quran in his saying: "He brought you forth from the earth and hath made you husband it." (Hud: 61). Muslims believe that the required construction of the earth could be only achieved through continuous development and persistent efforts by mankind. Islam fights negative attitudes including laziness, dependency on others, and lack of labor. In other words, the attitudes that contributes in the developmental process. Development in Islam is achieved through the development of basic human needs, the development of natural resources and the realization of public welfare. Development in Islam means bringing balance and harmony, justice and peace, beauty and prosperity. It is the development of the total human being: soul, mind and body. Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) says "God loves for one of you, if you do a job, do it perfectly". Islam also calls for hard work and perseverance. The Prophet says "The upper hand is better than the lower hand" (i.e. he who gives in charity is better than him who takes it). For patience, profit Mohammed (PBUH) visited a Jew when he was sick. Accordingly, the service offered at Al Salah Association is based on religious reasons, or at
least religion play a great role in there. “The medical service is based on human relations, where good is inside human being. Yet, Islam as a religion plays a role of internal monitor for the humans. Religion encourages the employees to participate in community development” (Ali Nassar).

I argue that religion is the most effective part that influences the medical clinics to enjoy with it power, because religion is part of the Palestinians’ culture. Hamas used the benefit of being people in Gaza as conservatives, who are easily mobilized for religious purposes. The medical clinics program is an example for that. Medical clinics use verses from the holy Quran and sayings of Prophet Muhammad at different places in the clinics. In addition, Hamas used the slogan of “Islam is the Solution” which means that all their activities are based on the religious reasons. “I think this implementing project help in making the slogan near to truth, because it translate practical experience about most of the success projects is projected from the Islam is the solution” (Mahmoud). I think that the difference between Islamic clinics and other clinics may lie in the spirit of teamwork where service is provided. Patients expect to find a higher degree of personal care, attention, charity and honesty in the Islamic clinics which depend on religious reasons. “Yes, Islam is the solution. There is a strong relationship between our work and the Islamic message. Religion means good deeds. Islam encourages us for community development and prosperity. This is what we are doing” (Ali Nassar).

**Conclusion:**

The success of the medical clinics lies in the failure of other medical clinics working in the same field. Medical clinics “as well as other Hamas charitable programs” contributed in the street popularity of Hamas. I think this happened because Hamas charitable programs use religion as a main source of power to help, serve or mobilize people. In addition, financial transparency is an important factor; Hamas charitable organization has a good reputation in the administrative and financial issues. This happens in a time where the Palestinian National Authority institutions suffer from corruption. Hamas
used the weak of the Palestinian Authority for more mobilizing of people. Moreover, most of people in Gaza classified as poor people, and most of them depend on charitable organizations. So, Hamas used the need of people to their service for more mobilization. All of these elements contributed in the success of the medical clinics program. Meanwhile, I believe that religion plays the big role.

In addition, this research project give me trained me to work as development professional. My ideology is different from Hamas ideology, in spite of that I worked my research project on one of the Hamas charitable organization trying to void bias.
Abstract Submission for:

6th Annual Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences
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Honolulu, Hawaii

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Title of the submission: Improving Mental Health Service Delivery to Hispanics-Latinos

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Abstract:

This workshop will focus on the contents and the activities leading to development of a nationally disseminated report titled Model Mental Health Program for Hispanics that was developed by the author and is based on original research activities conducted through the New Jersey Mental Health Institute’s award-winning and nationally and internationally recognized Changing Minds, Advancing Mental Health for Hispanics program. The report is specifically aimed at assisting mental health agency and social service administrators and direct service providers with learning how to best attract, retain and serve Hispanics in mental health programs and/or other social service settings. The session will provided an overview of activities leading to the development of the report and its recommendations, which to date have been implemented in at least 10 known states throughout the nation in various communities. Specifically the session will review the following:

- Brief overview of several nationally released reports highlighting disparities in access to and the provision of culturally competent mental health services to Hispanics.
- Brief overview of the initial goals and objectives of the Institute’s Changing Minds, Advancing Mental Health for Hispanics and subsequent activities, including the recently created National Resource Center for Hispanic Mental Health.
- Overview of the NJMHI’s Comprehensive Literature Review and Analysis of Hispanic Mental Health issues. This report, which is now published in the Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Services and in a textbook on Hispanic Mental Health Care, contains an overview of findings from studies on barriers that Hispanics face with accessing and receiving quality and culturally and linguistically competent mental health care, patterns of mental health services, clinical best...
practices with the population, and an overview of major studies on mental health conducted in the United States with Hispanics.

- Overview of the Institute’s *Model Mental Health Program for Hispanics* report. The report includes recommended areas for mental health agencies and clinicians to address in order to better attract, retain and serve Hispanics in mental health services and reflects practices that meet the needs and cultural preferences of Hispanics. The recommendations can, and have easily been adapted to fit other social service settings. The report was developed based on research and other information gathering activities conducted by the NJMHI under the direction, leadership and supervision of this author.

The learning objectives for the presentation are:

1. To educate participants about a project with a national focus aimed at increasing access to and the provision of quality mental health services for Hispanics; a population that has been found to be medically underserved and that is often over represented in many of our nation’s most vulnerable groups.

2. To stress the importance of developing culturally competent and sensitive practices for Hispanics to address the array of barriers facing Hispanics in accessing and receiving quality mental health services, and to share means on how to accomplish these tasks through outreach, education, advocacy, and community partnerships.

3. To assist participants in thinking about creative ways to engage and retain Hispanics in mental health programs and to share project findings and the project’s model for mental health professionals and clinicians to utilize in order to attract, retain and serve Hispanics in mental health services that reflects Hispanics’ needs and cultural preferences.
Title: Institutional Capacity Building: Public-Private Partnerships for Land Use Change

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Paper Session Abstract

The mission of the Land Policy Institute (LPI) at Michigan State University (MSU) is to bring science-based solutions to policy makers and citizens in order to address land use concerns, such as urban revitalization, open space preservation, and regional planning. The Institute’s main strategies are to: 1) invest in and engage faculty at Michigan universities to implement multi-disciplinary work on land use issues, 2) conduct rigorous internal research to address real-time problems, 3) build relationships with private and non-profit land use stakeholders to ensure that research is germane, and 4) provide accurate information to decision makers at the local, regional, and state levels.

The Institute has developed a dynamic approach to implement the above-stated strategies. LPI has held three rounds of an internal grant program that provides seed funding to faculty and Extension teams at MSU and partner institutions; this research is intended to be multi-disciplinary and timely, with potential to attract larger funding from foundations and federal agencies in the future. An additional grant program, funded through the W.K. Kellogg Foundation, provided financial support to faculty, community, and faculty/community teams. Internally, the John A. Hannah Professor in Land Policy has built multi-disciplinary teams to address pressing policy issues (e.g. farmland preservation, residential density, and land use linkages to prosperity). These research projects have been guided by advisory committees, consisting of representatives from several stakeholder organizations (e.g. the Michigan Farm Bureau, the Michigan Economic and Environmental Roundtable, and the Michigan Environmental Council). Research results have been translated into easily-understandable and concise documents that can be shared with citizens and policy makers. Through training programs (provided by partner programs, including Citizen Planner and the Planning and Zoning Center) and legislative forums, appropriate information is provided to enhance land use decision making at all levels. Finally, an Annual Land Use Summit is held to facilitate dialogues, share information, and build effective relationships.

The expected outcome of these activities is increased awareness among policy makers, citizens, and academics about the impact of land use and the need for better-informed decisions. By enhancing the ability of faculty and Extension to attract funding and to work together to find comprehensive solutions to land use challenges, the Institute seeks to achieve sustainable funding. Building multidisciplinary research capacity in higher education is often a daunting
task, especially when it is intended to cut across the missions of teaching, research, and outreach. Such capacity, however, is particularly important in areas such as land use where many states and regions are struggling to find solutions and university research can be valuable in defining new tools and policies. An integrated research, outreach, and educational program must meet the interests of faculty while meeting the needs of stakeholders. The objective of this paper is to present one model of institutional capacity building.
Title: Assessing the Economic Impact of Land Conservation

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Paper Session Abstract

Environmental organizations often lack the research infrastructure to evaluate the effects of their conservation activities or to communicate the impacts of their programs. One area where there is an information gap is the valuation of environmental and natural resource amenities (such as open space, lakes, waterways, and parks). Multiple research strategies, involving teams of faculty and stakeholders, are required in order to provide this essential information. This paper presents the findings of one such undertaking.

The Land Policy Institute (LPI) at Michigan State University (MSU), in partnership with the Heart of the Lakes Center for Land Conservation Policy (HOL), has embarked on a research effort to assess the economic value of Michigan natural resources and their public amenities. The objectives of this study include: 1) determining the local economic impact of Michigan State Parks, 2) evaluating the economic value of natural resources to landowners, and 3) developing a comparison of Michigan natural resource protection programs to those of other states.

In assessing the importance of Michigan State Parks, the study team utilizes existing data on industries and park user fees to estimate the local economic impact with the IMPLAN program. Evaluating the economic value of natural resources to landowners is achieved through a hedonic analysis of the impact of proximity to natural features on property values. The analysis of state natural resource programs across the nation involves a hedonic analysis regressing funding against natural resource characteristics (e.g. acres of forestland) and socioeconomic characteristics (e.g. GDP, unemployment rate). Michigan is then compared to other states along that continuum.

This study is expected to result in a better understanding of the importance of natural resources, particularly public land, to individuals, as well as local, regional, and state policy makers. The expected outcomes of this study include changes in land conservation and public service provision (e.g. access to state parks) that will enhance local economies and quality of life for natural resource beneficiaries: Michigan citizens and visitors.
6. ABSTRACT:

Evolving UN conceptualizations of the relationship between hunger and poverty have significantly impacted strategies for achieving the first Millennium Development Goal's (MDG) objective of halving global hunger by 2015. When the MDGs were drafted in 2000, hunger was merely considered a component of poverty. Such an approach, reflected in the Secretary-General's 2001 MDG Report, assumed that hunger would decline as a country experienced economic growth, and thus encouraged states to use GDP as a leading indicator of hunger reduction. However, because measures of aggregate economic growth often neglect a country's poorest, this frequently led to inadequately targeted strategies. Recently, key actors such as the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) have addressed hunger as an independent issue, noting that while it clearly relates to poverty, it correlates with other issues as well. This conceptualization aligns with the twin track approach: a strategy that focuses on agricultural development to reduce hunger and poverty in rural areas simultaneously. Additionally, it highlights the relationship between hunger and such global issues as HIV/AIDS and education. With global hunger currently increasing at a rate of four million annually, analyzing the efficacy of FAO-type approaches is critical in helping least developed countries meet MDG #1 by 2015.
PERSISTENCE OF TRADITIONAL LIFESTYLES AMONG BEDOUIN FAMILIES IN THE ALRASS REGION OF SAUDI ARABIA

Topic area of the submission (sociology)

Presentation format (Poster)

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to understand the reasons for Bedouin families retaining their traditional lifestyle despite the Saudi government’s incentives for them to participate in its modernization project. The questionnaire was distributed to 100 male heads of household. Seventy-five of the potential respondents agreed to be interviewed. Their attitudes were elicited on the following possible reasons for their resistance: (1) tribalism, (2) cultural dignity, (3) economic considerations and (4) the perceived utility of modern technology and mass media. Tribalism and economic considerations were found to be the most important reasons for their resistance. Their responses were analyzed in relation to the following demographic variables: age, educational level, occupation, monthly income and length of residence. Younger, educated, and employed respondents were found to have more positive attitudes toward modernization in certain sections of the questionnaire. Finally, based on the results, the researcher gives some policy implications and recommendations for future research.
Abstract

Students (n = 18) in fall quarter (2006) Family Life Education class were assigned an academic service learning project as part of the requirements for the course. One student worked alone, eight worked in dyads (four dyads), and nine worked in groups of three (three groups). The purpose of the assignment was to apply Family Life Education Methodologies to a real population in order to solve a need in the community and to allow students to present to a community audience. Students worked directly with their population creating a Needs Assessment. They then produced a poster board, kept a weekly journal, and wrote a lesson plan, outline of a three-day program, and a reflection paper. Eight different projects were completed: 1) Preschool Children Learning Proper Nutrition, 2) Preschool Children Becoming Aware of Stranger Danger, 3) ROTC Cadets and Active Military Member and Maintenance of Long-Distance Relationships, 4) Disability Awareness Among Middle-School Children, 5) Babysitter Trainer Program, 6) Child Safety in and out of the Home: A Program for Parents, 7) Preventing Stranger and Non-Stranger Rape, and 8) Media Influences on Adolescents. Overall reflections from the students indicated that Family Life Education Methodology skills were increased and personal growth and awareness were enhanced through participation in an academic service learning project. Community participants demonstrated happiness and personal growth also.
Background Information

“Academic service learning is a teaching and learning methodology that bridges in-class learning to the community classroom through meaningful service opportunities” (Christiansen, Amby, & Bowers, 2001, p.1). It is a bidirectional process in which students first apply course knowledge and skills to meet community needs. Then through a reflective process (journaling or small group discussion), students connect their service experience back to course concepts, skills, and other ideas (Hatcher & Bringle, 1997). The goal of academic service learning is to increase the learning of course content and skills, enhance personal growth, and enlarge personal civic responsibility (Stacey, Rice, & Langer, 1997). A key component is that learning should extend beyond the classroom and foster the development of others (Corporation for National and Community Service, 1990). The connection of classroom content with service leads to a learning outcome that is far greater than can be produced in the isolation of in-class learning or of service not connected to content (Fenstermacker, 1990).

Purpose

As a means of increasing student knowledge and awareness of issues in Family Life Education, this professor decided to incorporate academic service learning into a four-credit upper level class on Family Life Education. The framework for the project was based on the human ecology and ecosystems approach and the content area of Family Life Education Methodology as identified by the National Council on Family Relations.

The human ecology and ecosystems approach combines the human ecological and systems perspectives into an analytical framework to view diverse living styles and complex environments. Human ecology stresses the interdependence of organisms and their environments, which simply stated means humans interacting with their environment. The
systems perspective places emphasis on the relationships among interacting units. Elements of this ecosystem are members, environments, and organization (Goldsmith, 2000; Rice & Tucker, 1986). The members for this project consist of the professor, college students, community workers, children, adolescents, and young adults. The environments are the classroom and community organizations. The organizational unit is academic service learning.

In 1984 the National Council on Family Relations established standards and criteria for the certification of family life educators, college university curriculum guidelines, and content guidelines for family life education. Ten substance or content areas were included in these standards and criteria (Powell & Cassidy, 2007). This paper addresses the area of family life education methodology and how college students can apply these methodologies to community settings.

Methods

Students (n = 18) in fall quarter (2006) Family Life Education class were assigned an academic service learning project as part of the requirements for the course. Students had the choice of working alone or in a dyad or in groups of three. Students were asked to choose a topic of interest in the field of family life education and to find a community group or individual to participate in their research and lesson plan. During the quarter, students were given class release time to spend a minimum of ten hours working with a community organization to create a three-day program and implement a fifty-minute lesson plan. A list of community organizations was provided and students self-selected a group or person to work with during the quarter. Family Life Education theories and methodologies were presented in class. The purpose of the assignment was to apply these theories and methodologies to a real population in order to solve a need in the community. Students were required to spend a minimum of ten hours working
directly with a community organization, to complete a Needs Assessment, to produce a poster board on their lesson plan, and to write a project paper which included a reflection paper, weekly journals, outline of a three-day program, and a complete lesson plan for a fifty-minute presentation.

Results

One student chose to work alone, eight students chose to work in dyads and nine students chose to work in groups of three to complete their academic service learning projects. A total of eight separate projects were generated and completed: 1) Preschool Children Learning Proper Nutrition, 2) Preschool Children Becoming Aware of Stranger Danger, 3) ROTC Cadets and Active Military Member and Maintenance of Long-Distance Relationships, 4) Disability Awareness Among Middle-School Children, 5) Babysitter Trainer Program, 6) Child Safety in and out of the Home: A Program for Parents, 7) Preventing Stranger and Non-Stranger Rape, and 8) Media Influences on Adolescents.

Answers to Reflective Questions

Answers to the reflective questions were similar for all students. Of the eight different groups of students, four reported problems they felt were difficult to overcome. The difficulties involved finding a suitable place in which to do the academic service learning. Other difficulties centered on individual differences within the dynamics of the group. Such issues as group members not showing up for meetings or showing up late were common. The instructor worked with the students and found them appropriate organizations to work with and helped students solve their group issues. In the end, their projects ended up being one of the best received and had the most positive interactions from their audience. All of the students felt varying degrees of
apprehension, anxiety, and fear going into the project. At the end, they all reported feeling transformed by the experience.

*Feelings Going Into the Project?*

Most of the students were initially excited and enthusiastic about the whole idea and messages of their projects, they liked the members of their groups, and they were eager to get started. However, many also were anxious and apprehensive about working with unknown community organizations. Many stated they felt the projects were too time-consuming. However, when they were reminded that class time would be devoted to much of the work, they thought their projects were manageable. Some students reported being nervous going into the project because they did not know what to expect and had never done a project with the community. Other students felt overwhelmed by the idea, felt the task was too big, and were scared about presenting in front of a group of people.

Some students reported more positive feelings going into the project. For example, one student was excited about creating her own presentation and thought that this type of presentation would look good on a graduate school application. Another student thought the project would be fun and was looking forward to presenting her lesson plan to children.

*Benefits of the Field Experience to the Community Audiences*

Overall, the students felt that their projects were worthwhile and benefited their community audiences. Two groups were proud that they were able to help young children learn about stranger danger and the benefits of eating nutritious foods.

One group selected a seventh-grade honors class to present information about disabilities. Two of the presenters had disabilities and it was very helpful for the young students to interact with graduating college students who were physically challenged; one with Cerebral Palsy and
one with Attention Deficit Disorder. It helped the youth to see that people can succeed in the midst of challenges. The youth were particularly interested in how a person with Cerebral Palsy went about everyday activities.

Three groups selected adolescents as their audience. One group worked with high school students and helped them realize that not everything the media portrays is true and actual, such as appearances, body image, sex, and violence. They felt that their program helped the teens to think for themselves when presented with something from the media.

Another group worked with teens to increase their awareness of the dangers of sexual assault and rape. The adolescents left the presentation better prepared to stay safe when they go to parties and when they begin relationships.

Another group addressed young teens on how to be a better babysitter. The teens became aware of many safety features and how to put together a babysitting box filled with ideas and toys to stimulate children of varying ages.

Two groups worked with young adults. One addressed the issue of communication in long-distance relationships to young adults in the military. The young adults were amazed at the many different ways that one can stay close by using computer technology.

The other group gave new parents great tips on how to make their house or apartment child-safe. The parents benefited by receiving great information and a bag full of useful things that they can use to make their living space child-friendly, such as plastic inserts for electrical outlets.

*Personal Growth and Learning*

All 18 students who participated in the projects felt that they gained new knowledge and experienced personal growth. Most mentioned that they learned a lot about themselves and their
group members. They learned how to work under pressure, how to organize and distribute work, and how to resolve personal issues within the groups. Some learned that they are natural leaders and others learned that leadership is not for them.

Many students expressed that they learned patience and how to compromise. They learned the importance of deadlines and how to communicate wants and needs to group members.

Many had never done a Needs Assessment and learned not only how to conduct one, but also the value of doing one. They learned that by knowing the needs of the audience, they can find interesting ways to motivate the audience to participate. Many had never created flyers or brochures before and were proud of their products and found how useful they were in getting people to attend their programs.

The student who worked alone on her project realized that it would have been helpful to have at least another person to work with to share ideas and work load. The new skill she learned was time management.

Many students mentioned that they initially were frightened by having to give a fifty-minute presentation. However, by the end of their project, many gained confidence in their abilities and were excited and eager to try them out with other community groups.

Many students expressed that they had never given a presentation to a group other than college students in class and they felt they learned a lot about how to teach to different age levels and different learning styles. They learned which teaching strategies worked best for their audiences.

Group members working with the student with Cerebral Palsy reported that they gained valuable insights and information from working with her. They learned how she has
mainstreamed and persevered while having Cerebral Palsy. Her determination and willingness to be so exposed about her disability touched her group members. They increased their awareness and tolerance levels.

Overall personal growth was described in detail by one student. Her comments will remain anonymous to respect her confidentiality; however, they are stated so well and summarize the thoughts of others that her comments are included in her words.

Although most of the work was done on our own outside of class, I felt like that is what I needed the most in a class. This is a class that provided the guidance if and when it was needed and let the students independently do things on their own. It followed the true definition of one earning one’s own grade. I really enjoyed every moment of it. In the ‘real world’ at work you aren’t guided every step of the way by your boss. Your boss is there for support and guidance when needed, but not all of the time so this class provided me with that personal growth of furthering my independence not only for myself, but in the work force. New skills that I learned were people skills, better presentation skills, teaching skills, and having more confidence in myself. I learned that teaching involves knowing how a student or a group of people enjoy learning so that they will engage in your teaching (Anonymous, Personal Communication, December 5, 2006).

Overall, the projects were a great success for the students and community members. The projects offered personal growth for the students and served as a bridge from the university to the community.
References


Does Accountability Reduce Corruption in a Corrupt Political Environment?

(Abstract)

Managing ethics is a crucial aspect of public management. Coordinating accountability and anticorruption measures plays a key role in developing coherent policy in this field. Preventing corruption is as complex as the phenomenon of corruption itself and a combination of accountability mechanisms and effective law enforcement mechanisms are needed for success. Public organizations need to be effective and accountable to the public. This means that there must be proper mechanisms of control as a way of assuring accountability and preventing corruption. Recently the World Bank published a report indicating that control of corruption is a key element for good government performance. The report explores the impact of corruption on government and concludes that serious problems with corruption lead to a poor situation in global public affairs. Thus, governments should seriously combat corruption. But how we can control corruption in the public sector? Scholars have studied the problem of corruption from different perspectives especially economics. This paper analyses corruption from the perspective of public administration. Based on the theories on corruption and government and the results of the OLS regression analysis using cross-national data, this article concludes that controlling corruption in public administration is highly dependent on accountability and the quality of bureaucracy. Thus, in countries with highly accountable public organizations we can expect low levels of corruption. In this vein, for effective prevention of corruption, greater attention must be devoted to developing: clear policies and procedures, quality and ethical standards, systems of transparency, and effective, law enforcement mechanisms. The implementation of these systems
will require a lot of effort and it definitely is a tough challenge. However, by improving accountability systems we can expect higher levels of integrity in the public sector.
Does Accountability Reduce Corruption in a Corrupt Political Environment?

I. Theory Analysis

1- The research question

The phenomenon of corruption has been studied from different perspectives. This paper focuses on understanding corruption from the perspective of public administration. The foundations of public administration basically rely on accountability issues. Thus, in a country with highly accountable public organizations we can expect a low level of corruption in that country. But how we can ensure accountability and control corruption in the public sector? The answer is not easy and it definitely turns in a challenge for public administrators. This research question is important in the real world since almost all countries in the world are being affected by corruption occurring in the public sector (King, Keohane, and Verba 1994).

2- Theories on Corruption and Public Administration

2.1 Corruption

The concept of corruption varies depending on the perspective from which it is studied. It is impossible to cover every aspect of every form of corruption in each country (Caiden 2001). For that reason, and in an effort to simplify the case, the World Bank defines corruption as the exercise of public power for private gain (World Bank 2000). Certainly this definition involves all activities in which public officials use their power not for the public benefit but for their own gain. The bribed official typically agrees to undertake or to forego a designated action in return for a bribe.
2.2 Causes of Corruption

As the concepts of corruption vary depending on the perspective from which one looks at them, the causes of corruption also vary widely. According to Klitgaard (1998), corruption is the result of monopoly plus discretion minus accountability.

Monopoly

In brief, monopoly refers to the concentration of power in the government. It presents a situation where the government has control of all public service. The basic element here that leads to corruption is the lack of competence (Klitgaard 1998). The obvious way to tackle the problem of monopoly is competition in the market of public service delivery.

Discretion

According to Merton (1956), the chief merit of bureaucracy is its technical efficiency, with a premium placed on precision, speed, expert control, continuity, discretion, and optimal returns on input. For Merton it is good to bring discretion to bureaucrats since they usually have the expertise to do their jobs well. Moreover, Cook (2000) points out that bureaucrats deserve discretion since they conduct themselves with integrity. Nevertheless, this discretion might be used for public benefit rather for private benefit; this of course, leads to administrative corruption.

A decision on whether or not to reduce bureaucrats’ discretion depends on the kind of public service delivered. There is a higher probability of reducing discretion in the work of street level bureaucrats than in bureaucrats in charge of formulating public policy.

Accountability

In its simple form, accountability may be defined as any situation in which individuals who exercise power are expected to be constrained (and in fact are reasonably constrained) by
external means, i.e., reversal of decisions, dismissal, and judicial review and to a degree by internal norms, i.e., codes of ethics and professional training (Mckinney, and Howard 1998). Administrators must know, through established criteria, to whom and for what they are accountable.

In the Government environment we have that the three political powers: judicial, legislative and executive are accountable to each other depending on the issue (Campos Ed. & Lateef, Sarwar 2006). Thus, for instance, the executive needs the authorization of the legislative to initiate governmental plans such as public sector reform. In this sense, in order to succeed in an anti-corruption plan in the public sector we need to get a commitment of the three political powers to be accountable to the national plan. This kind of accountability is known as political accountability.

According to Romzek and Dubnick (1987) there are four types of accountability: bureaucratic accountability, where effective control emanates from within the executive branch; legal accountability, where control from the outside is effective; professional accountability, where internal structures and processes produce low levels of control; and political accountability, where control is external and limited. From these forms of accountability it seems that our study refers to bureaucratic accountability issues.

Bureaucratic accountability involves answering to a higher authority in the bureaucratic or interorganizational chain of command (Kearns 1996.) In this regard, the role of public administrator is crucial. If they are accountable their subordinates will also be accountable. Certainly to assure accountable behavior, public administrators need to implement control mechanisms which constrain bureaucrats’ behavior i.e. to prevent corruption.
In order to implement bureaucracy control mechanisms Gruber (1987) points out that two basic aspects of bureaucratic behavior subject to constraint should be taken into account: the procedures used to make decisions and the substance of the decisions actually made. For instance, procedurally, an administrator may be required to hold hearings, to consult certain groups before taking action. Substantively, the administrator may be limited, for example, to making decisions that serve to increase production in the country. Sometimes “procedure” and “substance” may be the same. For instance, the holding of public hearings may at one and the same time be the process by which decisions are made and the substantive result of an earlier decision about how to proceed. Thus, there is not an absolute distinction between “procedure” and “substance.” Nonetheless, Gruber (1987) points out that either or both may be constrained through specific control mechanisms. This is absolutely valid since the more constrained behavior is, the smaller will be the range of permissible alternatives to corruption open to the bureaucrat.

### 2.3 Forms of committing corruption

The most typical form of corruption in public administration is bribery (Transparency International 2000). Bribes may act as incentive bonuses to public employees not satisfied with their salaries (Ware & Noone 2005). For instance, it is more attractive to clients to pay a bribe instead of larger amounts of taxes and customs duties imposed on them by the government.

In some societies a bribe is just a gift, while in others it is the price of a favor (Rose Ackerman 1999). In some countries the word “bribe” is used as a means of “transaction” or “social exchange”. There, most actions that are considered corrupt by rule enforcers within, or critics outside a political system are basically varieties of exchange transactions. Depending on
the technique employed, the transactions create varying degrees of specificity of obligation on the part of the officeholder (Heidenheimer 1989).

However, it does not seem adequate to apply the name “social exchange” to corrupt activities inside bureaucracy. It would be dangerous to tolerate some corrupt activities in a public organization such as tax collection or the provision of public utilities since it might encourage its spread to other areas in the public sector. Corrupt activities should be punished despite the amount of the bribe received by the public servant.

2.4 Corruption in Public Organizations

Applying the general literature on corruption detailed above, discretion and lack of accountability are the key elements that lead to administrative corruption (corruption in public organizations). In this sense, the impact of accountability in reducing or preventing corruption is analyzed in the following paragraphs.

The Core Principal-Agent Theory

One of the approaches to evaluating accountability in public administration is the principal-agent theory. According to this theory, a principal is an actor who enters into a contractual relationship with another actor, an agent. The agent is entrusted to take actions that lead to outcomes specified by the principal. According to Gormley and Balla (2004) when delegating, the principal may face problems with adverse selection and moral hazard as they can not completely be sure about the ability and integrity of the agent. Moe (1984) considers that there is no guarantee that the agent will do what is in the best interest of his/her principal.
The principal delegates the implementation of a task to an agent but will need to monitor the agent efficiently to confirm exactly what has been accomplished (World Bank 2006). This problem could be tackled by appointing official executives whom the principal can trust. This measure should be taken along with some control mechanisms to assure accountability in public administrator’s activities. As mentioned above, control mechanisms are important in order to control bureaucratic behavior inside public organizations (Gruber 1987).

The ideas and insights described above show that accountability is definitely the key point to reduce corruption in public administration. Another element, which was not mentioned by the global literature on corruption, is the quality of bureaucracy. This concept includes level of professionalization and efficiency of bureaucracy in the deliverance of public service. This variable needs to be included in the model since it may positively affect control of corruption. Thus, high levels of accountability and quality of bureaucracy may significantly reduce corruption in public organizations.

In other words in order to get high levels of control of corruption we need to work more effectively in accountability and quality of bureaucracy. We may then present our formula for controlling corruption in public administration:

\[
\text{Control of Corruption} = \text{Accountability} + \text{Quality of bureaucracy}
\]
II. Data Analysis

Dependent and Independent Variable

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<th>Y (dependent)</th>
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<td>Voice and Accountability (voicea~t2004)</td>
<td>Control of Corruption in public organizations</td>
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<td>Quality of bureaucracy (qbureauc~t2004)</td>
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<td>Control of corruption (2002) (contro~t2002)</td>
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The data for the variables are taken from the World Bank Institute (WBI) 2004 which itself is a composite data index.

Description of the variables

According to Governance Matters IV, World Bank 2005, “Control of Corruption” measures perceptions of corruption, conventionally defined as the exercise of public power for private gain. It contains data related to frequency of “additional payments to get things done (bribes) and frequency of payments to gain public contracting out (kickbacks). “Control of corruption 2002” contains the same kind of information but it belongs to 2002.

“Voice and accountability” measures accountability rates of public officials. This variable also includes the presence or absence of public channels to denounce unaccountable behavior of public administrators. In a country where there is no voice and accountability it may be hard to constrain public administrators being accountable to the public and as result hard to control corruption.
“Quality of bureaucracy” measures the quality of public service provision, and the quality of the bureaucracy, and the independence of the civil service from political pressures. It also measures the level of professionalism of bureaucrats and discretion. In a country where the level of quality of bureaucracy is high there may be fewer opportunities for corruption in the public sector.

**Description and relevance of the data applicable to this research**

The data from the World Bank consist of surveys of firms and individuals, as well as the assessments of commercial risk rating agencies, non-governmental organizations, and a number of multilateral aid agencies. They cover 203 countries for 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, and 2004. Thus, the data are based on several hundred individual variables measuring perceptions of corruption, drawn from 37 separate data sources constructed by 31 different organizations (see more description in Governance Matters IV, World Bank 2005).

All sources generally apply a definition of corruption such as the misuse of public power for private gain, for instance, the bribing of public officials, kickbacks in public procurement, or embezzlement of public funds. Each of the sources also assesses the “extent” of corruption among public officials and politicians in the countries in question. A sample of the questions included in the surveys made by the different agencies that provided data to the World Bank are listed in table 1.

After obtaining the surveys’ results made by the more than 31 different organizations mentioned above, the World Bank develops a composite score for corruption by combining all survey data, estimating the media, and ending up with scores between -2.5 and 2.5 for each country. Thus, virtually all scores lie between -2.5 and 2.5, with higher scores corresponding to
better outcomes. For instance, in appendix C of the document Governance Matters IV (World Bank 2005) countries such as Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, Finland, obtains scores of 2.20, 2.38, 2.43, 2.5, indicating that they are doing well in controlling corruption. In contrast, countries such as Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, Central African Republic, Equatorial Guinea obtains scores of -1.33, -1.34, -1.36, -1.65, indicating that they are doing poorly in controlling corruption.

Since the scores mentioned above are elaborated from the results of the surveys made each year, the situation of control of corruption in each country may vary from one year to another depending on successful implementation of anti-corruption plans.

The World Bank applies the same methodology described above to create composite index of perceptions on accountability and quality of bureaucracy.

**Regression Analysis**

Because the theory presented in this paper says that in order to control corruption we need to basically reach high levels of accountability, we need to control for quality of bureaucracy. The level of professionalization in bureaucracy will determine the level of the quality of service which means more efficiency less delays and as consequence less opportunity for corruption. As accountability and quality of bureaucracy increase we may expect also an increase in the level of control of corruption. To assess this theory regression is run by using ordinary least square method.

As expected, the regression results confirm the theory (see table 2). By obtaining a “p” value .007 for “voicea~t2004” we may say there is a significant positive relationship between accountability and control of corruption. The $R^2$ for this model is 0.9179 indicating that how we
control accountability and quality of bureaucracy explains 92% of the variance in control of corruption.

We can be more than 95% confident that for every one point increase on accountability we can expect an increase between .0231133 and .1416544 controlling for quality of bureaucracy. For every one point increase in quality of bureaucracy we can expect an increase between .8352704 and .952997 in control of corruption controlling for accountability. These results definitely show that the best way of controlling corruption in public organizations is by improving accountability and quality of bureaucracy.

In order to prevent an endogeneity problem, meaning for instance, that accountability may lead to better control of corruption, or control of corruption may lead to reach high levels of accountability, another variable is included in the model: control of corruption for a previous year (2002). After running regression, the model has not experienced substantial changes. In fact it is almost the same results as previously (see table 3). The coefficients for “accountability” and “quality of bureaucracy” have not substantially changed. Moreover, the coefficient for “control of corruption 2002” obtaining a “p-value” .739 is not statistically significant. Furthermore the R-squared is maintained at 92%. Therefore, control of corruption in public organizations is highly dependent on the level of accountability and the quality of bureaucracy.
III. Final Evaluation and Conclusion

Final Evaluation

From the results of the theory and data analysis detailed above the problem of corruption in public organizations can be combated by addressing quality of bureaucracy and accountability systems which are the key variables in controlling administrative corruption (corruption in public organizations). Although administrative corruption cannot completely be eliminated, reforms in the public sector may help to reduce it (United Nations 1997). In this regard, reform attempts need to include three basic mechanisms: a political agreement that supports a government decision for obtaining accountability in the public sector; the implementation of whistleblowing systems; and the quick administrative punishment of corrupt high-level public officials (see more details in table 4). The latter must be genuine and its implementation depends on each country’s legal reforms incorporating administrative sanctions such as immediate suspension and firing of corrupt high level public officials.

Additional recommended anticorruption measures for reforming bureaucracy are based on successful anticorruption experience in Philippines (2000), and Hong Kong (1990) detailed in Klitgaard 1998:

- Professionalization of employees by recruiting high honors graduates from high quality universities of the target country
- Rotating officials in order to avoid potentially corrupt personal relationships with taxpayers
- Participation of outside auditors to supervise tax revenues
Promotion of honest and good performance through the implementation of a system of rewards and penalties.

Conclusions

- For the purpose of this study corruption has been defined as the misuse of public power for private gain (World Bank 2005) for instance, bribing of public officials, kickbacks in public procurement, and embezzlement of public funds.

- The data used in this paper include perceptions of corruption elaborated by the World Bank 2004. They appear to accomplish the basic requirements of reliability, validity and replicability.

- The theory and data analysis show that controlling corruption in public administration is highly dependent on quality of bureaucracy and accountability systems.

- The main three mechanisms to implement a reform for combating corruption in the public sector include a political agreement that supports government decision for obtaining accountability in the public sector; the implementation of whistleblowing systems; and the quick administrative punishment of corrupt high-level public officials. The latter must be genuine and its implementation depends on a country’s legal reforms incorporating administrative sanctions such as immediate suspension and firing of corrupt high level public officials.
Table 1

Survey Questions used by the World Bank Data Sources
Appendix A, Governance Matters IV (World Bank, 2005)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey Questions Sample</th>
<th>Data Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Questions for measuring perceptions on Corruption</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Is there an Anti-Corruption plan being implemented?</td>
<td>Freedom in the World</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Does bribing exist in the economy?</td>
<td>Institute for Management Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- To what extent does corruption exist in a way that detracts from the business environment for foreign companies?</td>
<td>Political Economic Risk Consultancy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Questions for measuring perceptions on Accountability</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Is there transparency of Government policy?</td>
<td>Institute for Management Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- How responsive government is to its people?</td>
<td>Political Risk Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Do you trust in the government?</td>
<td>United Nations Economic Commissions for Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Questions for measuring perceptions on Quality of Bureaucracy</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Are there policies to improve efficiency of public sector?</td>
<td>Africa Development Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Are there implemented procedures for budget management?</td>
<td>Business Environment Risk Intelligence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Bureaucratic delays?</td>
<td>Columbia University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- How is the efficiency of the bureaucracies overall?</td>
<td>Political Risk Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Assess how much strength and expertise bureaucrats have.</td>
<td>World Business Enterprise Survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- What is the quality of public agencies?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>
Table 2: Modeling the Effects of Voice and Accountability, quality of bureaucracy in control of Corruption

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>Standard Error</th>
<th>P-Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>.300576</td>
<td>0.007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qbureauc~t2004</td>
<td>.8941337</td>
<td>.0298511</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cons</td>
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<td>.0202741</td>
<td>0.894</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R-Squared= .9179

N= 203

Table 3: Modeling the Effects of Voice and Accountability, quality of bureaucracy, and control of corruption 2002 in control of Corruption 2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>Standard Error</th>
<th>P-Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>0.01</td>
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R-Squared= .9183

N= 191
Table 4

Major components of an Anti-corruption plan in Public Administration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anti-Corruption measures In Public Administration</th>
<th>Impact on Administrative Behavior</th>
<th>Substantive Decisions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political commitment</td>
<td>Motivation to perform with integrity</td>
<td>Political agreement to support government decision for obtaining accountability in the public sector through an anticorruption plan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integrity and Leadership</td>
<td>High levels of accountability</td>
<td>Maintenance of integrity in public administrators through implementation of a whistleblowing system which includes the quick administrative punishment of corrupt high-level officials (i.e. immediate suspension or firing plus payment of administrative fine.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reform on bureaucracy</td>
<td>Good quality of bureaucracy</td>
<td>-Transparency in merit-based selection process of public administrators and public servants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Adequate compensation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Reduction of discretion in the work of street-level bureaucrats.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s elaboration
References


The “Caudillo” Government Style in Venezuela: From Bolivar to Chavez Administration

Abstract

This paper analyses the political culture in Venezuela, including the economic and social aspects which originated the emergence of the “caudillo” presidential leadership style. This analysis is based on the theories developed by international and classics scholars from political science and comparative politics and on an insightful review of the Venezuelan political history throughout its democratic life since the “caudillo” Bolivar Administration. The paper then turns its attention to current “caudillo” president Chavez’s governing style and evaluates his influence in other Latin American presidential administrations.
The “Caudillo” Government Style in Venezuela: From Bolivar to Chavez Administration.

Introduction

The name Venezuela means “little Venice”; it was given to the area by Spanish settlers in the early sixteenth century because the first Indians whom the Spanish saw lived in villages built on stilts in the middle of Lake Maracaibo. In 1777 Venezuela expanded closer to its present boundaries with the creation of the Captaincy-General of Venezuela with Caracas as its capital. Supported by brave Venezuelans Simon Bolivar defeated Spanish Conquers and declared its independence on July 5, 1810. Then after 1821, when the last Spanish forces were driven from Venezuela, Simon Bolivar attempted to weld together what are today the countries of Colombia, Ecuador, and Venezuela into one nation: Gran Colombia. Bolivar’s dream did not come true during his time since those countries were interested in building their democracies alone. Bolivar established an authoritarian presidential leadership style called “caudillo” which military leaders replicated after his death. Nowadays, Bolivar’s dream is resurging in the person of current Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez, known in Venezuela as “national caudillo”. Throughout its history, Venezuela has experienced the rise of many “caudillos” who justified the coups as an attempt to build a fair government. Although they had all economic resources derived from the petroleum industry they failed to be responsive to Venezuelan citizens. Instead they implanted authoritarian governments which caused severe political, social, and economic consequences. Theories developed by international and classic scholars from political science and comparative politics, explain many of the political, social and economic events occurred in Venezuela.
The “Caudillo” Government Style in Venezuela: From Bolivar to Chavez Administration.

I. Political Culture

Since 1936 Venezuela has experienced three military coups, among other unsuccessful coup d'états attempts, and five constitutions have succeeded one other. How could we explain this occurrence in a wealthy country such as Venezuela. Huntington (1968) points out that “military explanations do not explain military interventions. The reason for this is simple military interventions are only one specific manifestation of a broader phenomenon in underdeveloped societies: the general politicization of social forces and institutions. In such societies, politics lacks autonomy, complexity, coherence, and adaptability.” Throughout Venezuelan history, military force intervened in politics because of lack of responsiveness from the government. Neither dictators nor elected presidents were responsive to the public. Most of them just looked for their own benefit, which led them to commit corrupt acts. This situation led Venezuelans to always expect for a new leader, a caudillo who could liberate them from irresponsible governments.

The political disorder such as corruption and aimless governments made Venezuelans learn to hedge their bets on democracy. Much of their value system comprises traditional, nondemocratic values which have been adapted successfully to the demands of urbanization and industrialization. The nondemocratic values accepted for example military interventions. This particular characteristic of Venezuela led David Blank (1973) to describe Venezuelans political culture as Personalism. “Venezuelans tend to give loyalty and obedience to the person in command rather than to his institutional position. Contemporary Venezuelan leaders
appear to be locked into the mold established by the traditional *caudillo*.” In fact, many
*caudillos* emerged after Simon Bolivar’s declaration of liberation in 1819.

The first *caudillo* that emerged in the 1900s was General Juan Vicente Gomez. In 1908
he seized the presidency in order to re-establish the political order but he ruled an
authoritarian unfair government. Nevertheless, Venezuelans looked for another *caudillo* who
could look for fair implementation of citizen rights. Another dictator who emerged arguing to
reestablish political order in Venezuela was Gral. Marcos Perez Jimenez. During the period
1948-1958 dictator Perez Jimenez set a government policy totally different from predecessors
supported by AD (Democratic Action). In place of the highly politicized development
program of the AD regime with its emphasis on human resource development – that is,
education and agrarian reform – Perez Jimenez focused his regime on the “conquest of the
physical environment” which was aided by the boom in petroleum production. Government
revenue doubled between 1951 and 1956. The government began a number of major
economic development projects, such as the iron and steel mill in the Orinoco River Valley, a
petro-chemical plant in Caraboba state and a major dam and irrigation system in Guarico state.
More frivolous government projects included luxury hotels and military officers’ clubs.

In 1952, Perez Jimenez wanted to legitimize his own rule through an election. He
allowed both the URD (Democratic Republic Union) and the COPEI (Organized Political
Committee for Independent Elections) to contest this election. However, after it became
apparent that the URD had won the election, it was annulled and many URD leaders were
exiled. The increasingly personalist and corrupt nature of the dictatorship alienated a growing
percentage of the urban middle class and the armed forces. The December 1957, plebiscite
farce which reelected Jimenez destroyed the armed forces’ respect for him. A civilian general
strike on January 23, 1958, followed by a military uprising, forced Perez Jimenez into exile.

The aimless and corrupt dictatorship of Perez Jimenez had offended the Venezuelan social and economic establishment.

Huntington (1968) poses a theory that explains Venezuelan dictators’ corruption. He points out that in Venezuela among the other “mulatto” countries (Panama, Cuba, Brazil, Dominican Republic, and Haiti) of Latin America, there appears to be greater social equality and much less rigidity in the social structure than in the “mestizo” (Chile, Colombia, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Paraguay) countries. Correspondingly, however, the relative “absence of a governing class ethic, with its sense of “noblesse oblige” and hence “there seems little doubt that it is countries in this socio-racial category in which political graft reaches its most flagrant heights.” Perez Jimenez in Venezuela, Batista in Cuba, and Trujillo in the Dominican Republic all came from non-upper-class backgrounds and all became multimillionaires in office. This theory fairly explained political corruption committed by dictators Gral. Gomez (1908-1935) and Gral. Marcos Perez Jimenez (1952-1958). However, it does not apply to President Carlos Andres Perez (1974-1979), (1989-1993) whose corrupt acts caused devastating consequences to Venezuela. After the 1960’s, Venezuelan society started changing into a more hierarchical social class. It was due to petroleum profits which enriched people involved in its exploitation. President Carlos Andres Perez was of high social status but despite that he also committed corrupt acts for which his government faced in 1992 a coup d’état led by Hugo Chavez.

Although Venezuela frequently experienced coups and attempts at coups, it did not experience a strong revolution such as the Cuban revolution. Venezuelan history shows us, as Huntington (1968) said, that those military interventions occurred because of lack of
autonomy and coherence in the government. Furthermore I believe that those military interventions occurred since Venezuela did not count on solid political parties. In an attempt to build a democratic system, political parties started rising in Venezuela during the 1940’s.

Democracy is strengthened by the existence of political parties. The appearance of political parties strengthened democracy in Venezuela and they played a very important role in Venezuelan society. After the death of dictator General Juan Vicente Gomez in 1935, a new period opened the way for free political activity and free expression in Venezuela. Since then, Venezuela’s modern political parties were formed. Notably in 1941 the DA (Democratic Action), Venezuelan first political party appeared. This political party led a series of mass mobilization towards democracy. Peasants and workers joined in political movements such as: The Venezuelan Peasant’s Federation (FCV, Federacion Campesina de Venezuela). In 1945, this group led by AD caused a revolution in rural Venezuela since the power was concentrated in the hands of big land owners. Urban workers also joined in a National Labor Confederation (CTV)

The period 1945-1948 also known as the Mass-Mobilization Democracy Period, saw the creation of those other political parties which have remained important actors in contemporary Venezuela: COPEI and the URD. The Social Christian Party-COPEI started as the Organized Political Committee for Independent Elections in 1946. The URD (Democratic Republic Union) was the spokesman for the urban middle-class interests seeking a government of unity and calmness rather than the tension-producing, partisan orientation of AD. During this period the Venezuelan Communist Party (PCV) was also able to function publicly in its own name.
Realizing their important role in consolidating democracy in Venezuela, political parties compromised themselves to reconstruct democracy after a long period of authoritarianism. In 1958, AD, URD, and COPEI, signed the *Punto Fijo Agreement*, a pact by which all three parties agreed to form a government of national unity, regardless of the results of elections. The rebuilt AD organization came through with an impressive rural vote to elect party leader Romulo Betancourt president for 1959 – 1964. Faced with a major economic depression and violent challenges from both rightist military factions and leftist revolutionaries, the government of national unity began to come apart in late 1960.

The 1958 *Punto Fijo Agreement* is a genuine one in Latin America and it shows the efforts of political parties to reconstruct national unity. Levine (1973), Karl (1987), Rey (1991) and Kornblith (1999) centered their attention on this agreement and believe that it was very important to maintain stability of democracy in Venezuela.

Blank (1973) pointed out that all political parties that emerged in Venezuela during the 1940s were groups with one interest rather than with one ideology. “Venezuelans generally view the particular interests of their members and followers rather than as communities organized around a given program or ideology.” Also, regarding workers mobilization, Coppedge pointed out that Venezuelan workers had greater “cognitive mobilization” and psychological involvement in politics, that is, their participation was motivated more by their own interests than by external inducements. Katrina Burgess (1999) stated that most party-union alliances in Venezuela in the twentieth century developed around the principle of state intervention in the economy. This principle generated similar norms regarding the rights and obligations of each partner. In the socioeconomic arena the party was expected to use the power of the state, when available, to deliver wage and non-wage benefits to labor, as well as
to adopt procedures that gave labor leaders a role in formulating and implementing relevant policies. In return affiliated unions were expected to moderate their strike activity and to refrain from maximizing their wage demands when the party was in government, particularly in times of economic crisis. Finally, Kenneth Roberts pointed out that in Venezuela there were political parties that have relied on Patron-clientelism, which entails an exchange of material benefits, for political support.  

In summary, the theories mentioned above have argued that Venezuelan political parties emerged without a real ideology but with just particular interests. Venezuelan history has only confirmed these ideas. Venezuelans joined in political parties and social movements looking to achieve individualistic interests rather than to build democratic ways to help governance. History shows us, that Venezuelans looked at political and social groups as patronage machines. Partisanship was sought in order to achieve individual’s goals. Nowadays in current Venezuelan society, on the level of interpersonal relationships, Venezuelans like to know the party affiliation of the people they deal with. It appears that few intimate friendships cross party lines and that partisan difference often reinforce family and neighborhood feuds. I believe this characteristic is part of the Latin American political culture. Latinos use to organize in political groups, joined for the same interest, and participate in congressional elections in order to make true their interests. That’s the reason of the existence of a multi-party system in Venezuela.

But even though first political parties in Venezuela did not have a political ideology they did play a very important role in the society. Political parties are the makers of democratic government Javier Corrales (2001). Competitive political parties enhance the political capacity of civil society to undermine authoritarianism and the propensity of elites to
deem political liberalization rational. As we have seen in Venezuela political parties helped to build democracy but the population itself did not believe that democracy would be built through the democratic way (elections). Venezuelans used violence and military force to build democracy. Between 1958 and 1964 the most significant political participation occurred in the arena of *revolutionary violence*. In fact, I believe effective political participation in contemporary Venezuela has taken two different forms: elections and violence.

The theoretical basis of representative democracy is the aggregation and demonstration of mass support through elections. Contemporary Venezuela has one of the broadest-based electorates in Latin America. Since 1958, the electorate has averaged close to 40 percent of the total population. All Venezuelans eighteen years of age and over have the right to vote without regard to literacy, sex, or property. Venezuelan politicians decided, after Perez Jimenez dictatorship in 1958, to make voting compulsory in order to prevent large voter abstention from being utilized by antidemocratic elements to demonstrate the unpopularity of representative democracy. However, there was also a tendency in Venezuelans to participate in politics through force.

Venezuela apparently has been an exception to the generally accepted rule that, in developing nations, increased political participation is inversely related to increased system stability. We learn from history that Venezuela experienced periods of instability in its democracy. Thus, democratic presidents attempted to gain the majority support from citizens taking special care in getting the peasantry’s support. The establishment of universal suffrage at the commencement of the democratic experience, along with the contained mobilization of peasants, made Venezuela’s “green uprising” (political mobilization of the peasants) a stabilizing factor in the nation’s politics. Samuel Huntington (1968) pointed out that rural
mobilization or “green uprising” is far more important politically for the later modernizing countries than it was for most early modernizers. The vote of the more volatile urban groups, the barrio dwellers and the petty bourgeoisie, was overwhelmed by the more easily satisfied rural vote. Moreover, I believe that Venezuela’s compulsory voting most likely aided the moderating effect of the electoral “green uprising”.

However, the long period of military interventions led Venezuelans get accustomed to have them as their political arbiters. In 1959, Venezuelans incumbent president, Rafael Caldera said that “Venezuelans are so accustomed to making the army the arbiter of their political contests, that at each moment the most varied groups for the most dissimilar ends attempt to involve the army in new adventures to change our political reality.” This assertion has its roots in sociological theory based on hierarchical societies. According to Hillman (1994), in Venezuela as in the rest of Latin America, the influence of traditional Spanish Catholicism, political absolutism, and military ascendancy resulted in a society structured hierarchically by rank, but also structured vertically by major corporate groups (armed forces, church, oligarchy, bureaucracy). Accordingly, those within the system have interrelated obligations that produce a patron-client system of collective benefit. This form of patrimonialism directed by elite hegemony has produced a strong tendency toward centralist, authoritarian politics. Paradoxically, a concurrent cultural pattern of political rebelliousness and resistance to authority was also transmitted by the Spanish. Thus, a dominant culture of political centralization and authoritarianism competed with a sub-culture of decentralization and resistance to authority.

By electing Hugo Chavez, former coup leader, as president, Venezuelans demonstrated that they wanted some kind of authoritarianism against public administration problems such as
corruption. In fact, as history reveals us, Venezuelans were always looking for a *caudillo* who could reestablish political order and be responsive to citizens. It was also proven scientifically. Myers and O’Connor (1998) conducted statistical analysis of national surveys of public opinion, scientifically designed and implemented, existing for 1973 and 1993, two periods economically different. One period had more economic prosperity than the other. They hypothesized that the view of military coups as an integral component of democratic politics is embedded as a “mediating orientation” in Venezuelan political culture. After doing a statistical survey, they found that many Venezuelans supported the idea of military coups. By doing some regression statistics equations on the results of the surveys they found overwhelming support in the abstract and varying support for individual *golpes* related to specific political circumstances. This result contradicted Huntington’s argument that revolutions occur where the processes of political modernization and political development have lagged behind the process of social and economic change. During the 1970s, when Venezuela had levels of modernization: growing urbanization, industrialization, rising middle sectors Venezuelans were willing to support a coup. The gap between economic and institutional development did not lead to radical regimes. I believe that Huntington’s theory did not apply here for Venezuela because of the 1958 *Punto Fijo agreement*. This pact did not fail in Venezuela because of a rational answer from politicians. The rational-choice had a *historic-institutionalist* answer: the existence of competitive political parties.

Although Venezuela experienced revolutionary military interventions they have never been as severe as the Cuban revolution. In late 1960, the extreme political left attempted to duplicate the Cuban experience led by Fidel Castro. Fidel Castro took power in Cuba on January 1, 1959. The Cuban revolution occurred between Romulo Betancourt’s election to the
presidency of Venezuela in December, 1958 and his inauguration in March, 1959. Although much of their rhetoric was similar, the Cuban and Venezuelan situations were quite dissimilar. In fact, Betancourt was principally concerned with reconciling his party, AD, with the two other major political parties, COPEI and the URD, and with nonpartisan power contenders like the Church, the armed forces, and the business community. The grand transformation of Venezuela via a program of revolutionary reforms was not contemplated by the AD leadership. Betancourt’s decision to make its reforms within a framework acceptable to international agencies like the International Monetary Fund, finally eliminated any idea of emulating the Cuban experience.

No revolutionary movement has succeeded in overthrowing a democratically elected government in Latin America.20 Indeed, Samuel Huntington (1968) has argued that “perhaps the most important and obvious but also most neglected fact about successful great revolutions is that they do not occur in democratically elected systems.”21 This historical invulnerability to revolutionary overthrows is quite probably not due to any inherent “immunity” to such challenges on the part of democratic systems. Rather, it reflects the enormous obstacles facing a revolutionary movement attempting to construct a “winning” coalition against a regime, democratic or not, which enjoys the support of at least some key sectors of society and the acquiescence of the rest. This theory worked in Venezuela during the period post Punto Fijo Agreement (1958-1992)

After Betancourt both democratic presidents Leoni (AD) 1964-1968 and Raul Caldera (COPEI) 1969-1973 implemented some reforms in the public sector. However, there was growing demand for new classroom space and hospital beds caused by the population explosion. From 1964 to 1980s violence played a more limited and contained political
representational role. Nevertheless, in 1992 violence seemed to return to Venezuela. There were two attempted military coups led by Col. Hugo Chavez. The government has not succeeded in redistributing petroleum’s profits. Another issue was the achievement of constitutional integrity: the recognition and respect of the rules of the game by all power contenders under conditions of full political participation. Since the coups did not succeed, Chavez formed his own political party called “Polo Patriotico” (coalition party) and decided to participate in the presidential elections of 1998 which he won.

So is there a weak Democracy in Venezuela?

All the military coups and attempts at coups that occurred in Venezuela lead me to pose the idea that there is a weak democracy in Venezuela. Almost all scholars who have focused on Venezuelan democracy agree with the idea that there is a weak democracy in Venezuela. On this point, Coppedge (1993) argues that institutions and the roles they impose explain the strength and weakness of Venezuelan Democracy. Thus, the way the president and the people in the government organize public institutions and their roles influence in the stability or instability of democracy. 22Political culture and rational choice approaches may provide additional insights about that issue. Most democratic governments, as we have seen in the description of Venezuela history, has faced military coups during the period (1900-1958.) However, during the 90s we have seen that democracy has strengthened in Venezuela. Nevertheless, since President Chavez comes from a military background some scholars have posed the theory that politics has been militarized. Daniel Levine (1973) believes that in Venezuela there is a militarization of politics.23
I believe that this new political order is a revolutionary model that hinges on a basic relation between a national leader *caudillo* and a popular mass, absolutely majoritarian, that designates him personally as its representative, in order to carry out a broad, but above all a deep, process of change. This new order causes change in the social economic structure of Venezuela. Everything is becoming centralized in the executive power because of the influence of the *caudillo* government style. This management style tends to centralize the power in the executive.

From the beginning, President Chavez centered his political agenda around the Constituent Assembly call for a new constitution. The New 1999 Constitution brought many changes such as basic restructuring of institutions and the creation of a uni-cameral National Assembly replacing the old two-chamber Congress and the Office of Vice President. The new political order brought by the New Constitution is trying to be more accountable to the public. This theory has to be proved. They could be tested by using statistical analysis comparing social economic indices before and after the Constitution of 1999.

Several new issues are challenging the Venezuelan political system such as economic dependence on petroleum and an inequitable distribution of wealth. I’ll analyze this issue in the last part of this document titled “the future of the system.”

**II.- Economic Aspects**

When the foreign oil industry was established on Venezuelan soil, Venezuela rapidly changed from a stagnant agricultural society, torn by civil strife and indebted to foreign powers, into the world’s major oil exporter (Coronil, 1997.)\(^{24}\) This new economic situation set Venezuela in a dependency relationship with foreign investment (Tugwell, 1974.)\(^{25}\)
Before 1920 Venezuela’s economy was almost entirely based on agriculture. Most of the nation’s limited foreign exchange depended upon its coffee and cocoa exports. Between 1921 and the present, petroleum has propelled Venezuela’s economy. Eighty per cent of Venezuela’s petroleum is produced by the world’s giant petroleum companies: BP, Chevron Texaco, CNPC, Conoco Phillips, Exxon Mobil, Repsol-YPF, Shell, Statoil, Total, Petro-Canada. Other small American companies and the Venezuelan government’s Petroleum Corporation (CVP) are responsible for the remainder. The presence of transnational American Oil Companies represents also a political presence in Venezuela. This situation made Venezuela highly dependent on foreign investment and international market price. According to non official statistics, outside of the petroleum sector, around 50% of all large Venezuelan firms have some financial connection with United States firms. United States investment accounts for 70% of the total foreign investment in Venezuela.

The fact that the virtual life and death of national prosperity has been at the mercy of a foreign-owned industry has given Venezuelan politics a crucial development focus. In 1960 Venezuelan Minister of Hydrocarbons Juan Pablo Perez sponsored the creation of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC): Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Iran, and Venezuela. Since then, Algeria, Indonesia, Libya, Nigeria, Qatar, The United Arab Emirates have joined. The principal purpose of OPEC is to maintain the price of petroleum at times when surplus production threatens possible reductions.

New international trade politics is needed in Venezuela. Jorge Salazar (2004) assessed for Venezuela economic politics alternative. He focused on finding support for other economic activities outside of other than petroleum. In fact, Venezuela is a country with a pattern of trade based on raw material exports specifically derived from petroleum industry.
Thus, even though Venezuela has started to develop other industry, the petroleum industry will continue to lead exportations.

Venezuela does count on other alternative exporting products. Since 1960, Venezuela has been implementing a policy of export diversification. The basis for the Venezuelan government’s effort to develop new export industries was the discovery of a major iron ore deposit in the eastern region state of Bolivar and the development of a petro-chemical technology which made possible the conversion of its plentiful petroleum reserves into plastics, fertilizers and artificial rubber. Venezuela has staked its hopes for post-petroleum prosperity on the development of its regions rich in iron, ore, and mineral deposits.

III.- Social Aspects

Latino countries which were Spanish colonies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries remained highly stratified after liberation. Traditional social class status which was extremely important at the time of colonization remained in the conscience of the people of former Spanish colonies. Although modernization has destroyed many of the traditional bases of the old social order, such as privileges of birth, and caste, there remain some social aspects such as color of skin that differentiate social status. Although no census of racial identity has been undertaken in this century,27 a general accepted estimate is that the Venezuelan population is about 70 percent mestizo28 and mulatto,29 20 percent white, and 10 percent negro. We can observe that the majority of the population is composed by mestizo and mulatto. It might explain that Venezuelans feel warmer toward a presidential leader who looks more like them. It might explain current president Chavez’s large base of support from Venezuelans. The majority of the Venezuelan population feels represented by him. He looks
like many mulattos in Venezuela. This population’s attitude does not only occur in Venezuela, but it also has occurred in Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru (all of them former Spanish colonies.)

The existence of many races in Venezuela has created subcultures which also take a particular political attitude. David Blank (1973), identified four subcultures: Urban Cosmopolitan, Established Urban, Marginal Urban, and Peasant. Although the peasantry is by far the poorest sector in Venezuelan society, it has been the electoral base for reformist governments since 1958. The allegiance attitude and behavior of the peasants and their general satisfaction with the political system have provided a crucial stabilizing element to politics.

The notion that a large rural proletariat of landless labor is a potential source of insurrection and revolution may be somewhat closer to the truth (Moore, 1993.) A discontent peasantry, if large, may conduct a revolution. In Venezuela, the peasantry attempted to revolt but at the end compromised with politics in an agrarian reform. In contrast with other nations, Venezuelan peasants did not revolt despite their unfavorable situation. Large landowners flocked to the capital to take advantage of the opportunities opening up in government and petroleum administration. Peasants who stayed in their lands experienced an agrarian reform.

Democratic governments are able to enact land reforms where there is vigorous and popular executive leadership and strong party organization with a corporate interest in winning the peasant vote (Huntington, 1968.) In 1960 the agrarian reform law passed by the Venezuelan congress was the result of a broad-based coalition. The formulation of the legislation was itself largely the product of a commission which included representatives of labor, business, and large agricultural landlord groups in addition to members of the four major political parties from COPEI on the right to the PCV on the left. The passage of this legislation was the acid test of attempts by the elected political elite in the Betancourt...
government and the private entrepreneurial elite to develop the nation through a policy of reconciliation and moderate reform.

Assessing the results of the Agrarian Law Reform, it had in fact very little effect since it did not go beyond redistribution of land from large-scale holdings (*Latifundia*) to small, family-size farms. I believe that the failure was due to the lack of an overall agrarian reform program. As Blank (1973) states “Agrarian reform, regardless of its focus, is more than the settlement of a peasant family on a plot of land. In order truly to end the marginal social and economic status of the peasant, tremendous financial commitments must be made to provide the recipient of land with adequate credit, education, technical assistance, and reasonable access to markets.”

In reality, what peasants really seek, are those crops and cultivation techniques which will give the highest and most stable payment for labor (Scott, 1976.) An agrarian reform is not only a redistribution of lands or giving a piece of land to peasants but it also is a full reform program which should cover techniques for improving crops. In 1960, the potential beneficiaries of agrarian reform were estimated to include between 260,000 and 380,000 landless and land-poor peasant families. They were supposed to work their lands and prosper on them. However, in 1970 it was revealed that about 30 per cent of those families had abandoned their allocated land.

The agrarian reform was not really a reform. It was only limited to a redistribution of lands. A real reform goes beyond that. Instead of improving the peasantry’s social and economic situation, it has deeply increased the social difference among peasants. Those peasants who came to the agrarian reform settlements with rudimentary knowledge of marketing systems and modern farm technology and with a previous orientation towards farm
technology and with a previous orientation toward material improvement have done well and are on the way to becoming a class of successful small farmers. Those peasants who misspent their initial government credit and who have not been successful farm operators are now ineligible for further credit and may be frozen out of further opportunities to advance. Many of these unsuccessful peasants have either left the agrarian reform settlement or have hired themselves out as farm hands to the more successful farmers. As a result, many peasants have immigrated to the cities looking for jobs. The exodus of unskilled peasants to the cities has led to the growth of vast squatter slum areas, or barrios around all of Venezuela’s cities.

The former peasants now in the urban cities formed the barrios. In this new social order those living in the barrio have discarded the former peasant loyalty to the established political parties and have become the most dissatisfied element. This is a constant variable.

On the other hand, Blank (1973) missed indigenous subculture in his classification of Venezuela’s subcultures. The amount of indigenous people is negligible in Venezuela and as Montoya (1996) analyzed they are not involved in political activities. This is an aspect where the government’s plan has not involved yet. If the number in total of these indigenous were higher than they actually are. They might represent a latent revolutionary movement in Venezuela.

IV- The Future of the System

The future of the Democracy

Venezuelan democracy faces four challenges in the future: maintaining organizational strength while opening the political space; reforming institutions to better reflect a more pluralistic civil society; stemming the decline in living standards and reversing the trend of
growing inequality; and dealing effectively with the ups and downs of the international economy on which Venezuela depends so heavily. Analyzing current situation in Venezuela we find that the first challenge: Organizational rebuilding and diversification are under way. Political parties such as COPEI and especially AD have reattached their party structures to their followers. Efforts have been made to decentralize nomination procedures and other internal party decision making procedures.

Regarding the second challenge, Venezuela has implemented some reforms plans during the late 1980s and the 1990s. However those reforms were focused only on the economic aspects. The reforms did not address social problems such as large inefficient bureaucracy, and lack of a fair redistribution of national revenues. Considering that the former peasants now in the urban cities formed the barrios have discarded the former peasant loyalty to the established political parties and have become the most dissatisfied element, the government should promote social welfare. Future reforms should address those issues in order to get a better government. The third and four challenges are related to an effective international trade policy. If the government succeeds in fairly redistributing petroleum profits, it may result in a better economic situation of the Marginal Urban, and Peasant subcultures.

The future of the Petro State

The President Chavez’s administration has encouraged private investment rather than the establishment of state-industries. No alternative products other than petroleum are accepted in the economic presidential plan. This situation might lead Venezuela to a more dependency. Dependency on foreign capital is a constant problem in the Petro State.
However, dependency may be managed by the executive in order to issue development policies aimed at creating new jobs which could be part of the petroleum industry. Venezuela counts on rich natural resources other than petroleum. Exploring alternative products other than petroleum, Venezuela may face its incredible unemployment rate and alleviate the economic situation of thousands of Venezuelans.

Ronald Sylvia and Constantine Danopoulos (2003) pointed out that there are two aspects of the Chavez foreign economic policy. First is Venezuela’s participation/leadership of OPEC (Organizations of Petroleum Exporting Countries) since Chavez took office. Second is Venezuela’s hemispheric and foreign policy initiatives and its attempts to spread Chavez-styled Bolivarism throughout Latin America. It seems that Chavez’s policy is not focusing in the promotion of alternative products industry. Focusing on alternative exports may alleviate economic situation of unemployed Venezuelans.

Scholars from the Terry Karl school, have considered that the petroleum industry might cause instability in Venezuelan democracy. The peculiar characteristics of the petro state (bloated bureaucracies, excessively autonomous leaders, endemic massive corruption, elitist institutions and truncated participation) make this particular democracy neither viable nor democratic. In order to be responsive to citizens’ necessities a fair redistribution of petroleum profits should be conducted. This redistribution may be done by taking into account the following elements. First, taking the perspective of the poor; Second, cooperation of the nation’s elite; and finally, finding a way of dealing with the technocrats who control the economic system. Current political situation shows us that by taking the perspective of the poor, Chavez is investing petroleum revenues in providing public’s needs such as health, education and jobs. So, from a concrete functional analysis we could point out that Chavez is
being accountable to the public. This situation has been the catalyst for the advent of a populist movement in favor of President Chavez. Indeed, Chavez is trying a government that represents the majority of Venezuelans. The future will tell us about the result of populism in Venezuela.

V. Conclusion

From the analysis above I may say that:

1- The political culture of Venezuela is a synthesis of traditional Latin America values with modern values, and with the adaptability of much of the nation’s social structure to the requirements of modernization.

2- In Venezuela, violence remains a political weapon for the unprestigious and politically underrepresented groups such as unskilled workers, barrio dwellers, and university students.

3- Effective political participation in contemporary Venezuela has taken two different forms: elections and violence.

4- The Punto Fljo Agreement of 1958, aimed to maintain democracy, is an important variable inside Venezuelan politics.

5- Venezuelan political parties enhanced the political capacity of civil society to undermine authoritarianism and the propensity of elites to deem political liberalization rational. They perform the crucial function of converting the multitudinous demands emanating from various groups and sectors of society into a manageable number of policy alternatives.

6- Agrarian Reforms caused deep social differences among Venezuelan peasantry. The former peasants now in the urban cities formed the barrios. In this new social order those living in the
*barrio* have discarded the former peasant loyalty to the established political parties and have become the most dissatisfied element. This is a constant variable.

7-Taking the perspective of the poor, President Chavez is investing petroleum money in providing public needs such as health, education and jobs. Thus, from a concrete functional analysis it could be said that Chavez is being accountable to the public.
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Endnotes


2 *Caudillo* is a word in Spanish that identifies a person who has military background and who not only represents mass interest but work to preserve it.


4 Huntington, p.65

5 Blank, p.59


9 This percentage is according to the Statistic data of the Electoral Committee of Venezuela, Datos estadisticos del registro electoral de 1968, and vol. 2: statistics Data of 1968 Elections.

10 Huntington, p.74.


13 Spanish administrators left the colonies largely in the hands of military commanders, *criollo* (a person of Spanish ancestry born in the Americas) politicians, and (in the absence of the central control of imperial government) caudillos who led warring factions against each other in anarchic societies searching for “a harmonious, non-competitive social blueprint that can be imposed from the top.


15 According to National Surveys, in 1973, a moment of economic optimism and consolidation of the post-1958 democratic political regime, 62 percent held that there were occasions when coups were justified; in 1993 following a decade of economic and political decay, only 46 percent shared that sentiment. Thus, Venezuelans supported coups less in the abstract after thirty-five years of Punto Fijo democracy (Agreement signed by all Venezuelan political parties aimed to maintain Democracy) than after fifteen years, even though conditions were more disappointing.

16 “Golpe” is the word in Spanish for “coups”.


18 *The Punto Fijo Pact* is a political agreement signed by all Venezuelan’s political parties, but the left, in order to maintain democracy in Venezuela.

19 Important Political Parties: AD, COPEI, signed the puntofijista pact.

Huntington, 275


The last census was taken in 2001 (please see [http://www.sisov.mpd.gov.ve/cgibin/RpWebEngine.exe/PortalAction](http://www.sisov.mpd.gov.ve/cgibin/RpWebEngine.exe/PortalAction)) however it does not show racial identity rates. It shows the rate for “indigenous” people but it does not show the big population of “mestizo” and “mulattos” who are the biggest rate in Venezuela.

The term *mestizo* comes from the Spanish word *mezclar*, to mix, and it its used to describe offspring of Indian and Europeans unions.

The term *mulatto* is used to describe offspring of negro and Europeans unions.
30 Blank, p.62


32 Huntington, p.390

33 Blank, p.47.


37 According to Tugwell, dependency involves a misperception of the forces at work and do little to clarify the range of alternatives open to policymakers.


Orlanda Amarilis: the short-story and female authorship

This paper focuses on the story-story, the genre’s main characteristics and its reception by literary criticism. In a brief introduction I explore the arguments of Poe, H. G. Wells and Julie Brown, the editor of American Women Short Story Writers: a collection of critical essays (New York: Garland Publications, 200), which converge on the idea that what defines a short-story is its length and not its themes.

Orlanda Amarilis published three collections of short-stories so she is one of the most representative writers of this genre in the context of Cape Verdean literature. Thirteen out of the sixteen published stories focus on women characters (MacNab, 1987), so the question is therefore necessary: can her writing be considered feminine or feminist? The difference between these two forms of writing constitutes the main textual corpus of the paper. Feminist writing proclaims women’s social rights in modern society. It derives from the feminist movement re-emerged with Betty Friedan’s The Feminine Mystique (1963). On the contrary, feminine writing is interior, comes from the inside experience and possesses a peculiar trait which makes it particularly emotional. It is a female, hence more delicate and
intimate, perspective of the surrounding reality without any political or activist intention. When appropriate, some of Amarilis’ stories which can be found in *Cais do Sodré té Salamansa* (1974) are brought to discussion as well as the author’s own views on these matters.

Finally, it is raised the question of whether a man has the ability to write from a feminine perspective. As a result, his writing would be considered feminine. António Aurélio Gonçalves is highlighted as the contemporary Cape Verdean writer who better understood the meaning of feminine writing and achieved it in one single story out of his numerous *noveletas*: ‘Pródiga’ (Noite de Vento, (SI: Instituto Caboverdeano do Livro, 1985).

**Orlanda Amarilis:** the short-story and female authorship

The short story is a genre that somehow has been disregarded by literary critics. When I say disregarded I do not mean ignored. Obviously, there have been some explanatory studies which aimed for the understanding of the short story, its goals and its role in literature. However, if we compare these studies to the ones made about novels, we immediately understand how marginalized the short story critic has been. When studying this genre, critics tend to refer names as Virginia Woolf, James Joyce and D. H. Lawrence, all of them magnificent story tellers. However, these approaches tend to focus on male story telling and rarely on female writers. In *American Women Short Story Writers: a collection of critical essays* this tendency is reversed as all matters regarding female short story’s writers are exploited and questioned.¹

In the introduction, the critic and editor Julie Brown draws the origins of the short story. According to her, this genre can be traced back to Boccaccio’s work *Decameron* or

Chaucer’s ‘The Canterbury Tales’.\textsuperscript{2} She points out that the earliest short stories are always attributed to men and quotes Somerset Maugham’s opinion on the matter:

\begin{quote}
It is natural for men to tell tales, and I suppose the short story was created in the night of time when the hunter […] narrated by the cavern fire some fantastic incident he had heard of.\textsuperscript{3}
\end{quote}

I believe women have always played an important role in story telling. I am thinking specifically in the secular feminine tradition of telling old stories to young daughters, stories which these women had heard from their mothers; stories which normally tended to be about a charming prince that fell in love with a simple and honest girl, the common Cinderela tale that has been passing throughout several generations. Maybe it is not that important to assert who actually began this process, but there is no doubt that it is, in fact, an ancient one.

Edgar Allan Poe, amongst other writings, published some studies on this matter. In his “Review of Twice-Told Tales”, Poe alludes to ‘the unity of effect or impression [that] is a point of the greatest importance. It is clear, moreover, that this unity cannot be thoroughly preserved in productions whose perusal cannot be completed at one sitting.’\textsuperscript{4} Poe’s main argument had to do with the narrative’s length. If the story is too long to be read in a couple of hours, inevitably ‘worldly interests intervening during the pauses of perusal, modify, annul, or counteract, in a greater or less degree, the impressions of a book’ and therefore it would ‘be sufficient to destroy the true unity’ of it.\textsuperscript{5} This opinion is also shared by H. G. Wells who, as quoted by Valerie Shaw, stated that “in order to produce its ‘one single vivid effect’ [Poe’s words], the short story must seize the attention at the outset, and never relaxing, gather it together more and more until the

\textsuperscript{2} \textit{idem}: Introduction by Julie Brown, p. XVIII.
\textsuperscript{3} \textit{idem}: ibidem. Maugham’s words have already been cited in Valerie Shaw’s work \textit{The Short Story: a critical introduction} (London: Longman, 1983), from whom Brown quotes directly.
\textsuperscript{5} \textit{idem}: p. 61.
climax is reached. [It must] explode and finish before interruption occurs or fatigue sets in.”

Poe and Wells’ reflections on the short story seem to convey the following: the most relevant characteristic of the genre is a result of its length and not of its hypothetical standard themes or narrative techniques. Both in Poe’s article or in H. G. Wells’ quoted words there are no references to the short stories’ main themes. Indeed these can vary according to the author, his historical and cultural context and the message he wishes to transmit.


In the words of David Brookshaw, she ‘exploits both story telling techniques […] as well as the favourite themes of oral tales – the supernatural, the proximity of the world of the living and the world of the dead.’

It is undeniable that most of Amarilis’ short stories focus on women or, as Brookshaw puts it, ‘portray with sensitive insight the plight of women.’

Gregory MacNab believes it is significant that thirteen out of the sixteen short-stories Amarilis has published focus on the female experience.

The question is, therefore, necessary: is her writing feminine or feminist? In order to understand the difference between these two terms, I shall begin by quoting Regina Barreca’s words:

[Women’s short stories] often depict the lives of women who would be considered perfectly ordinary because they have gone through much of their lives not calling attention to themselves; however they are actually extraordinary women whose dreams, ambitions, desires and rages have been suppressed.

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8 *idem*: ibidem.
9 Gregory MacNab, Sexual Difference: The subjecton of women in two stories by Orlanda Amarilis, Luso-Brazilian-Review, Madison WI (LBR), 1987.
Let us bear in mind that Barreca is referring to feminine writing as it depicts a woman’s microcosm, especially her inner feelings, desires, frustrations and sorrows. The fact that the author herself is a woman may not be arbitrary and the question of how good could a male writer write about women can be raised. I will deal with this question further on. At the moment, I shall focus on the issue of a woman writing about women and how feminine or feminist may her work be considered. Clare Hanson has a word to say about female authorship:

The short story is the preferred form for those women writers who have what in conventional terms would be viewed as a 'squint vision'. Such writers see things differently from men—hence the potential charge of distortion. They also express what would otherwise remain hidden: a sense of alienation from dominant culture and ideology which may be frightening in its intensity.11

Hanson’s opinion reinforces the idea that a woman, as a sensitive being whose main trait is a ‘squint vision’ of the world has a privileged position to narrate the stories of what we could call a minority. By minority I refer to women alienated from the ‘dominant culture’, that is men’s. Minority here does not stand for factual numbers but for general influence on today’s world. Modern societies are male dominated and Cape Verde is no exception, on the contrary, it is a vivid example of it. Men rule and women play a secondary role when it comes to the making of important decisions. Feeling somehow cast aside from their own society, some women may develop a literary sympathy to portray their reality through a more sensitive and necessarily female way. When the female author chooses to focus on women the result is feminine writing. We may wonder why Orlanda Amarílis decided to highlight mainly women’s lives and not men’s. Is it because she is a woman or is there another reason? I am convinced that, as a Cape Verlean female author, and bearing in mind the post-independence context, she found to be her mission to write about the women of her islands. As she puts it in an interview to Michel Laban:

11 Re-reading the Short Story, edited by Clare Hanson (Basingstoke: Macmillian, 1989), p. 5.
Throughout her stories she reveals two different realities both concerning Cape Verdean women: the emigrant woman, her hard work, her nostalgia or pride when thinking of the island she has left; and the woman who remains in Cape Verde, land of emigrants, most of them men, leaving a great number of women behind who had to deal with each other and also with the notorious lack of men. Being a woman was definitely an important condition for her to approach the female part of society. As important is women’s situation on the islands after men’s departure: the competition for male affection, for example, is quite a recurrent theme. We see this in ‘Esmola de Merca’ as two young women compete for the attention of their white boss. In the end, one gets upset with the other, revealing that ultimately friendship is not as relevant as finding a man. At a greater extend, the life of Mindelo’s people in this story is symptomatic of a much wider competition as their struggle for some new clothes and food becomes violent and extremely competitive. It is not a happy picture Orlanda Amarilis is depicting. On the contrary, it is a truthful sketch of how desperate those men and women were in the past, and how selfish and inconsiderate human mankind can be when in great need.

The female protagonist of ‘Desencanto’ is the prototype of some Cape Verdean women who, living in the metropolis, have lost all hopes of a happy life. She is immersed in a heavy daily routine which denies her the dream life she has wished for. As a woman, Amarilis understands the female children imaginary so she is able to focus on the exact opposite and, most important, she manages to truthfully convey the intimate frustration of an angel’s fall. Using the stream of consciousness with such

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13 Both ‘Esmola de Merca’ and ‘Desencanto’ are part of Cais do Sodré tê Salamansa (Linda-a-Velha: ALAC, 1991).
verisimilitude is one of Amarilis great strength. She combines this narrative technique with her own personal feminine perception which enables her to tell the story from the inside of her female characters and not from an exterior and considerably more superficial perspective.

Feminine shouldn’t be mistaken by feminist. The feminist movement consists in proclaiming women’s rights in society, such as universal suffrage and equal working opportunities. The movement’s aims are to make women achieve identical social roles as men and stop sexual discrimination. These political ideas have nothing to do with Orlanda Amarilis’ short stories. In an extremely honest comment, the writer clarifies this difference:

Olhe, meu amigo, as feministas lutam por igualdade de oportunidades, por acesso a cargos e outras actividades onde os homens estão em maioria e ainda por remunerações ideais em trabalhos onde há discriminação salarial. Neste momento eu queria apenas isto: Ser homem em Portugal para poder, ao voltar do trabalho, não ter de me preocupar com tachos e panelas.14

It is clear that she is not trying to achieve more social rights to the women characters she depicts. Her goal is to highlight their simple and ordinary lives, their power to multiply in mother, wife, woman and worker in such a way that would make the reader reflect on how great in courage and strength they are. Thus, her literary purpose may be identified with Portuguese Neo-Realism, which main objective was to create a thinker reader, a reader who would reflect on the social matters portrayed in a narrative.

Finally, the ultimate question I would like to approach: can a man write in a feminine way? Could he be able to exhibit the characteristics of what a female perception of the world is like? We may immediately think this is not possible, especially due to human nature innate differences which are the main responsible for each one’s awareness of the surrounding reality. When reading carefully Cape Verdean literature we acknowledge that, although it is not an easy task, it can be done. Going through the collection of short stories Noite de Vento (1985),

the reader may be deceived about its author. It is indeed a man, António Aurélio Gonçalves. His greater strength is the detail he conveys in the characterization of female characters. He narrates both the stream of consciousness and the actual conversations of women of all ages (from the child in ‘Biluca’ to the elderly in ‘Miragem’) with great accuracy. By focussing on oral and popular registers, Gonçalves describes with a high level of truthfulness Mindelo’s colloquial tone that can be heard in the spontaneity of the streets. ‘Virgens Loucas’, ‘Biluca’, ‘Burguezinha’ and ‘Miragem’ are some examples of the writer’s ability to describe some women’s daily routine which is shaken by some casual episode. To describe, however, is quite different from to express or to transmit. In my opinion, Gonçalves masters feminine writing only once and this happens in ‘Pródiga’. The stream of consciousness of both Xandinha and her mother, nha Ludovina, is remarkable for the emotions it conveys. None of the previous writers from the islands had gone so far towards feminine writing. Gonçalves manages to express absolute and exclusive female feelings of rejection but what makes this story even more extraordinary is the situation in which the narrator places himself in: he is in between the sorrows resulting from a vivid discussion between a mother and a daughter. The result is an emotional expression of female characteristics: Xandinha’s pride standing in front of nha Ludovina’s door, combined with a childish wish of embracing her mother; the latter’s feeling of embarrassment when confronted with her daughter’s deviant behaviours and, in the end, the apparent cold-shoulder they give to each other when in fact what they want is to fall in the other’s arms. It is certainly a challenge for a male writer to depict so candidly such a delicate and much female universe. Gonçalves has done it and, although ‘Pródiga’ is the only one which fits adequately in feminine writing premises, the others constitute some minor examples of successful women’s characterization ever attempted by a Cape Verdean male writer. This is perhaps the best comparison I may establish in order to make my point about feminine and feminist writing. The author may be a man, but the
perspective he adopts in writing is a female one. Therefore his narrative is predominantly feminine.

With her first collection of short stories, Cais do Sodré té Salamansa, Orlanda Amarilis inscribes her name in the Cape Verdean literature’s pantheon. Although there are, and were, other female writers from the islands, Amarilis is the first one to receive a huge applause from the critics, not only in Cape Verde but throughout the literary world.

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Abstract
The social arrangements surfing communities construct to govern the commons of the surf break have been largely ignored by scholars. However, these arrangements offer a unique and interesting subject for scrutiny using Ostrom’s (1994, 2005) Institutional Analysis and Design framework and analytical frameworks in the emerging literature on the robustness of social institutions (e.g., Anderies et al. 2004). Such analysis suggests that the institutions of traditional surfing communities are fragile and vulnerable to destabilization and disintegration. Insights from gang theory help explain why and how crowding, commercialization, and cultural change are undermining the traditional institutions of surfing communities.
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Peace Corps and the Demise of Communism: from Containment to a Commitment to Development.

From the end of 1989 through 1991, the world witnessed a series of events that had strong impact on the geopolitics of the world. The destruction of the Berlin wall, the independence of the Baltic Republics (Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia) followed later by the collapse of the Soviet Union are among others, events that would hurry the end of the Cold War. Different interpretations have been made of this event. Some talk about the end of history, but one of the most important interpretation is that of the victory of the capitalistic west over communism. This theory is usually referred to according Allen Hunter as the ‘Vindicationist’ scholarship¹. Hunter believes that:

“The vindicationist’s interpretation of cold war history is the official national history. As President George bush put it in his January 1990 state of the Union address, ‘for more than 40 years, American and its allies held communism in check and ensured that democracy would continue to exist.” In December 1992 bush even more expansively proclaimed, ‘the Soviet Union did not simply lose the Cold War. The Western democracies won it. I say this not to gloat nut to make a key point. The qualities that enabled us to triumph in that struggle—faith, strength, unity, and above all, American leadership are those we must call upon now to win in peace.’²

On the same line of thought, Paul D. Coverdall, the former Director of the Peace Corps observed, “the Cold war has ended and that totalitarianism was clearly the loser. As a general observation about the world, he adds that:

“ We are entering a new era in world history- an era that is both exciting and perilous. Democracy and free enterprise may eventually prove to be the dominant political and economic forces on the globe.”³

¹ Allen Hunter, “The Limits of Vindicationist Scholarship,” in Rethinking the Cold War, Temple University Press (Philadelphia, 1998): “In the vindicationist interpretation the end of the Cold War demonstrates the superiority of the American political and economic system, not only because we won but because our former enemies now embrace our economic and political values. The world is better off because the United States met the challenge.” P.2
² ibid, p.3
Whatever the thesis, it is clear that things are no more the same in Eastern Europe nor are they in the former Soviet Union where the economy is down and the population is striving for a better life.

It is sometime very useful for scholars to read the history of a country through its representational institutions; they could be sources of enough information. A good illustration of this assertion is that of the U.S Peace Corps, whose recent history tells a lot about the contemporary evolution of the US foreign policy. Through its evolution, the Peace Corps reveals the rise of the United State as a global power and its victory over communism at the end of the Cold War.

Created on March 1st, 1961 by the Executive Order 10924 on a temporary basis, the Peace Corps was perceived by many observers as an instrument of the Cold War. More than a decade after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the supposedly acknowledged end of the Cold War, the organization still exist, operating in many countries even in the former soviet union and what was perceived as a its zone of influence that is the Eastern European countries.

Such a striking survival is in a way due to a flexible policy that had permitted the organization to overcome internal, as well as national and international difficulties regarding its missions and its activities.

It is undeniable that in a large part the Peace Corps was integrated in the guiding principle of the US postwar foreign policy, which was the policy of containment of communism. As a matter of fact the organization can be rightly perceived as a strategy of the Cold war. But the problems attached to the creation of the organization, the fight for its independence added to the treaty signed with the
CIA have soon made the organization a very special instrument of the US foreign relations more oriented to people-to-people cooperation whose main purpose was to promote understanding among nations on a bilateral basis.

It should be remarked that former Soviet Union ideological expansion, which followed the Second World War and its domination over the Eastern Europe, led the US government to adopt a foreign policy known since the publication of the famous Mister X’s article in 1947, as containment. The antagonism between the two superpowers and the will to have zones of influence created what was commonly denominated the Cold War. It was a situation of no overt bloody conflict between the communist Soviet Union and the United States, whose ideology was based on the tradition of western capitalistic democracy. The corollary of those rivalry and ideological antagonism at the strategic level was the arm race between the West and the East chiefly between the Soviet Union and the United States. It ensued a general fear of nuclear war and the perception of nuclear powers as monsters.

That was the general socio-political context that prevailed on the eve of the presidential elections of the 1960’s in the United States where the administration was accused of having but a monolithic view in foreign policy and lack of purpose. To play a leadership role, America needed to redefine relations with the emerging nations.

That argument played strongly in the idea of the creation of the Peace Corps. Alarmed by his visit to South Asia in 1951, Kennedy then senator perceived that the prestige of the USA was fading away in the third world and that in his cooperation with third world countries, the Soviet Union was depicting the United States as a
As an alternative he would suggest that the youth help the US to play its leadership role that is his in the changing world by devoting part of their life to service for the nation through volunteerism. The reaction of the youth to this idea made of it an issue of election during the presidential of the 1960’s. The Peace Corps would be created after Kennedy became president. Its objective as stated in section 2 of the Executive Order 10924 is as follows:

“The peace corps shall be responsible for the training and service abroad of men and women of the United States in new programs of assistance to nations and areas of the world, and in conjunction with or in support of existing economic assistance programs of the United States and the United Nations and other international organizations.”

It is interesting to notice the neutral tone used in the above-cited text. The phrase “new programs of assistance to nations and areas of the world” suggests certain ideological and political neutrality and a lack of segregation in the choice of host countries, even though most of the countries in which the Peace Corps operates were third world countries. The text shows that the organization, from its inception, is opened to any nation of the world that would be in need. Nevertheless in reading the text between the line, it appeared that Peace Corps follows the new orientation the president wanted to give the American diplomacy, that is, instead of a strict conformism to the traditional East and West geopolitics of the world born out of world war II, the Us should include the rising nation of the third world and add a North-South dimension to that diplomacy; hence the use of the phrase ‘economic

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4 Executive Order 10924, Establishment and Administration of the Peace Corps in the Department of State, March 1, 1961, <http://www.nara.gov/fedreg/061961k.html>
assistance’. In general, assistance is given to people or nations in need. This explain
why the first group of volunteers was sent to third world countries, newly
independent nations who were in need of skilled, well trained human resources to fill
the emptiness created by the departure of the colonial administration.

The text is also on the same line as most of President Kennedy’s public
declarations. From his inauguration, Kennedy was aware of the changes in the world.

He declared:

“The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the
power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of life. And yet the
same revolutionary beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue
around the globe—the belief that the rights of man come not from the
generosity of the state but from the hand of God.” [5]

This reference to God betrays the influence of religious volunteerism on the creation
of the Peace Corps. It will become more vivid when soon he announced the
humanitarian character of the organization’s mission:

“To those people in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break
the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help
themselves, for whatever period is required—not because the communists
may be doing it not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a
free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who
are rich.”[Inaugural] [6]

Even thought the humanitarian mission prevails, the reference to ‘communists’ place
the organization back to the Cold War context. Nevertheless, the Peace Corps was
conceived to favor people-to-people contacts over governmental relations.

Kennedy did express it clearly in the statement upon signing the order that:

“Our peace corps is not designed as an instrument of diplomacy or
propaganda or ideological conflict. It is designed to permit our people to

5 “President Kennedy’s Inaugural Address” in President Kennedy’s Program, Congressional Quarterly
Service, May 1961:1
6 ibid
exercise more fully their responsibilities in the great common cause of world development.”

The purpose was to give the American people, chiefly the youth a sense of their mission of leadership in the world by devoting part of their life to the fight against poverty, hence the famous declaration:

“And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country. My fellow citizens of the world; ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.”

In light of the historical context and the above cited text, it can be inferred that the strength of the Peace Corps and its adaptability to the evolution of time came from the fact that it is an organization whose mission was apolitical and whose birth is part of the American cultural tradition of humanism that is why it has succeeded since its first years to maintain a national consensus. Its preference of people to people cooperation made it acceptable to the host countries.

But beside this political reading of the Peace Corps creation, the organization bears in its creation the whole story and identity of an era, the sixties. Elizabeth Hoffman gives a better understanding of this link with the sociology of the sixties.

Elizabeth Hoffman argument is that the Peace Corps is the best illustration of what happened in America in the sixties both at cultural and political levels. As she wrote ‘At its inception the Peace corps told Americans what was best about their country and about the 1960’s: the promise of youth, the New Frontier envisioned by John F. Kennedy, the humanitarian impulses of the United States, the pioneer spirit

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8 Kennedy’s Inaugural, op. cit.
reborn, and the persistence of America’s democratizing “mission.” 9 She further mentions that “it symbolized what America wanted to be, and what much of the world wanted America to be: superhero, protector of the disenfranchised, defender of the democratic faith. 10

After the postwar economic affluence gained by the US, the country underwent by the late fifties and the beginning sixties, a cycle of contestation and rejections of mass culture. Hoffman relates these movements to influence of existentialism. According to Hoffman the impact of the existentialist philosophy could be seen through he social contestation and the widely acceptable movement of volunteerism either in the USA or in other Western countries.

The existentialism emphasizes individuals as the ends and not as the means. Hoffman explains: “ existentialism demanded that people should be treated as ends, not means, and that the individuals responsibility and creativity be defended.” 11 Therefore she thinks that “ the voluntary heroic act, undertaken with love and honesty, was the only salvation for modern man and woman.” 12 Applied to the United States, it increased the sense of responsibility among young Americans. As she explains: “Existentialism increased a commitment to individual responsibility among young Americans. To deny a person responsibility (as in denying students their responsibility for the Peace Corps) could be equated with denying their full personhood. For Americans, and perhaps especially males of the period, existentialism resonated as well with the notion of proving oneself. Since the frontier

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10 ibid.
11 ibid.,p.30
12 ibid, p.30
was gone and since weapons of mass destruction seemed to make war unthinkable, other opportunities for acting manfully had to be manufactured.\textsuperscript{13} This cultural explanation is completed by a political justification which makes of the Peace Corps an organization contemporary of the Cold War and the decolonization.

In fact those two major themes influenced the International politics during the sixties. Hoffman placed the Peace Corps in the overall US Cold War policy. Quoting George Kennan, she wrote that the Soviet Union in those years was perceived as “committed fanatically to the belief… that it is desirable and necessary that the internal harmony of our society be disrupted, our traditional way of life be destroyed, the international authority of our state be broken.”\textsuperscript{14}

The Kennan article has had a strong impact on U.S foreign policy in the postwar years. Soviet threat was taken seriously

Thus it is with pertinence that Hoffman concludes that the United States would spend the remaining part of the twentieth century and much of its wealth to meet the Soviet threat.

Another important international issue that influenced the creation of the organization was Decolonization. By the end of World War II, many nations of the southern hemisphere began to express their need for self-determination. From the fifties through sixties the, many African, Asian countries have successful for or negotiated their independence. The proclamation of the independence of India in 1947 launched the process of decolonization, which compelled the US to rewrite the maps of the world. Yet “the US government recognized decolonization as an

\textsuperscript{13} ibid, p.31
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid, p.89
important event in its own right: But most of the officials, politicians and military men responsible for US security were nevertheless drawn to read almost all phenomena by the light of the Soviet threat."\textsuperscript{15}

Despite the claim that the Peace Corps was not and should not be an instrument of foreign policy, its strategic importance could not be denied. Hoffman argues that the Peace Corps is part of the Cold War policy coupled with Kennedy’s belief that the US need a more effective competition with the Soviet Union for ‘the allegiance of the newly independent countries.’ As a matter of fact, in compliance with Walter Hixson’s opinion that between 1945 and 1961 the U.S. governments had come to recognize that cultural diplomacy could “transcend governments and reach the masses of people”, she argues that ‘the Peace corps used culture-to-culture diplomacy to make friends in nations that had little inherent power but that could without warning become theaters of the cold war.”\textsuperscript{16} She contends that by creating the Peace Corps, “Kennedy looked East, South, and West. She thinks that it was “a counter move against the soviets and a gesture of friendship toward the Third World.”\textsuperscript{17} Undoubtedly it would not be exaggerated to ray that the Peace Corps played in the rise of the US to globalism. Rice supports this argument when he argues that the creation of the Peace Corps by President Kennedy was an important act that promotes mutual understanding between the United States and the rest of the world especially the third world.

Rice believed that it gave the Americans chiefly the youth of that era a new hope. In his word “Vietnam scarred the American psyche, leaving memories of pain

\textsuperscript{15} ibid, p.90
\textsuperscript{16} ibid, 91
\textsuperscript{17} ibid
and defeat. But Kennedy’s other initiative inspired, and continued to inspire, hope and understanding among Americans and the rest of the world. In that sense, the Peace Corps was his most affirmative and enduring legacy.”

For him the creation of the Peace Corps was mostly suggested by the missionaries’ example and by in the government actions’ history by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) created by President Franklin Roosevelt during the depression. But he noticed that the CCC was more national while its ideals resemble that of the Peace Corps.

The denomination of the organization as the Peace Corps was justified by the general postwar context of nuclear threat, which engendered fear all over the world. To change the perception of America as a bellicist country, the government need to initiate a policy which was different from the traditional diplomatic cooperation which the candidate Kennedy criticized for not being effective in giving a good image of America abroad thereby leaving way to the Soviet to reinforce the negative perception of the US by the third world countries.

But if generally speaking the organization is seen as a piece of art of President Kennedy, according to Rice it is a product of the combination of the ideas of three talents: Hubert Humphrey, Henry Reuss in the 50’s and President Kennedy in the sixties.

Explaining the conditions in which it has been created, Rice contends that three streams of interest have contributed to the acceptance of the idea of its creation.

These include:

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18 Gerard T Rice *The Bold Experiment: JFK’s Peace Corps* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, c.1985), ix
Kennedy’s visit in 1951 in Asia, which “persuaded him that nationalism was the most vital political emotion in the Third World.” According to Rice, Kennedy believed that the most important test of US foreign policy in those days was its ability to meet the challenges of imperialism. He noticed that Kennedy criticized the Eisenhower administration for focusing too much on the Western Europe countries.

From the launching of the idea of such organization to the actual creation, Rice noticed that the idea has gained support from a large part of the population, an illustration of the humanitarian value in American culture.

A second stream of interest in which this idea fell was Kennedy’s determination to reinvigorate US foreign aid by differentiating the aid as provided to Western Europe and the type of aid that should be provided for developing countries. Rice noticed that in the perception of Kennedy the Western Europe countries have already the structure for and expanding economic development whereas the southern, Third World countries technical and educational assistance was more important.

The third stream of interest was the belief of President Kennedy that America has a global mission. That is the United States has the duty to share its democratic virtues with other peoples especially the poverty-stricken masses of the third world.

Once created, the organization was set with three goals: the first goal was to make the difference by providing trained manpower to the nations in need. The second goal, which is in the streamline of the people-to-people cooperation, is to make the Americans understood by foreign citizens. That is to change the traditional image foreigners have of the American through movies and television or the image of

\[19 \text{ ibid, 23}\]
the tourist. The third goals completes the above cited is to educate the Americans about their way of seen foreigners and foreign countries. 20

Like any new idea and any human actions, the Peace Corps did not operate in the most ideal and peaceful context as its name might suggest it. Assessing the first decade of the organization, Rice notices three categories of problems can be noticed in the operation of the first period: the fight for the independence of the organization on financial level, the reaction of host countries which in general were afeard of the infiltration of the CIA and the behavior of the volunteer.

After a long period of divergence on the issue whether the Peace Corps should be subsumed by the AID, on May 1, 1961 it was decided that the Peace Corps should be organized as a semi-autonomous unit of the States Department.

One of the problems encountered in the first decade of the Peace Corps was the comportment of the volunteer in the host countries. Rice allude to this cultural shock in a rather peculiar way when he cite the incident of the post card which nearly prejudiced the existence of the organization and almost threatened its international credibility as an apolitical organization. 21 In fact what happened was one of the volunteer in function in Nigeria sent a postcard to her boyfriend describing how the population where living in the street, the lost card would be found by student at the University of Ibadan who, after having read the postcard accused the volunteer to be spies.

21 Rice, op cit, 241-244.
Those were in fact the major issues of concern of the Peace Corps in the first
decade. Overall Rice thinks that the first decade was very important in the existence
of the organization. He says: “the Peace Corps was never to recapture the vigor and
enthusiasm that characterized it in the Kennedy years.” 22. David maintains that the
first generation of the volunteers was the brightest and the best ever since the
evolution of the organization. A much laudatory assessment that David P. Searles did
not share. Searles believes on the contrary that the adoption of the New Directions
policy under the Nixon’s administration gave a new vigor to the policy of the Peace
Corps.

As a former director of the regional Peace Corps in Philippines, Searles argues
that most of the literatures produced on the Peace Corps are more focused on the
Washington headquarters of the organization. He thinks that to have an understanding
of the organization and of how it works, there is the need to consider the works of the
local bureau.

He explains that: “the literature of the peace corps is either volunteer-centered,
concentrating on the experience of an individual or at most a few volunteers, or
Washington-centered and concerned with the larger issues of history, politics, and
public perception.” He asserts than there is a need to explore a third aspect of the
Peace Corps experience: the operational policies and procedures meant to transform a
basic resource (volunteers) into a force capable of achieving the organization’s three
goals. 23

22 ibid, 300.
University Press of Kentucky, c1997), 71.
After a general survey of the first decade of the organization, that is the sixties, Searles notices that a special credit should be given to the impact of the Nixon policy on the organization and the positive result the changes brought in the organization by the policy of New Directions. Searles listed the five most important points that the ‘New Directions’ was made up:

- The volunteer’s job must be more beneficial to the country,
- The volunteer must possess the required skill to do the job,
- The partnership of with the host countries,
- Multinational effort in volunteerism,
- And the greater use of volunteers when they return back home, to address the nation’s internal needs.

Drawing from his experience as a regional director, he observes that because of its realities, the Philippines is a typical example of how the policy has been applied in other Third World countries.

He thinks that the major implication of the new directions’s policy for the Philippines was the realignment of the Peace Corps programming priorities so that they could correspond to those of the Philippines government.

Searles argues that in general “New Directions shifted Peace emphasis to involvement in areas of agriculture and social development in line with contemporary economic development theory.” Consequently for developing countries like the Philippines a policy of self-sufficiency in food production would be advocated. Searles notices that if a poor nation must use most of its hard currency to purchase

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24 ibid, 75.
food, it cannot make the essential investment in infrastructure development that must precede any measurable improvement in economic activity.  

In the case of the Philippines the volunteer were more useful in the “delivery of service designed to increase agricultural production and to address basic diet and health concerns at local level.

For example the agricultural sector of the Peace corps program eventually came to include project in livestock and poultry husbandry, the production of rice and other foodstuff, the delivery of credit to small farmers and the development of small scale fish farming industry.  

Searles explains that the concentration on the regional bureau of the organization must not shift the attention from the core role of the Washington Bureau. He asserts that the Washington bureau is important in four major areas: recruiting the volunteers, funding the organization and sanction the volunteers when needed.

Assessing the role of the Peace Corps he notices that it change the volunteer and improved the way ordinary citizens of the worldview Americans (different from what they knew about the movie actors and the image of the tourist.)

In economic and social development, Searles argues that for some reasons appropriate to third world countries, the impact of the Peace Corps cooperation cannot be assessed. But he notices at macro level that, first it “has increased the body of knowledge that informs the development process and second it has created a cadre of development professionals working in the Third world” (Searles p.217)  

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25 ibid
26 ibid, 78.
27 ibid, 217
Moreover it provided “formative international development experience for a number of experts and professionals in the fields.”

If Searles think the new directions policy that came from the incorporation of the organization in Action was beneficial to the Peace corps, Rice in “the Peace corps in the eighties argues that it “whatever the relative merits and demerits of this new move, there is no question that within the ACTION bureaucracy, the Peace Corps lost much of its autonomy and visibility. [Rice peace in the 80’s, p.7] thus it is with a certain relief that he would rejoice the independence regained by the organization in December 1981 under the direction of Loret Ruppe who believed that by the mid 80’that the peace corps is more popular than ever.

At the end of the eighties and the beginning of the nineties, the world was undergoing a significant transformation. The arrival of Gorbatchev in power since 1985 in USSR with his adoption of the policy of glasnost and perestroika would create a different context for internal political claims in Soviet Union. Internationally, it will engender an atmosphere more favorable to the negotiation on a certain number of issues concluding that of the German reunification in a short run the Berlin wall will be destroyed followed by many other important act that undoubtedly announced the end of an era, the end of the bipolarization of Europe and the world that followed world war two. Like many transformations the transition from a socialist order to that of a free market could not be done without socio-economic and political problem. In most of the former Eastern European countries the economic situation was destroyed and it became more and more difficult for the average citizen to meet ends.

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28 ibid, 219.
In short these countries felt in a slight level of comparison as in the same situation the western European countries were in the post war period when the Marshall plan was adopted and that of the third world countries after the decolonization.

In Western Europe the Marshall plan was adopted to give a hand and help those nation rebuild their whole economy and political institutions. In the sixties the US would create the peace with the Kennedy administration to give another direction to US foreign policy and foreign aid by emphasizing the cooperation with the third world nation.

Somehow the comparison here does show some nuances, if not visible differences, that make the situation of the Eastern European countries more peculiar. In fact unlike the situation of the third world countries that lacked many socio-political and administrative infrastructures, Eastern European countries are different in that these structures existed already and did not need a new personnel. The existing personnel simply need to acquire the appropriate skill to face the transition from a socialist economy to a market economy.

That is why the western nations including the US felt the moral obligation to help former Soviet Union and the eastern European countries including Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and others to ease their transition. It is in this general climate that the Peace Corps will join the international community effort to ease the transition in those countries. This effort was recognized and encouraged in a report by the General Accounting Office in. after having recognized the historical opportunity the end of the cold war presented for the Peace Corps to intervene in Eastern Europe, the
report highlights as evidence of its involvement some of the first projects initiated in
the that part of the world.

“The end of the Cold War presented the Peace Corps with a historic opportunity: For the first time, the countries of the former Eastern bloc became open to Western economic and technical assistance. In July 1989 the president announced that the Peace Corps volunteers would teach English in Hungary. Shortly thereafter, new program were started in Poland and Czechoslovakia, then successively throughout Central and Eastern Europe. In December 1991, the Secretary of State announced that he would like to see at least 250 volunteers placed in the states of the former Soviet Union by the end of 1992. From 1989 through 1993 the peace Corps established 18 new programs throughout central and Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union.” P. 2

The question we are entitled to ask here is why does this official document talk about historic opportunity. An intervention of the Peace Corps in Eastern Europe is subject to many interpretations due to the historical context of its birth and the international implications its existence had in its first decade that is the sixties when the Cold War was at one of its most critical moments with Kennedy and Crutches. The ideological conflict that preceded and edulcorated its existence in the first decade, justifies in large part the above assertion which in fact is simply a reflection of what some scholars like Allen Hunter called the vindicationist school who interpret the event of the end of the eighties as a victory of the capitalistic west over the socialist eastern Europe and also as an embrace by the latter of the American economic and political value. Of course sending volunteers might not be perceived as an embrace by the former socialists (or communist) of the western values but its more meaningful as it

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implicitly denotes the weakness of the former system which in a way could not make it through the twentieth century.

As to corroborate the thesis of the vindicationist, the legal document signed by the Peace Corps and the former communist countries above listed bears some phrases that are in agreement with the idea that US ‘formenemies now embrace’ its ‘economic and political values’.

In the Agreement signed by the Peace Corps with the Czechoslovakia Republic, it is sated in article 1 paragraph 2:

“The volunteers shall work under the immediate supervision of Czechoslovak government governmental or private organization designated by mutual agreement between the Peace Corps representative and competent Czechoslovak authorities.”

The interesting thing about this article, if there is a need to remind the reader, is that it shows the changes that occurred in the socio-economic structures of the countries. In fact it recognized the competence of ‘private organization’, an act that was not conceivable decades before then. It explains that the Czech are now open to a market economy with a liberalization of the economy and the rise of private sectors.

Paragraph three of the same article states that the volunteers shall perform assignment that will be determined by both the peace corps representative and the competent Czechoslovak authorities. This idea of mutual agreement is present in most of the agreement signed with the eastern European countries. This partially is explained by a

32 The same observation can be made about article 1 of the agreement signed with the Republic of Poland; “Peace Corps: Agreement between The United States of America and Poland,”(Warsaw, February 23, 1990), 2. Article1: “ The United States of America shall furnish peace Corps volunteers to perform mutually agreed tasks in the Republic of Poland. The Volunteers will work under the immediate supervision of governmental or private organizations designated by mutual agreement of both governments. The government of the united States shall provide training to enable the volunteers to perform effectively these agreed tasks.”
certain commitment to freedom which usually follows US intervention in the northern
countries. A historical example would be that of the Marshall Plan that enabled
western European countries to design their own plan of reconstruction financed by the
USA through its program of foreign assistance.

Unlike the above-cited agreement Peace Corps commitment in Uzbekistan
would be in specific fields as it is explained in Article II:

“The Peace Corps may provide consultative and technical assistance in the
following fields:

-Non-commercial assistance to small and medium sized business enterprises,
education, health, urban development, environmental protection, and other
field as mutually agreed.

The government of the United States will train the volunteers in order that
they may carry out their working the most effective manner possible.”\(^{33}\)

Not many innovations are listed here for these fields fall within general the traditional
scope of the organization. Somehow it is important to notice the use of the phrase “
small and medium sized business enterprises”, a recurring and less surprising phrase
in quite indicative of the changes brought by the beginning of the nineties; the process
of democratization and economic liberalization the country was undergoing.

While it is quite obvious how these legal document express the changes and impact of
the end of the Cold War on the peace Corps in the former soviet zone of influence,
let’s notice that while doing research for this paper, many attempts to find official and

\(^{33}\) “Peace Corps : Agreement between the United States of America and Uzbekistan, signed at
legal documents related to the operations of the Peace Corps in Russia were unsuccessful. A less surprising fact in the analysis of Worsnop who explain that:

“Some observers question whether the soviets will ever take such a step. To do so would be tantamount to acknowledging that the countries, in many ways, at a third world stage of economic development. This admission, by one superpower to another, might well be too humiliating to risk, notwithstanding the country’s manifold needs.”

Worsnop remarks weaken partially the vindicationist thesis for it shows the hesitancy of the officials the former US enemies to embrace their political and economic values. The population would override this hesitation as he notices in the same article that many ‘inquiries’ have come from citizen and from ethnic groups. The peace is now in Russia. And its tasks as it could be predicted are not as simple as one could think for Russia is not a third world country nor is it a country devastated by war whose infrastructure is not operational.

According to the US embassy in Moscow,

“The idea of sending Peace Corps Volunteers to Russia and the former soviet Union is one that has intrigued and excited Americans since the agency’s inception in the early 1960’s. At the same time, however, it seemed the most unlikely of ideas, given the antagonistic relationship between the United States and the USSR, as well as Peace Corps’ traditional emphasis on the “third world” nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. With the dissolution of the Soviet union and its sphere of influence in eastern and central Europe, however, the Peace Corps is now moving quickly to meet a challenge unprecedented in its thirty-year history.” [Peace Corps in Russia…

As explicit as this analysis could be it is not unwelcome to wonder where the challenge would come from.

Generally speaking, any engagement of the Peace Corps requires enough funding and more trained volunteers to meet the expectations of the host countries. But it

seems that apart from the funding one difficulty that could come along the path of the organization is to move from its traditional locus of competence, that is the Third World, to a developed country where the realities are not the same. That is where the challenges of sending volunteers with the appropriate skills come in. The US embassy in Moscow is clear about this when it states that:

“In choosing to allow the Peace Corps to be among the first American agencies to serve in the new Russia, the government of the U.S. gave a new mission to a group of men and women whose institutional history had included service mainly among third world or developing nations. Service of the neediest of the needy has been a hallmark of the Peace Corps since its inception more than thirty years ago. In sending volunteers to Russia--a nation whose educational history and culture are second to none in the world--the Peace Corps faced the challenge not of providing assistance to those who wished to improve a deprived or marginalized education, but to work along side of those who faced the monumental task of transforming a massive and successful education system into one that promoted the openness and creativity required to cope successfully on the international information market.”  

No doubt this is a matter of controversy for some advocate that the Russia is not a third world country and therefore does not need the peace corps volunteers and others support that there should not be any artificial limit to the expansion of the organization.

In the words of Paul D. Cordell Peace Corps director in the 1990’s, Peace Corps should not limit itself in sending volunteers to developing nations. He says “there should be no artificial barrier on the pursuit of peace’ for him it is ‘ as important to promote small business development in Poland as it is to teach child nutrition in Paraguay.”

36 ibid.
37 Worsnop, op cit., 61
Edward Patrick Healey, a former Director of the Peace Corps in Zaire, took another stand on the question. He argues that the peace corps was ‘conceived as a way for the idealism and skills of the U.S citizens to help countries with severe development needs’ in his argument, as some of the best educated in the world, eastern European countries and particularly Russia do not need expatriate teachers.”

38 A pertinent argument that should be considered to have an effective program. It seems somehow that as assistance in Russia is more a help to facilitate the transition from a socialist economy to a market economy the type of teaching provided now might be very useful for the country.39

The evolution of the Peace Corps shows continuity and change in the organization and overall continuity and change in the history of the U.S foreign relations. The organization may have had some strategic and political motives at its creation but today it appears that above all it is an institution that has its roots in the American culture and tradition of humanism.

The Peace Corps has shown that where diplomatic negotiations failed, a humanitarian cultural policy based on people-to-people cooperation can be more effective. It is undeniable somehow that the organization has both political and cultural roots. The irony of the contemporary ideological and politico-economic history of the International relations has been to see an organization that was supposed to contain the expansion of a world power to be serving with the boundaries

38 ibid.  
39 U.S. embassy in Moscow, “Peace Corps in Russia”, op cit.: Volunteers offer to transfer business knowledge and skills by teaching in institutes, offering business seminars, providing Internet training and access, sources of information and contacts, and offering their Russian clients basic business know how such as how to write a business plan, do due diligence and market themselves their products.
of that same power (Russia) and in its zone of influence (Eastern Europe). There could not be any meaningful sign of a victory of one system over the other than that of the Peace Corps serving in Russia. As many vindicationists’ theoreticians would put it, the capitalist West led by the US had won the Cold war over the socialist eastern European countries led by the Soviet Union.  

The Peace Corps was a cultural but strategic respondent to the spread of the soviet ideological and political expansion in the world. In an international atmosphere in which the American image was fading away because of the conflict between the western allies and the war in Vietnam, the Peace Corps has been created to give another image of the United States it became important to prefer a cooperation based on a relation between people not conditioned by ideological principles. Today as its evolution shows, it is most likely on a more humanitarian level, an instrument of development, participating in an effort to save lives of millions of individuals as senator Christopher DODD explained it in his testimony:

“I also believe the Peace Corps, while not single-handedly transforming the world as some early supporters believed possible, has had enormous success in tackling small pieces of the development problems around the globe. Most without fanfare, Peace Corps volunteers have been improving health systems, water supplies, food sources, nutrition, housing, forestation and education.”

With a much confident tone he would add that ‘If people live longer and healthier lives in poorer countries today, if children have more nutritious meals and better

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40 Allen hunter op cit, p.2
schooling, it is in no small measure a result of the contribution of fellow Americans who have given a few years of their lives to the cause of development and Peace.” 42

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Nationalism and Nation-building in Africa: still a way to go.

Reflecting on colonialism, Meredith Martin argues that one of its consequences on Africa was the ethnic division between Hutu and Tutsi. Among others the Rwandan genocide shows one of the essential problems of post independence Africa.

At the center of the debate is the failure of independent Africa to build nations with the kind of loyalty that helped overcome the colonial power. African countries inherited their boundaries from of colonial era and managed with somewhat a successful skill and mechanism to maintain them boundaries for more than four decades after independence. Viewed from this perspective, the creation of African states can be classified as a political success since it brought some stability and peace on the continent. This is more noticeable in west Africa to the extent that Arie M. Kacowicz classified it as one of the ‘zones of peace’ in the world along with: South America, Western Europe and North America. However, the formation of a national identity, in many of these countries is still a project not fully accomplished.

Discussing African effort of nation building require to trace back the root of the nationalist feeling of Africans especially from the colonial experience. A look at the African map, show almost fifty states; some tiny like Gambia other giant like Sudan or former Zaire with well defined boarders. Unfortunately this empirical signs of statal entity does not reflect in reality a sense of national identity in most of these states. In many cases, these boarders are just covers for too many ethnic, regional, economic frustrations that make the existence of nation-state in Africa an elusive concept. This is

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quite ironic for a continent that has been able to generate the patriotic feeling that led to its liberation. What prevents African states to build cohesive entities free from cleavage and why didn’t the unity of decolonization era prevail at the independence?

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Africans had a tradition of governing themselves before the Europeans came. Traditional African society was a society of tribe, ethnic group and African had their way to express their belonging and loyalty to these primordial elements of their identity. This makes nationalism in Africa peculiar because it is “a subjective feeling of kinship or affinity shared by people of African descent. It is a feeling based on shared cultural norms, traditional institutions, racial heritage, and a common historical experience.”  

Contrarily to what other might think African nationalism was no generated by colonialism. For Vincent Khapoya, “It is worth stressing that African nationalism, like nationalism elsewhere in the world, is not new; it is as old as ancient times. In fact, in Africa, contrary to a common view in western scholarship of Africa, African nationalism predates colonialism. In the annals of African history, one finds coherent organized African communities with a very strong sense of identity, prepared to defend their territorial and cultural integrity against those who would want to destroy or undermine them.”

These traditional African forms of resistance, expression of loyalty and identity will be transformed by colonialism. The oppressive regime of colonialism generated new style of resistance giving a new turn with different stakes to African nationalism. Ali Mazrui divides its evolution into four stages:

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4 Ibid.
“There was first the phase of the pre-Second World War elite agitation for greater autonomy. There was then the phase of popular involvement in the struggle against Nazism and Fascism. There was, thirdly, non-violent popular struggle for full independence after the second world war. Finally, there was armed engagement for the political kingdom—the guerilla wars against white minority governments especially from the 1960’s onward.”

Along with this succinct periodization Vincent Khapoya identifies a set of catalytic factors that help develop modern African nationalism. He mentions the colonial experience itself, the influence of church and modern education, the two world wars and the influence of pan-Africanism and the opportunities offered by the league of nations and the United Nations for Africans to express African issues and concerns.

In his words, Africans have bad memories of the colonial regime because it was mainly by every means “negative, exploitative, and oppressive experience.” Some of them may have benefited from it but in general they “were humiliated, their culture denigrated and distorted, and their land confiscated by European immigrants, who were encouraged to come to Africa as pioneer farmers and which resulted in severe consequences for African communities. Large plantations were established for growing cash crop.”

A human being subject to any oppressive situation can only bear so much. This oppression and humiliation of Africans gradually generate resentment against the system. As it is commonly said you can fool a man one time but you cannot fool all the people all the time. Soon resistance began and took different forms. The first were mostly violent

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5 General history of Africa / UNESCO . VOLUME VIII: AFRICA SINCE 1935 Edited by A. A. Mazrui 1993, p 106
6 Khapoya 151
and took the form of ‘armed revolt’ [7]. But faced with a fierce and ruthless repression by the colonizers, different strategies would be adopted later on. These were in forms of grievances presented by associations related to issues such as low wages, inadequate prices for cash crops etc…

One may think that a man suffering needs not to be reminded that he is. Well sometime the very astute and subtle way the mechanism of oppression is implemented requires some leadership to make the victims aware of their situation. Modern education through the elite provided this leadership in colonial Africa. Missionary churches were one of the (if not the) first institutions to have started modern education in colonial Africa. In that respect they did play a catalytic role, as Khapoya explained, (indirectly probably or more specifically a miscalculated role) in developing African nationalism: “

In many African colonies, mission schools were the main educational institutions, and the expense of educating Africans was often borne entirely by the missions. In other colonies, the colonial government provided the funding, but the teaching staff and the curriculum were the responsibility of the missions” [8]. Apart from spreading the gospel, these missionary churches were not only also imparted the mission of asserting the superiority of the western values but also that of helping raise the level of productivity of the Africans. This clearly shows that the civilizing missions of colonization that was the motto of some colonial powers like France was just a cover for the real goal: serve the interest of the colonizers and the colonial power.

Africans found it useful and important to have a western education because it is a common belief that educated African will become the link between Africans and the

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[7] ibid
[8] Khapoya ibid., 153
Europeans. Leaders like Jomo Kenyatta and Leopold Sedar Senghor’s respectively from Kenya and Senegal show that Africans were right Both through their mastery of European languages were able to present the beauty of African values and culture to the west while criticizing as well the horrors of colonialism on the African people. They both became president of their country. 9 African elite through modern education, acquired the skills that help them to articulate their demands and question the legitimacy of colonial authorities; it also turned out to be a powerful medium of acculturation of Western Christian (and political) values, values that the African very cleverly and ingenuously, to the utter surprise of his colonial master, incorporated into political debate over their struggles. As Ali Mazrui puts it: “The destruction of the ‘pagan’ African culture was naturally accompanied by attempts to replace it with some aspects of the English way of life. Next to making the boys and girls upright Christian, this was an important aim of the Christian educators.” He concludes that missionary education was perhaps far more successful at producing a new cultural African than a consistent Christian.10 In fact many of the first leaders of independent Africa were products of missionary education. One could name few among them like Apart from Senghor( Senegal), and Kenyatta( Kenya), list include Julius Nyerere ( Tanzania), Kenneth Kaunda ( Zambia), Nnamdi Azikiwe ( Nigeria), and Kamusu Banda ( Malawi). 11

By showing a clear dichotomy that existed between its teachings and its daily practices, the Church contributed to the growth of African nationalism. Its contemptuousness to African traditions and cultures contradict sharply with its doctrine

9 Khapoya p.,154-5
10 Khapoya p.,155
11 ibid
of spiritual kinship of every human being regardless of his ethnoroacial origins.\textsuperscript{12} The church’s silence on colonial oppression, its constant way of shutting down any attempt by Africans to discuss political affairs and issues related to Africa at school would soon lead to the birth of African churches lead by African enabling Africans to pinpoint the double standard of the colonial church. \textsuperscript{13}

Until then the myth of the white man superiority on which most of the colonial enterprise rested was still not seriously challenged. It would take the two world wars to persuade Africans (with the experience of ex-service men) that in peace as in wars human experiences –whether white or black- are the same and therefore there is no difference between Europeans and Africans.

The second world war played an important role in weakening the colonial powers. France for example was humiliated by Germany, a defeat that ‘helped to destroy the myth of its imperial invincibility.” England was impoverished by the war and war forced within a couple of years to let India go.\textsuperscript{14}

For Davidson there is not much difference between African nationalism and European nationalism. Just like the rights of man was the main pedestal of European nationalism, so were the principle of equality and freedom to the African nationalism. “In Africa, as in Europe,” he explained, “the driving inspiration was not that all men should be divided by becoming nationals, but that all men should be united by becoming free.” \textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{12} ibid
\textsuperscript{13} Khapoya ibid, pp.157-8
\textsuperscript{14} Ali Mazrui, Chapter 5 “Seek Ye First the political Kingdom in General history of Africa / UNESCO VOLUME VIII: AFRICA SINCE 1935 Edited by A. A. Mazrui 1993, 1072 p 112
\textsuperscript{15} Basil Davidson, “Africa in History: Themes and outlines” Phoenix, 1992, p. 325.
Most of the effort of resistance /defiance developed under the colonial oppression would eventually lead to the independentist movement of the post second war period. By the period following the Second World War, African nationalism became more established probably because of the influence of the African intellectual with the Diaspora community particularly with the pan-African movement. “Pan-africanism started as a protest movement against the racism endured by black people in the new world. It then slowly evolved into an anti-colonial struggle instrument, “dedicated to bringing about African leaders and intellectuals who hoped that perhaps in the future, African states might be federated as the United States of Africa.” 16

If some of the Africans were more conciliatory with the colonial administration, a large part of them were also defiant to those governments. Many of them were the pioneer of the independence movement. By the sixties, many African countries became independent. But the consciousness and the solidarity gained during the decolonization period will soon prove ephemeral. Ethnic division and other internal political rivalries put on hold the project of nation-building in many newly independent African states. The lesson from the fight against the white man (colonial power) could not unfortunately be wisely used by the newly these countries. If many of them have kept the boundaries inherited from the colonial powers, their effort to build a united nation confined within those boundaries after independence soon became a daunting task that many are still facing today almost fifty years after the independence. Bringing together various ethnic groups speaking different languages under the same flag has not been easy. Meredith Martin summarizes these post colonial challenges as follows:

16 Khapoya, p.166
“The most difficult task facing Africa’s new leaders was to weld into nations a variety of different peoples, speaking different languages and at different stages of political and social development. The new states of Africa were not ‘nations.’ They possess no ethnic, class or ideological cement to hold them together, no strong historical and social identities upon which to build. For a relatively brief period, the anti-colonial cause had provided a unity of purpose. Nationalist leaders had successfully exploited a variety of grievances among the urban and rural populations to galvanize support for the cause. But once the momentum that they had achieved in their drive for independence began to subside, so other loyalties and ambitions came thrusting to the fore.” 17

The case of Benin (my country, ex French colony under the name of Dahomey) is quite illustrative of what followed the independence. The North is peopled by ethnic groups (Dendi, Somba, and Bariba) that do not culturally like to relate to the Southerners who practice mostly traditional religions and Catholicism. Soon after the independence in 1960 the cleavage North-South became of the main sources of political instability for the perception of Northerners’ identity was different. They did not like to be referred to as Dahomeans because Dahomey derives from the kingdom of Abomey (Dan Home, in the womb of snake) which is a predominantly Fon kingdom. Lack of trust in Fon from Abomey explains some frustration and resentment among the northerners. Every time a Fon is in power, there is fear of not being associated with the power. Since for a long time many northerners have been in the national army, the result was the political

instability the country went through from 1960 to 1972. The last putsch was by Mathieu Kerekou (a northerner) who rules under a Marxist government from 1972 to 1990. As a way to solve this crisis of identity, Kerekou would change the name of the country in 1975 from Dahomey to Benin.

Meredith Martin insight on the political condition is still pertinent in the case of Benin. But one should recognize that the political changes of the 1990’s created a stable environment where every citizen of the country is able to express under the law his frustration and disagreement with the central government without putting the national stability in jeopardy.

Through this example it is clear that the political management of many countries has not been completely able to avoid the very problem that engenders resentment and defiance under the colonial oppression: the non association of some groups to the ruling system. The result is a fragmented sense of identity and priority given by many Africans to their ethnic origins over their loyalty to their country. That is the point raised by J. Isawa ELAIGWU when he claims that “Africa’s supreme political struggle in the post-colonial era can be reduced to two paramount longings-a striving to give greater coherence to African nationhood, and a striving to lend greater stability to African statehood. The crisis of nationhood is a crisis of flawed collective identity. The crisis of statehood is a crisis of unstable authority.”

The flawed collective identity poses a serious question about the possibility of reaching national cohesion in many African countries and also makes us question what

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the meaning of the concept of ‘nation’ especially in a context where different people of different languages share the same space and owe loyalty to the same authority.

Elaigwu suggests three definitions for the concept of nation:19 The first could be a “stable, historically developed community of people with territory, economic life, distinctive culture, and language in common’ or “the people of a territory united under a single government; country; state’ or finally it could refer to “a people or tribe.”

The first definition would be applicable to some extent to African countries because of their historical experience of foreign domination. But one that is missing but is on the other hand provided by the European domination is the common language. Since colonization gave many African countries a lingua franca, it is possible to argue that regardless of their ethnic difference African populations like the Ibo, Hausa and Yoruba in Nigeria can be united under the same nation.

The second definition is similar to what is practiced in international law as it has all the element of sovereignty that are: a government, a population and a territory. The only thing it did not list is the army. All these elements are present in the case of African countries.

The last definition is very narrow and yet quite relevant in the African context. Following that definition there could be many nations in a single African country. The problem is how to bring them together and form a larger nation. Would that involve abandoning one’s ethnic identity? For Elaigwu nation-building does not involve a transfer of loyalty from a ‘narrow or parochial levels’ of ethnic groups to a larger unit. Ethnic identity he contends is not transferable. Nation building for Elaigwu involves “widening the horizons of identity of parochial units to include larger units such as the

19 ibid, p.437
state.”

He distinguishes between the vertical dimension of nation-building and the horizontal dimension of the nation-building. The vertical dimension requires an acceptance of the legitimacy of the central authority (government) and the horizontal dimension which requires that each member of the civic society accept the other members as equal and sharing the same rights. He gave the example of Nigeria and concluded that the end of the war indicated the acceptance of the central authority by every Nigerian as the symbol of the country. What Elaigwu was silent about is the condition of the acceptance of the central government. Which form should that acceptance take? Should citizens of Africa accept a government that is not representative of their interest especially if it comes to power by a putsch?

Besides one may ask why isn’t the ‘widening’ of horizons happening so fast? It is clear that the rhetoric and the practice of power are still not completely inclusive in many African countries. Political discourse is not persuasive enough to incite cross regional, or cross ethnic adherence and support. In electoral periods for example, the ethnic origin of the candidate in many respects plays an important role in the decision-making of the voter especially during presidential elections. That is what Meredith argues when she explains that “in a continent where class formation had hardly begun to alter loyalties, ethnicity provided the strongest political base. Politicians and voters it was alike came to rely on ethnic solidarity. For politicians it was the route to power. They became, in effect, ethnic entrepreneurs. For voters it was their hope of getting a slice of government bounty.”

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20 Elaigwu p.438
21 Elaigwu p.439
22 Meredith Martin, 156
Despite the pertinence of such analysis, it is important to put it in context. One should recognize some positive changes that occurred in the African politics in the nineties and noticed that the ethno regional division that was very sharp at the beginning of independence is gradually though slowly becoming dimmer and blurred in many countries. If Africa is still one of the continents lagging behind in terms of literacy, the literacy rate in many states is certainly much higher than what it used to be in the colonial days. Education has somewhat had an impact on the way Africans from each country perceive their identity. More and more political agenda gets priority over empirical elements of belonging (example the recent elections in Benin) forcing voters to sympathize with a candidate who offers more promises of better fulfillment of their expectations. May be moments of crises are catalyst of successful effort of nation-building.

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African nationalism may have not been born under colonialism but the latter did transform its history. Responding to its oppressive mechanism, African nationalism was able to create Africans awareness about Europeans’ exploitation and mechanism of oppression this help African elite galvanize efforts from Africans from different walk of life to criticize the missionary church, create African churches and more importantly launch the decolonization movement that would result in the independence of the post second world war era.

Unfortunately the departure of the Europeans did not ring the bell of Africans problems. If anything it brought to light other issues like the unity of Africans as nations that were just put on hold by the colonial administration. Political instability, putsch and
other ethnic conflict soon revealed that African was still a continent of fragmented identity where nation-building is not yet accomplished. But it would be too pessimistic to conclude that African nation-building have failed. Rome was not built in day as the proverb says, with the smooth transition toward new leadership on the continent, new hopes seems to be on the way the question is for how long should we have to wait? And to what extent should the external factor (influence would be limited?)

**Bibliography:**
- Davidson, Basil “Africa in History: Themes and outlines” Phoenix, 1992
TITLE
Terms of trade effects: Are there differences between the Australian and New Zealand economies?

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ABSTRACT
In the past two decades, numerous commentators have advocated closer economic integration between Australia and New Zealand. Given the significant dependence on trade for both countries, one key issue involved is the responses to terms of trade shocks. There are two potential sources of difference between the two economies. The first is the significant difference in the exports of the two countries. The second is that the terms of trade and real effective exchange rate are not as strongly correlated for New Zealand as for Australia. This paper investigates empirically the responses of the two economies to terms of trade shocks for the period of floating exchange rates. A VAR in levels model, estimated for the period 1985:2 – 2006:3, leads to two principal conclusions: firstly, for both economies real GDP, the real exchange rate and the price level respond as theory predicts; secondly, the Australian economy adjusts more rapidly than New Zealand’s.
Introduction

For almost two decades, prominent New Zealand people and organisations have advocated even closer economic relations between New Zealand and Australia than exist currently. Some have promoted the formation of a currency union with either Australia (the so-called “Anzac dollar”) or with Australia and the United States. For example, in a speech to the United Nations in September 2000, the New Zealand Prime Minister, Helen Clark, stated that currency union with Australia might be one of those things that become inevitable as the two countries move closer to economic integration. Others, such as the Australia-New Zealand Business Council, have advocated a true single market formed by Australia and New Zealand (the “borderless market” concept). Yet others, such as Professor Bob Catley, a former Australian Labour Party MP, in his book *Waltzing with Matilda*, have argued that New Zealand is too small to go it alone in the modern world and should apply to join Australia. (Catley, 2001)

As recently as December 2006, Australia’s House of Representatives standing committee on legal and constitutional affairs considered the possibility of harmonising the legal systems of the two countries, suggesting that Australia and New Zealand should also consider introducing a common currency. This proposal was rejected emphatically by New Zealand’s Minister of Finance, Dr Michael Cullen. Dr Cullen told reporters that the idea of a closer union between Australia and New Zealand, specifically a common currency, had been “mooted before and rejected before”. Dr Cullen stated that the Australian Government has said that New Zealand is free to adopt Australian currency but “we are not going to do that.” Dr Cullen said that while that might lessen volatility in the Australian-New Zealand dollar cross rate, it “doesn't necessarily lessen volatility with the rest of the world and most of our trade is denominated in US dollars not Australian dollars”. In late January 2007, an official New Zealand government press release issued immediately after the annual bilateral talks between Dr Cullen and the Australian Federal Treasurer, Peter Costello, stated that the talks had provided “momentum” for “the development of an Australia-New Zealand Single Economic Market”.

The modern trans-Tasman trade relationship was started by The New Zealand Australia Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), signed in 1965. NAFTA accepted in principle that both countries could gain from freer trade between them, but New Zealand’s continued adherence to import licensing protected the domestic economy against competition from Australia. Although a full free trade agreement – the Closer Economic Relationship (CER) – was not reached until 1983, by the mid-1980s New Zealand and Australia had developed considerable integration in their economies and labour markets. Full free trade under CER was achieved by 1990 (apart from some irritations such as blocks on New Zealand apple exports). The debate generated, which continues today, forms the background motivation for this study. 1

Although for more than half of the 20th century there had been a net population flow from Australia to New Zealand, a reverse flow began in the middle of the 1960s. This was a direct reflection of Australia’s superior economic performance from the 1960s onwards, when the two economies began diverging with faster growth in Australian real GDP per capita than in New Zealand’s real GDP per capita.

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1 Relevant background material that can be accessed readily is provided by (Deane *et al.*, 1981), (Hargreaves and McDermott, 1999), (Brash, 2000), (Grimes *et al.*, 2000), (Grimes, 2000), (Bjorksten, 2001), (Holmes, 2002), (Nixon, 2003), (Haug *et al.*, 2003) and (Hunt, 2005).
Figure 1 shows that a persistent outflow of permanent and long-term migrants from New Zealand to Australia began when the two economies started diverging. There is considerable empirical evidence to support this claim, some of which is presented in (Auld, 2006).

The principal reasons for the growing gap in real GDP per capita include New Zealand’s lower export growth arising from the dominance of the land-based primary sector, New Zealand’s lower labour productivity (principally due to lower capital per worker for reasons that are unclear) and New Zealand’s smaller scale and greater degree of geographical isolation. Compared with New Zealand, Australia has roughly 28 times the land area, 5 times the population and 6.5 times the real GDP. As measured by proximity to World GDP, New Zealand is the most remote country in the world. Australia is New Zealand’s biggest trade partner, whereas New Zealand is a small partner for Australia.

The impact of terms of trade shocks

There has been controversy over the hypothesised superior ability of flexible exchange rates compared with fixed exchange rates to insulate the economy against real shocks (such as terms of trade shocks) ever since the hypothesis was advanced by (Friedman, 1953). According to the Mundell-Fleming-Dornbusch model, a rise in the terms of trade raises exporters’ incomes, resulting in greater output and employment in the export industries. With floating exchange rates, greater foreign exchange earnings cause the nominal exchange rate to appreciate. Rising output and employment puts upward pressure on interest rates and the price level. When nominal exchange rates adjust more quickly than prices, the real exchange rate appreciates and undermines international competitiveness, which puts a brake on the expansionary impulse from the terms of trade shock. (Obstfeld, 1985) and (Caves, 1993) review the roles of fixed and flexible exchange rates. Textbook treatments of the basic ideas can be found in (Obstfeld & Rogoff, 1998) and (Layton, 1994).

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2 This is the average between 1988-2006 for real GDP measured at 1990 US dollars (converted at Geary-Khamis PPPs). Source: Groningen Growth and Development Centre and the Conference Board, Total Economy Database, January 2007, [http://www.ggdc.net](http://www.ggdc.net), ted071.xls
There have been numerous studies that consider the links between real and nominal shocks and the real exchange rate. For example, (Bagchi et al., 2004) examined the effects of the terms of trade and the expected real interest rate differential on the real exchange rate for small, open, developed economies using cointegration analysis to find long-term links. Of interest to this study is the finding that for both Australia and New Zealand, a rise in the terms of trade causes the US dollar-home currency real exchange rate to appreciate (see their Table 3). (Bjornland, 2004) used a structural vector autoregression (SVAR) model to investigate for Norway the extent to which the real exchange rate was a shock absorber or a source of shocks. Her investigation addressed the issue of whether Norway should remain outside the European Union and thus the European Monetary Union. The variables were GDP, the real wage, the real exchange rate and the unemployment rate. The results were somewhat ambiguous in that the relevant outcomes depended on whether the shocks were real or nominal.

(Edwards and Yeyati, 2005) address the issue of the impact of terms of trade shocks on economic performance under alternative exchange rate regimes. Of particular interest to them was whether flexible exchange rate regimes moderated the impact of growth when economies were hit by terms of trade shocks. They found evidence that countries with more rigid exchange rate regimes were harder hit by terms of trade shocks. Unlike most studies, which apply variants of the VAR methodology, Edwards and Yeyati used a two-equation dynamic model for growth in real GDP per capita for a large sample of countries. Their first equation provided estimates of long run growth rates for the countries. Their second equation was formed like an error correction model that incorporated deviations from the long run growth rate arising from terms of trade and other (including political) shocks. Using a de facto classification of exchange regimes, they found that flexible exchange rate regimes moderated the real impact of terms of trade shocks, both in developing and industrial economies. They also found asymmetries between the responses of output to positive and negative shocks, with there being greater asymmetries for countries with more rigid exchange rate systems.

**A comparison between Australia and New Zealand**

(Chen and Rogoff, 2002) argued that “from a macroeconomic perspective, Australia, Canada and New Zealand are near perfect examples of...well-developed, small open economies...where internal and external markets operate with little intervention and where floating exchange rate regimes have been implemented for a sufficiently long period of time.” Floating exchange rate regimes were adopted by Australia in December 1983 and by New Zealand in March 1985. This paper explores the relationship between terms of trade shocks and the real exchange rate for the Australian and New Zealand economies during the era of floating exchange rates.

There are two potential sources of difference between the Australian and New Zealand economies in the responses to terms of trade shocks. Firstly, whereas Australian exports are principally commodity based (coal, iron and gold), New Zealand continues to export mainly dairy, meat and forestry products. Secondly, New Zealand’s terms of trade and real effective exchange rate are not correlated as strongly as Australia’s. Figures 2 and 3 chart the real effective exchange rate and the terms of trade for both countries.

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3 (Broda, 2004) and (Hoffman, 2005) study the relative performance of fixed and flexible exchange rates for developing countries.
Methodology and data

Table 1 provides a complete list of the variables and the sources of the data used in the analysis. The data are quarterly and cover 1987:2 to 2006:3. There are two reasons for choosing this period: the era of floating exchange rates is spanned for both countries and consistent data for New Zealand real GDP exists currently only from 1987:2.
Table 1

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$^a$ RGDP is in millions of national currency units and seasonally-adjusted. Except for the interest rate variable, all variables are in natural logs.

Table 2: Augmented Dickey-Fuller unit root tests (1987:2 – 2006:3)$^a$

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<td>I(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LCPI</td>
<td>-2.92 (0.162)</td>
<td>-3.52 (0.010)$^b$</td>
<td>I(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LRER</td>
<td>-1.85 (0.356)</td>
<td>-8.64 (0.000)$^b$</td>
<td>I(1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^a$ The levels of LRGDP and LCPI were estimated with intercept and trend, while NZD90, AUDS90, and LRER were estimated with intercept alone.

For end-of-quarter data for the period 1987:2 – 2006:3, the contemporaneous cross-correlation coefficient between the real effective exchange rate and the terms of trade for New Zealand was 0.24, whereas for Australia, it was 0.50. An implication of such lower correlation is that New Zealand’s real exchange rate is not as effective as Australia’s as a buffer against external shocks. Therefore, given the differences in the export mix and the correlations between the terms of trade and the real exchange rate, it is likely that there will be differences between the two economies in their responses to shocks to the terms of trade.

The augmented Dickey-Fuller (ADF) test for unit roots were applied to the levels and first differences of the time series using EViews 5.1. The resulting ADF test statistics, with their prob-vals in brackets, are presented in Table 2. Most of the variables can be classified as nonstationary I(1) variables. At first sight, the result for New Zealand’s CPI is rather surprising, but it is supported by the DF-GLS, Phillips-Perron and KPSS tests. The CPI’s apparent stationarity appears to be the consequence of a change in March 1999 in the calculation of the index, when interest costs were excluded. ADF tests for the data prior to, and after, 1999:1 indicate that LCPI is I(1).
(Broda, 2001) was followed in that a vector autoregression (VAR) model was used that incorporated the terms of trade, real GDP, short term interest rates, consumer prices and the real effective exchange rate. Under the small country assumption that the terms of trade are exogenous, the impulse response functions reveal the impact of shocks to the terms of trade.

When the variables are nonstationary, the principal specification problem is whether estimation should be in levels or first differences or as a vector error correction model. If cointegration exists and the cointegration vectors are known, the VAR should be estimated as a vector error correction model.

Estimation in levels is chosen here for a number of reasons. Firstly, the Johansen procedure provided mixed evidence for cointegration among the variables for each of the countries, with the number of possible cointegrating vectors being ambiguous. Secondly, this study is concerned with the relationships between the terms of trade and the other variables in the system rather than with the cointegration structure. Thirdly, (Sims et al., 1990), (Stock and Watson, 1988) and (Hamilton, 1994) provide theoretical support for estimation in levels. Estimation in levels implies that potential cointegration relationships between the non-stationary variables are determined implicitly within the model (Hamilton, 1994). Fourthly, when cointegration information is taken into account, parameter estimates are more precise and efficient, whereas estimation in levels results in inefficient but consistent estimates of the VAR parameters. Fifthly, if the wrong cointegration restrictions were imposed, the estimates might be inconsistent, resulting in convergence to the wrong long-run equilibria and biased short-run dynamics.

For both Australia and New Zealand, the VAR model estimated used the reduced form

\[ X_t = \sum_{k=1}^{p} A_k X_{t-k} + Z_t + u_t \]

where \( X_t \) is a vector of \([t, y_t, i_t, p_t, e_t]\), with \( t \) being the log of the terms of trade, \( y \) the log of seasonally-adjusted real GDP, \( i \) the short term interest rate, \( p \) is the log of the CPI and \( e \) the log of the real effective exchange rate. \( Z_t \) is a vector of deterministic variables (constant, trend, dummies).

EViews 5.1’s lag selection tests were used to choose the number of lags. As these tests tend to suggest different lags for the VAR, a judgement was made to use 3-lags, a constant, a linear trend and dummies for outliers and various events. In particular, for New Zealand, dummies were used to account for the change in the goods and services tax (GST) rate from 10% to 12.5% in June 1989. The change in the CPI index in March 1999 appears to have no impact on the estimations. For Australia, the introduction of GST in July 2000 appears to have no impact on the results. Although EViews was used for the estimation of the VARs and the impulse response functions, PcGive 11.0 was also used to identify the outliers from the residuals. PcGive’s comprehensive output indicated that there was still some autocorrelation arising from the short term interest rate in New Zealand’s case and some lack of normality in the residuals arising from real GDP in Australia’s case.

---

4 See Appendix One for some tests and vector error correction impulse functions for real GDP.
5 (Phillips, 1998) offers quite severe criticism of estimation of VARs in levels of non-stationary variables. (Ramaswamy and Sloek, 1997) present further discussion of the issues involved.
6 There were no significant differences between the unrestricted VARs estimated by EViews 5.1 and PcGive 11.0.
Results

Figure 4 displays the estimated impulse responses for 25 quarters when a one standard deviation rise in the terms of trade occurs. The IRFs have ±2 standard error confidence bounds (the dashed lines) based on Monte Carlo simulations with 2000 draws. As predicted by the theory, for both countries, a rise in the terms of trade causes rises in real GDP, short term interest rates, the price level and the real effective exchange rate.

What is of greater interest is that the impact of the terms of trade shock is greater on the New Zealand economy. Whereas the impact on Australian real GDP is weak and lasts for about 7 to 8 quarters, expansion of New Zealand’s real GDP is significantly stronger and lasts for about 12 quarters. The rise in the terms of trade has a greater impact on Australian interest rates and prices than New Zealand’s but a weaker impact on Australia’s real effective exchange rate. An oddity in the results for New Zealand is the initial drop in the short term interest rate following the terms of trade shock. Estimation of the model over 1990:1 – 2006:3, the period of inflation targeting, indicates that the short term rate rises from the start. This points to the oddity as arising from the data prior to 1990:1, possibly a consequence of the impact of the GST change.

Conclusion

There is an important issue that has been ignored in this study. The Optimal Currency Area literature argues that membership of a currency union results in loss of a country’s independent monetary policy and the ability of the exchange rate to act as a shock absorber. In his review of Optimal Currency Areas, Buitert argued that with the “high degree of international financial integration, market-determined exchange rates are primarily a source of shocks and instability”. In their paper entitled “The exchange rate - A shock-absorber or source of shocks? A study of four open economies”, (Artis and Ehrmann, 2004) address this issue for the UK, Canada, Sweden and Denmark, all of which are faced with option of a monetary union with a large neighbour. Their SVAR study indicates that the benefits of the exchange rate as a shock absorber depend on whether the shocks are symmetric or asymmetric relative to the large neighbour. If the shocks were asymmetric, the exchange rate can play a role as a shock absorber. If the shock were symmetric, the exchange rate’s role as a shock absorber is limited. (Farrant and Peersman, 2006) analysed the role of the real exchange rate with an SVAR model for the UK, the Euro area, Japan and Canada relative to the United States. They found that the exchange rate was more a source of shocks than an absorber of shocks.

An unstated assumption of the VARs estimated in this study is that the exchange rate acts solely as a shock absorber. No investigation is made as to whether the exchange rate acts as source of shocks. Given this proviso, the evidence from the VARs indicates that the exchange rate is a better shock absorber for Australia than New Zealand, but it is impossible to conclude anything from this evidence about the merits of a currency union. It is also impossible to say whether the adoption of the Australian dollar would strengthen the exchange rate as a shock absorber for New Zealand. More investigation into these issues is needed.
Figure 4: 1 standard deviation shock, ±2-SE Monte Carlo error bands (2000 draws)
APPENDIX

Possible cointegration between the variables LTOT, LRGDP, D90, LCPI and LRER was tested with the Johansen procedure. For EViews 5.1’s Case 3 (intercepts in the CE and VAR, linear deterministic trend in VAR), the results for New Zealand data were:

Table 3: New Zealand data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample (adjusted): 1988Q2 2006Q3</th>
<th>Included observations: 74 after adjustments</th>
<th>Trend assumption: Linear deterministic trend in data</th>
<th>Lags interval (in first differences): 1 to 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Unrestricted Cointegration Rank Test (Trace)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hypothesised No. of CE(s)</th>
<th>Eigenvalue</th>
<th>Trace Statistic</th>
<th>0.05 Critical Value</th>
<th>Prob.**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None *</td>
<td>0.467444</td>
<td>101.8929</td>
<td>69.81889</td>
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<tr>
<td>At most 1*</td>
<td>0.347980</td>
<td>55.26791</td>
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<tr>
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<td>0.107144</td>
<td>9.721175</td>
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<td>0.3028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At most 4</td>
<td>0.017876</td>
<td>1.334759</td>
<td>3.841466</td>
<td>0.2480</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Trace test indicates 2 cointegrating eqn(s) at the 0.05 level
* denotes rejection of the hypothesis at the 0.05 level
**MacKinnon-Haug-Michelis (1999) p-values

Unrestricted Cointegration Rank Test (Maximum Eigenvalue)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hypothesised No. of CE(s)</th>
<th>Eigenvalue</th>
<th>Max-Eigen Statistic</th>
<th>0.05 Critical Value</th>
<th>Prob.**</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>At most 4</td>
<td>0.017876</td>
<td>1.334759</td>
<td>3.841466</td>
<td>0.2480</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Max-eigenvalue test indicates 2 cointegrating eqn(s) at the 0.05 level
* denotes rejection of the hypothesis at the 0.05 level
**MacKinnon-Haug-Michelis (1999) p-values

Under the assumption that there are, in fact, two cointegrating vectors, a vector error correction model was estimated under Case 3. The cointegration vectors are reported in Table 4. For the equivalent Australian data over the same period and Case 3, the trace test indicated one cointegrating vector whereas the maximum eigenvalue test pointed to two cointegrating vectors. This is not an unusual outcome. With small samples, there is evidence that the Johansen procedure over-rejects when the null is true. (Harris and Sollis, 2003) have a good textbook discussion of the problems raised when using the Johansen procedure, especially when dummy variables are present.

A vector error correction model was estimated under Case 3 and the assumption of two cointegrating vectors. (Estimation assuming one cointegrating vector produced essentially the same impulse response functions.) The negative signs on LRER mean that a rise in the terms of trade causes the real exchange rate to appreciate.

Figures 5 and 6 show the impulse responses arising from the two estimations. Assuming that the vector error correction models are valid, it is clear that the central conclusion from the
levels estimation holds: New Zealand’s real GDP is more responsive to terms of trade shocks.

Table 4: New Zealand data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vector Error Correction Estimates</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sample (adjusted): 1988Q2 - 2006Q3</td>
<td>Included observations: 74 after adjustments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standard errors in ( ) &amp; t-statistics in [ ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cointegrating Eq:</td>
<td>CointEq1</td>
<td>CointEq2</td>
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<tr>
<td>LTOT(-1)</td>
<td>1.000000</td>
<td>0.000000</td>
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<tr>
<td>LRGDP(-1)</td>
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<td>1.000000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZD90(-1)</td>
<td>12.27863</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.74514)</td>
<td>(1.37370)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[7.03589]</td>
<td>[-6.48445]</td>
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<tr>
<td>LCPI(-1)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>[4.40691]</td>
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<tr>
<td>LRER(-1)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
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Table 5: Australian data

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<tr>
<th>Vector Error Correction Estimates</th>
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<tr>
<td>Sample (adjusted): 1988Q1 2006Q3</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Standard errors in ( ) &amp; t-statistics in [ ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cointegrating Eq:</td>
<td>CointEq1</td>
<td>CointEq2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LTOT(-1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>LRGDP(-1)</td>
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<td>AUSD90(-1)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(0.71280)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>[1.10767]</td>
<td>[-6.96379]</td>
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<tr>
<td>LCPI(-1)</td>
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</table>
New Zealand: terms of trade shock

Figure 5: Error correction model, two cointegrating vectors

Australia: terms of trade shock

Figure 6: Error correction model, two cointegrating vectors
REFERENCES


The volatility of daily exchange rates: a New Zealand case study

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Estimation of volatility in financial markets is of considerable practical importance. There has been evidence that daily bilateral exchange rates for some countries embody multiple volatility trends. This paper applies Component GARCH and state space stochastic volatility models to New Zealand’s daily bilateral exchange rates with its major trading partners for the post-float period (July 1986 to January 2007). The CGARCH models provide convincing evidence of the existence in New Zealand’s daily exchange rates of time-varying permanent and transitory components. Principal components analysis is made on the volatilities extracts by the CGARCH and state space models to investigate the possibility of common trends in the bilateral daily exchange rates. The permanent and transitory components in the bilateral exchange rates are weakly correlated with each other. This study reveals no convincing evidence for the existence of a common trend in the exchange rates.
The volatility of daily exchange rates  
A New Zealand case study

Introduction

A key property of many economic time series, especially for financial assets, is that their volatility varies over time. The tendency in financial time series for big shocks to be followed by big shocks in either direction and small shocks to follow small shocks is called volatility clustering. Volatility clustering is particularly marked in high frequency data such as daily or weekly returns in shares and exchange rates. Figure 1 presents the daily returns for the USD/NZD exchange rate and a 20-day moving average of the square of those returns for the period March 1998 – February 2007. Using the squared returns as the measure of volatility, it is obvious that periods of higher volatility punctuate periods of lower volatility.

This paper investigates the possible existence of long term and short term components in the most important bilateral exchange rates with the New Zealand dollar. Various researchers have suspected the existence of multiple components in higher frequency returns for financial assets. (Harvey et al, 1994) used unobserved components models to contend that were two volatility trends in daily US dollar exchange rates with the German mark, the British pound, the Swiss franc and the yen.

As part of a larger study of forecasting, (McMillan et al, 2004) considered the existence of multiple components in UK stock market indices. Recent papers studying financial asset markets that are closest to this paper are (Black & McMillan, 2004) and (Ané, 2006). Black and McMillan found evidence supporting the existence of short term and long term volatility components in a number of US dollar exchange rates. Ané found that decomposition of the volatility in Hong Kong stock market into short and long components improved the ability to forecast long term volatility.

The principal approach used is the application of the Component GARCH (or CGARCH) model introduced by (Engle & Lee, 1993) to the daily returns to foreign exchange rates with the New Zealand dollar. Structural time series models are also applied in the attempt to find supporting evidence for the existence of multiple trends in the daily returns.

Figure 1: The data are for the US/NZ dollar daily exchange rate (March 1998 – February 2007)
Methodology

One way to model volatility clustering is to allow the current variance of the time series to depend on its past values. (Engle, 1982) incorporated this idea in his concept of autoregressive conditional heteroscedasticity (ARCH). His key idea was that while the unconditional error variance, should it exist, might be constant, the conditional error variance can be time-varying. (Bollerslev, 1986) extended the ARCH methodology to incorporate a lagged dependent variable in the conditional variance (the Generalised ARCH or GARCH model).

In its general form, the GARCH(p, q) model can be formulated as:

\[ X_t = a_0 + \sum_{i=1}^{p} a_{-i} X_{t-i} + \varepsilon_t \]  \hspace{1cm} (1)

\[ h_t^2 = \alpha_0 + \sum_{i=1}^{q} \alpha_i \varepsilon_{t-i}^2 + \sum_{i=1}^{p} \beta_i h_{t-i}^2 \]  \hspace{1cm} (2)

The GARCH(1, 1) model is:

\[ h_t^2 = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 \varepsilon_{t-1}^2 + \beta_1 h_{t-1}^2 \]  \hspace{1cm} (3)

The conditional mean equation (equation 1) is a function of exogenous variables with an error term. The conditional variance (\( h_t^2 \)) is given by the conditional variance equation (equation 2), where the error term \( \varepsilon_t \) is serially uncorrelated with zero mean. The first summation of the squared errors is the ARCH process, while the second summation is the GARCH process. This specification allows the conditional variance to change through time. For a well-defined process, all the parameters in the infinite-order autoregressive representation must be non-negative. For a GARCH(1, 1) process, this means ensuring that both \( \alpha_1 \) and \( \beta_1 \) are non-negative. If \( (\alpha_1 + \beta_1) < 1 \), \( \varepsilon_t \) is covariance stationary.

Engle and Lee recognised the possibility that the conditional variance could incorporate short term and long term components. In their words, the “unobservability of the volatility process” led them to use the “ARCH methodology…to construct the \textit{ex ante} volatility of stock returns”. Their model decomposes the conditional variance into a time-varying permanent (or long run or trend) component and a transitory (or short run) component in a spirit similar to the Beveridge-Nelson decomposition for economic time series. They formulated the CGARCH(1, 1) model as:

\[ h_t^2 = q_t + \alpha (\varepsilon_{t-1}^2 - q_{t-1}) + \beta (h_{t-1}^2 - q_{t-1}) \]  \hspace{1cm} (4)

\[ q_t = \omega + \rho q_{t-1} + \phi (\varepsilon_{t-1}^2 - h_{t-1}^2) \]  \hspace{1cm} (5)

The permanent component of the conditional variance is \( q_t \). Depending on the value of the parameter \( \rho \), \( q_t \) can be either an integrated process (\( \rho = 1 \)) or a non-unit root process (\( \rho < 1 \)). Equation (5) indicates that the autoregressive parameter (\( \rho \)) measures the persistence of the permanent component: the closer \( \rho \) is to unity, the more persistent that component.

The transitory component is given by \( (h_t^2 - q_t) \). For this component, the ARCH process is determined by the parameter \( \alpha \), whereas the GARCH process is determined by the parameter \( \beta \).

---

1 In the absence of multiple components, the CGARCH model reduces to the GARCH(1, 1) model.
The persistence of the transitory component is determined by the parameter sum ($\alpha + \beta$). A measure of this persistence can be gauged from the half-life:

$$\lambda = \frac{\ln(0.5)}{\ln(\alpha + \beta)}$$

(6)

As long as $\rho > (\alpha + \beta)$, $q_t$ represents the component that has the longer memory. Equations (4) and (5) show that $q_t$ is driven by the forecasting error term ($\epsilon_{t-1}^2 - h_{t-1}^2$).

Equations (7) and (8) show that the strengths of shocks to the permanent and transitory components are determined by the parameters $\phi$ and $\alpha$ respectively.

$$\frac{\partial q_t}{\partial \epsilon_{t-1}^2} = \phi$$

(7)

$$\frac{\partial (h_{t-1}^2 - q_t)}{\partial \epsilon_{t-1}^2} = \alpha$$

(8)

When $\rho < 1$ and $(\alpha + \beta) < 1$, the GARCH process is covariance stationary, implying that for the conditional variance to be stationary, the permanent and transitory components must both be covariance stationary.

Supporting evidence for the CGARCH results is obtained from a structural time series model. Structural time series models decompose observed time series that need not be stationary into their unobserved components (trends, cycles, seasonal and irregular factors). Harvey and his various collaborators argue in many papers that the model-based approach is superior to other methods for separating trends and cycles. For example, (Harvey & Trimbur, 2003) point out that the filters defined by the model are consistent both with each other and the data and that they adapt automatically to the ends of the sample. This means that no observations are lost as with the Baxter-King filter (Baxter and King, 1999). Although irrelevant for this study, an advantage of structural time series models is that explanatory variables, outliers and trend breaks can be incorporated easily into them. Both univariate and multivariate models can be estimated (Koopman et al., 2006, Harvey, 1989). For the univariate model, the general specification is:

$$y_t = \mu_t + \phi_t + \gamma_t + \epsilon_t$$

(9)

where:

- $y_t$ is the observed series, often in natural logs
- $\mu_t$ is the trend component, which can be specified as a stochastic process in quite flexible ways
- $\phi_t$ is the cyclical component, which can be specified as a stochastic process
- $\gamma_t$ is the seasonal component that can be stochastic or non-stochastic
- $\epsilon_t$ is the irregular component.

The local linear trend model can be written as:

$$y_t = \mu_t + \epsilon_t, \epsilon_t \sim \text{NID}(0, \sigma_\epsilon^2)$$

(10)

with the trend component specified as:

$$\mu_t = \mu_{t-1} + \beta_{t-1} + \eta_t, \eta_t \sim \text{NID}(0, \sigma_\eta^2)$$

(11)

$$\beta_t = \beta_{t-1} + \xi_t, \xi_t \sim \text{NID}(0, \sigma_\xi^2)$$

(12)

where $\mu_t$ is the level and $\beta_t$ is the slope (the growth rate for log variables). The level and the slope can be stochastic or fixed according to judgements made about the path of the trend.
The local linear model assumes that level and slope are stochastic. The smooth trend model assumes that the level is fixed and the slope is stochastic and that they are combined with a cycle or autoregressive component. Structural time series models are estimated by putting them into state space form. Maximum likelihood is employed to determine the parameters, with the Kalman filter being used to update the unobserved components. More detail can be obtained from (Harvey, 1989) and (Koopman et al., 2006).

**Data and descriptive statistics**

The analysis presented here is based on almost 20 years of the mid-rate spot exchange rate data as at 11:10 am daily that are posted on the Reserve Bank of New Zealand’s website (www.rbnz.govt.nz, file: hb1.xls). The exchange rates are the foreign currency price of the NZ dollar. A set of four currencies is analysed. The data are available for the US dollar (USD), the Australian dollar (AUD), the British pound (GBP) and the Japanese yen (YEN) from 1 July 1986. The total number of observations is 5116. The New Zealand dollar was floated in March 1985 so the data cover this period. It is believed that since the float, the RBNZ has not intervened in the foreign exchange market. The level of the exchange rate is influenced via short term interest rates.

The exchange rates were transformed into daily returns (first differences of logs as in 100ln[X/X(-1)]). The descriptive statistics for the daily returns are in Table 1. They confirm that the daily returns are highly volatile (e.g. the coefficient of variation for RUSD is about 15,000%) and non-normal in distribution (as measured by the Jacque-Bera statistic). The kurtosis for the British pound is particularly striking. As figure 2 reveals, this is entirely due to two outliers in early February 1992, well before Black Wednesday (September 16, 1992), when Britain was forced to leave the European Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM), which had been joined about two years earlier. When these outliers are eliminated, the kurtosis falls to 6.850, not too dissimilar to the other returns. Figure 2 shows that there was some extra volatility in the British pound about the time of withdrawal from the ERM.

The battery of unit root tests in EViews, including the group tests, were applied to the logged exchange rates. Unsurprisingly, they indicate that the levels were I(1) and that the returns were stationary. Tests using the Johansen procedure with varying numbers of lags offered no evidence of cointegration between the levels or the returns, either collectively or bilaterally. The Engle-Granger tests were also applied to bilateral exchange rates: these, too, offered no evidence of cointegration.

---

2 More general specifications for stochastic trends can be implemented. These are irrelevant for this study. See (Harvey & Trimbur, 2003) and (Koopman et al, 2006) for more detail.

3 These tests are not reported as they are peripheral to this study.
Table 1: Descriptive statistics for the daily returns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>RUSD</th>
<th>RAUD</th>
<th>RGBP</th>
<th>RYEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>0.0044</td>
<td>0.0014</td>
<td>-0.0005</td>
<td>-0.001443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median</td>
<td>0.0201</td>
<td>0.0108</td>
<td>0.0220</td>
<td>0.0314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximum</td>
<td>4.2983</td>
<td>3.4076</td>
<td>13.0159</td>
<td>4.3492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. Dev.</td>
<td>0.6606</td>
<td>0.5067</td>
<td>0.8037</td>
<td>0.8069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skewness</td>
<td>-0.230</td>
<td>-0.129</td>
<td>-0.417</td>
<td>-0.348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurtosis</td>
<td>6.157</td>
<td>7.445</td>
<td>41.241</td>
<td>5.054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jarque-Bera</td>
<td>2168.8 (0.000)</td>
<td>4224.4 (0.000)</td>
<td>311810.2 (0.000)</td>
<td>1002.3 (0.000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>5115</td>
<td>5115</td>
<td>5115</td>
<td>5115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CGARCH Results

The results are presented in Table 2. The autoregressive term in the conditional mean equation was included for the Australian dollar and British pound on statistical grounds. The AIC and BIC information criteria favoured this specification for these two equations. Unreported experiments with the inclusion of GARCH effects in the mean equation showed that they were irrelevant for all sets of returns. There were hints that threshold effects might be significant in the evolution of the transitory component for the US dollar.

The equations for the transitory components are reasonably conventional. The ARCH terms have α-coefficients that are all positive and highly significant for the US dollar, the Australian dollar and the yen. The coefficient for the British pound is almost significant at the 5% level. Except for the US dollar, the GARCH terms are not significant even at the 10% level and negative for the British pound and the yen. For the US and Australian dollars, short term stability is established as the sum (α + β) is positive for both currencies. For these two currencies, the half-lives are defined and are equivalent to 16 and 1 trading days respectively. As the sum of the transitory component parameters is negative for the British pound and the yen, there is no half-life defined for these currencies.4

The equations for the permanent component are well-defined for all of the daily returns. The autoregressive parameter ρ is very large and highly significant for all currencies, implying that there is slow convergence of the permanent volatilities to their mean levels. In all cases, the autoregressive parameter is bigger than the sum of the transitory components, implying slower mean reversion in the long run. In all cases, ρ < 1, which implies that the process is stable. For all sets of returns, the parameter φ > 0 and highly significant. The Lung-Box test statistics point to no serial dependency in the residuals. Except for the British pound, the ARCH-LM test indicates no ARCH effects in the residuals. Except for β for the Australian dollar, the results imply that the CGARCH model provides a better description of exchange rate volatility than a GARCH(1, 1) and that the conditional variance can be decomposed into permanent and transitory components.

---

4 The Appendix provides a crude demonstration that the presence of the two outliers in February 1992 for the British pound has a significant impact on estimations.
Table 2: CGARCH results. Daily returns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>RUSD</th>
<th>RAUD</th>
<th>RGBP</th>
<th>RYEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a0</td>
<td>0.011 (0.126)</td>
<td>0.003 (0.700)</td>
<td>0.005 (0.602)</td>
<td>0.012 (0.25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a1</td>
<td>-0.041 (0.009)</td>
<td>-0.039 (0.013)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ω</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>0.011</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ρ</td>
<td>0.999 (0.000)</td>
<td>0.988 (0.000)</td>
<td>0.996 (0.000)</td>
<td>0.985 (0.000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>φ</td>
<td>0.016 (0.024)</td>
<td>0.020 (0.000)</td>
<td>0.020 (0.000)</td>
<td>0.046 (0.000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>α</td>
<td>0.069 (0.000)</td>
<td>0.123 (0.000)</td>
<td>0.070 (0.055)</td>
<td>0.069 (0.000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>β</td>
<td>0.888 (0.000)</td>
<td>0.239 (0.100)</td>
<td>-0.103 (0.742)</td>
<td>-0.240 (0.110)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q1</td>
<td>0.062 (0.804)</td>
<td>0.403 (0.526)</td>
<td>0.017 (0.898)</td>
<td>0.858 (0.354)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q4</td>
<td>6.128 (0.190)</td>
<td>3.177 (0.529)</td>
<td>2.452 (0.653)</td>
<td>1.606 (0.808)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>0.484 (0.486)</td>
<td>1.217 (0.270)</td>
<td>8.645 (0.003)</td>
<td>0.463 (0.496)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A4</td>
<td>1.828 (0.767)</td>
<td>2.175 (0.704)</td>
<td>8.720 (0.038)</td>
<td>2.262 (0.688)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JB</td>
<td>1080.7 (0.000)</td>
<td>2229.2 (0.000)</td>
<td>32040.5 (0.000)</td>
<td>409.8 (0.000)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES: Estimations were carried out with EViews 5.1 using Bollerslev-Wooldridge robust standard errors and covariance. The models were chosen on the Log likelihood and the BIC and AIC information criteria. All results are rounded to 3 decimal places. a0 is the constant and a1 the coefficient for the return lagged once in the mean equation. Qk is Ljung-Box test statistic at k lags. Ak is the ARCH LM test statistic for k lags (Obs*R2 option). JB is the Jarque-Bera test statistic for residual normality. Prob-vals are in brackets.

Figures 3 and 4 show the permanent (or trend) components extracted from the conditional variance. There is no obvious common trend that would indicate some common factor being at work.
The contemporaneous correlation coefficients between the permanent components are reported in Table 3. The correlation coefficients reinforce the impressions gained from the graphs of the permanent components. There are no strong correlations between the daily returns and, in particular, the correlations between the British pound and the other currencies are quite low. As might be expected, and as Table 4 confirms, the correlations between the transitory components are very weak and lower than for the permanent components for all pairs of currencies.

Table 3: Correlations between permanent components

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>USDPC</th>
<th>AUDPC</th>
<th>GBPPC</th>
<th>YENPC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>USDPC</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUDPC</td>
<td>0.430</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GBPPC</td>
<td>0.080</td>
<td>0.230</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YENPC</td>
<td>0.450</td>
<td>0.450</td>
<td>0.140</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Correlations between transitory components

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>USDTC</th>
<th>AUDTC</th>
<th>GBPTC</th>
<th>YENTC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>USDTC</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUDTC</td>
<td>0.240</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GBPTC</td>
<td>0.070</td>
<td>0.100</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YENTC</td>
<td>0.030</td>
<td>0.130</td>
<td>0.060</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 compares the standard deviation of the permanent component to the standard deviation of the temporary component for the four currencies to get a measure of which component contributes more to the volatility of the daily returns. On this measure, both components are equally important for the US dollar, whereas the permanent component is dominant for the other three currencies.

Table 5: Relative Volatilities (ratio of standard deviations)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>USD</td>
<td>1.036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUD</td>
<td>1.409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GBP</td>
<td>2.044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEN</td>
<td>2.074</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Structural Time Series Estimation

(Harvey et al., 1994) is followed in this paper. Their modelling was based on a stochastic volatility model which assumes that the stochastic variance of the returns \( y_t \) follows the AR(1) process:

\[
y_t = \sigma_t \varepsilon_t = \sigma \varepsilon_t, \exp(h_t/2) \quad \varepsilon_t \sim IID(0,1)
\]

where \( \sigma \) is a scale factor and:

\[
h_t = \gamma + \phi h_{t-1} + \eta_t \quad \eta_t \sim NID(0, \sigma^2_\eta)
\]

In order for quasi-maximum likelihood estimation to be used with the Kalman filter, the observations have to be transformed to give:

\[
\log(y^2_t) = \kappa + h_t + \xi_t
\]

To avoid practical problems that arise if some of the observations are zero, either the mean is subtracted or the following transformation is used:

\[
\log y^2_t \approx \log(y^2_t + cs^2_y) - \frac{cs^2_y}{y^2_t + cs^2_y}
\]

where \( s^2_y \) is the sample standard deviation of the variable \( y \) and \( c \) is a small number. In this application, this modified variable (using \( c = 0.02 \)) was created and STAMP 7.0 used to estimate a model with the components being fixed level, AR(1) and Irregular.\(^5\)

Some of the relevant estimation information is presented in Table 6. As might be expected, the AR(1) coefficients (\( \phi \)) are quite large but less than one, implying that the evolution of the stochastic volatility is stable for all four currencies. The presence of heteroscedasticity in the residuals is rejected decisively by the H-stat. The Box-Ljung test statistic (Q) rejects decisively the existence of autocorrelation in the residuals except for the AUD.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>( H )-stat</th>
<th>USD</th>
<th>AUD</th>
<th>GBP</th>
<th>YEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.082 (0.998)</td>
<td>0.842 (1.00)</td>
<td>0.087 (1.00)</td>
<td>0.972 (1.00)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AR(1) (( \phi ))</td>
<td>0.992</td>
<td>0.976</td>
<td>0.993</td>
<td>0.986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q(70, 67)</td>
<td>46.72 (0.97)</td>
<td>90.21 (0.03)</td>
<td>62.30 (0.64)</td>
<td>74.51 (0.25)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES: Prob-vals in brackets. H-stat test for heteroscedasticity. The Box-Ljung test statistic (Q) is based on the first 70 residual autocorrelations and 67 dof. - rounded to two decimal places.

Figures 5 and 6 chart the evolution of the stochastic volatilities. As for the CGARCH permanent components, there is no obvious trend in the data.

---

\(^5\) \( C = 0.02 \) is used because it was the default value in STAMP 6.0. Experiments with other small values produced almost identical results for the AR(1) process that represents the stochastic volatility, as did the estimation with demeaned data.
Comparison between the CGARCH and Stochastic Volatility models

In an attempt to test whether there might be common trends in daily returns, principal component analysis was conducted on the correlation matrix for the CGARCH permanent components and the stochastic volatilities. The results are presented in Tables 7 and 8.

The ordinary correlation matrix in Table 7 shows that the permanent components are relatively weakly correlated, especially between the British pound and the other three currencies, an outcome that is not very supportive of a common trend amongst the four currencies. The first two principal components account for 70.4% of the variance in the volatility. The first component is suggestive of a common trend for the US dollar, the Australian dollar and the yen. The second component is strongly correlated with the British pound.

The ordinary correlation matrix for the stochastic volatilities in Table 8 shows that there are weak correlations between the four currencies. The first two principal components account for 75.4% of the variance in the volatility. In this case, the first principal component hints at a common trend for all four currencies. The second component is strongly correlated with the Australian dollar.

Figure 5: stochastic volatilities

Figure 6: stochastic volatilities
Conclusion

Both the CGARCH and stochastic volatility models provide empirical evidence for volatility in the daily exchange rates for the US dollar, the Australian dollar, the British pound and the yen. The CGARCH decomposition provides convincing evidence for the existence of permanent and transitory components in the conditional variance of the four currencies covered. For the Australian dollar, British pound and the yen, the permanent component is dominant, whereas for the US dollar the two components are relatively equal in their contributions to the volatility.

The integration of financial markets raises the possibility of common trends in daily exchange rate returns. Somewhat surprisingly, principal component analysis revealed no convincing evidence for the existence of common long run trends for the New Zealand dollar, as estimations from the two models are contradictory.

It is trite to say that volatility of returns is a key issue for researchers in financial economics and analysts in financial markets. Because the prices of financial assets are functions of the expected volatility of returns, financial institutions make volatility assessments as a part of monitoring their risk exposure. Further work is required to assess the ability of the CGARCH model to provide good estimates of the volatility in New Zealand exchange rates.

Table 7: Principal Components Analysis: Permanent components of CGARCH
Computed using ordinary correlations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eigenvalues:</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Difference</th>
<th>Proportion</th>
<th>Cumulative Value</th>
<th>Cumulative Proportion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.848013</td>
<td>0.878748</td>
<td>0.4620</td>
<td>1.848013</td>
<td>0.4620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.969265</td>
<td>0.347443</td>
<td>0.2423</td>
<td>2.817279</td>
<td>0.7043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.621822</td>
<td>0.060923</td>
<td>0.1555</td>
<td>3.439101</td>
<td>0.8598</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.560899</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>0.1402</td>
<td>4.000000</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Eigenvectors (loadings)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>PC1</th>
<th>PC2</th>
<th>PC3</th>
<th>PC4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>USD</td>
<td>0.549896</td>
<td>-0.267897</td>
<td>0.581330</td>
<td>0.536565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUD</td>
<td>0.582778</td>
<td>-0.002489</td>
<td>0.179180</td>
<td>-0.792628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GBP</td>
<td>0.226196</td>
<td>0.955726</td>
<td>0.062660</td>
<td>0.177473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEN</td>
<td>0.553914</td>
<td>-0.121707</td>
<td>-0.791217</td>
<td>0.228785</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ordinary correlations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>USD</th>
<th>AUD</th>
<th>GBP</th>
<th>YEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>USD</td>
<td>1.000000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUD</td>
<td>0.419096</td>
<td>1.000000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GBP</td>
<td>0.057759</td>
<td>0.169382</td>
<td>1.000000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEN</td>
<td>0.377341</td>
<td>0.406978</td>
<td>0.110745</td>
<td>1.000000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Weights on variables (eigenvectors scaled by std. dev. of variables)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>PC1</th>
<th>PC2</th>
<th>PC3</th>
<th>PC4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>USD</td>
<td>2.71650</td>
<td>-1.60310</td>
<td>-3.82040</td>
<td>-0.85651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUD</td>
<td>4.77280</td>
<td>0.31835</td>
<td>4.44770</td>
<td>-5.29700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GBP</td>
<td>0.49752</td>
<td>1.72840</td>
<td>-0.41683</td>
<td>0.20216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEN</td>
<td>1.93610</td>
<td>-0.60687</td>
<td>1.05060</td>
<td>2.59020</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 8: Principal Components Analysis – stochastic volatilities
Computed using ordinary correlations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Difference</th>
<th>Proportion</th>
<th>Cumulative Value</th>
<th>Cumulative Proportion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.244339</td>
<td>1.474457</td>
<td>0.5611</td>
<td>2.244339</td>
<td>0.5611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.769882</td>
<td>0.243841</td>
<td>0.1925</td>
<td>3.014221</td>
<td>0.7536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.526041</td>
<td>0.066302</td>
<td>0.1315</td>
<td>3.540262</td>
<td>0.8851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.459738</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>0.1149</td>
<td>4.000000</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Eigenvectors (loadings):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>PC1</th>
<th>PC2</th>
<th>PC3</th>
<th>PC4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>USD</td>
<td>0.525796</td>
<td>0.118177</td>
<td>-0.801169</td>
<td>0.260195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUD</td>
<td>0.433817</td>
<td>0.787174</td>
<td>0.429423</td>
<td>0.088068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GBP</td>
<td>0.492695</td>
<td>-0.555664</td>
<td>0.412679</td>
<td>0.527433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEN</td>
<td>0.540919</td>
<td>-0.240062</td>
<td>0.058484</td>
<td>-0.803963</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ordinary correlations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>USD</th>
<th>AUD</th>
<th>GBP</th>
<th>YEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>USD</td>
<td>1.000000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUD</td>
<td>0.413107</td>
<td>1.000000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GBP</td>
<td>0.420026</td>
<td>0.257532</td>
<td>1.000000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEN</td>
<td>0.495658</td>
<td>0.361831</td>
<td>0.518582</td>
<td>1.000000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Weights on variables (eigenvectors scaled by std. dev. of variables)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>PC1</th>
<th>PC2</th>
<th>PC3</th>
<th>PC4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>USD</td>
<td>0.69583</td>
<td>0.15639</td>
<td>1.06020</td>
<td>-0.34434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUD</td>
<td>1.08270</td>
<td>1.96460</td>
<td>-1.07170</td>
<td>-0.21980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GBP</td>
<td>1.40830</td>
<td>-1.58830</td>
<td>-1.17960</td>
<td>-1.50760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEN</td>
<td>1.27610</td>
<td>-0.56633</td>
<td>-0.13797</td>
<td>1.89660</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX: Alternative results for the British pound

The estimation of the CGARCH model for the daily returns for the British pound is influenced heavily by the existence of the outliers in February 1992. Some evidence for this is provided by the re-estimation of the model with the two extreme returns eliminated. The results (with prob-vals in brackets) are:

\[ \text{RGBP}_t = 0.0019 - 0.0282 \text{RGBP}(-1) \]
\[ (0.847) \quad (0.070) \]
\[ h_t^2 = q_t + 0.0637(q_{t-1}^2 - q_{t-1}) + 0.818(h_{t-1}^2 - q_{t-1}) \]
\[ (0.000) \quad (0.000) \]
\[ q_t = 0.001 + 0.998q_{t-1} + 0.012(e_{t-1}^2 - h_{t-1}^2) \]
\[ (0.000) \quad (0.007) \]

The positive and significant values for \( \alpha, \beta \) and \( \rho > (\alpha + \beta) > 0 \) implies that the evolution of the permanent and transitory components will be well-behaved.
References


Conceptions, Identities, and Racial Classification:
Differences between Multiracials and Monoracials

**Topic Area:** Ethnic Studies/International Studies

**Student Paper**

For

**Paper Session**

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Abstract

In this paper we present three studies exploring the nature of racial identification. In the first study, we examined the way in which people racially identified themselves, using a typical survey approach at a Southwestern university. Over 1000 participants were asked (1) to “choose your primary racial group” (from a list of six standard racial categories) and (2) if they saw themselves as multiracial, monoracial, or unsure. Of the students who claimed multiracial identity, when asked to choose a single identity, 12% originally marked White, 21% Asian, 26% Black, 35% Hispanic, 60% American Indian/Alaskan Native, and 50% Indian. The second study asked participants to indicate how they personally identify racially, and how strangers typically identify them in public. This study revealed that 30% of participants claimed that strangers typically misidentified them—with the largest discrepancy seen amongst Asian, Mixed Asian, and Pacific Islander participants. Finally, the third study investigated how student samples from Texas and Hawai‘i differ in their conceptions of race—i.e., whether they tend to focus on social versus biological indicants of race. It was hypothesized that multiracials would view race as more socially constructed than do their monoracial peers. Post-hoc tests revealed that multiracials and those who were unsure of their monoracial/multiracial status were significantly more likely to view race as a socially constructed concept than do their monoracial peers. In addition, when asked about their dating preferences, it was found that young people possessing a more social construct of race (one not based on physical appearance) would be more likely to date people not belonging to their own racial group than those with a more biological construct of race. This suggests that one’s beliefs about race could be one, amongst various factors affecting mate selection.

These results (1) question the validity of current surveys, which typically ask people (including those of mixed ancestry) to indicate a single race, and (2) do not make it clear as to the purpose for which categorization is being sought. Consequences of having a more biological or social view of race and the ability to manipulate this construct will be further discussed.
Women in 1950s America had it rough. From a young age, they were taught that their ultimate goal was to find a suitable husband, and that their greatest joy would be to stay at home and raise a family while her spouse served as the household’s bread-winner. She would be happy, content, and eager to be the primary child rearer while their father took a backseat role. Any ambitions she had outside the household were discouraged. She was expected to wear feminine clothing, to be demure and passive in the presence of other men, and to be satisfied with her limited life.

Society today looks back on the women of the 1950s in America with a sense of accomplishment, thinking that we’ve come so far, that we’re no longer forced to fill that role if we don’t want to, we can do anything a man can do, and maybe more. We are not seen only as baby factories, but instead as human beings with minds of our own, not driven by some insatiable desire to be married off and shoved into a household to create a family. We have the advantage of observing the era and its relics (like ads in magazines clearly depicting women as homemakers, and men as bread-winners) in retrospect.

Similarly, in 50 years, or a hundred years or more, what opinion of our time will men and women of the future have concerning the way our society treats women today? They will have proof of our treatment through items like the magazine ads we have from the 1950s. However, having technologically progressed beyond a time when the printed word was the most reliable, thorough, and telling source of our culture’s treatment of its
members, we must assume that the most useful artifacts would spawn from some electronic source, the most thorough of course being related in some way to the internet. Our chosen artifact must also be something that clearly represents our trend of thought based on numbers; the number of people who have access to, are exposed to, or use this artifact needs to be somewhat large in order to provide a fair and balanced account of people living today, and what we think of each other based on gender.

I propose the online game World of Warcraft represent this artifact. World of Warcraft (hereon referred to only as “Warcraft”) is what is known in the gaming world as an MMORPG, a Mass Multiplayer Online Role Playing Game. This means that it is a game played online by many people who can interact with each other within the game. Each person creates a character which serves as an avatar, with which the person can move throughout the virtual world, cooperating with (or hindering) others’ characters in order to accomplish tasks and make progress. To have a character that represents a real person within a game is what designates Warcraft as an RPG (Role Playing Game). Events, characters, and items found within the game can be discussed in real life as “in-game” items, characters, etc. Therefore, in-game money is not real money, and cannot be used to buy anything except in-game items, which can be worn, used, consumed, bought, sold, or thrown away. There exist also characters within the game called NPCs (Non-Player Characters). These characters do not represent real life people. Instead, they are representations of programs whose sole function is to interact with real player characters (characters represented by real life people) when prompted by real player characters in the virtual world. With these very basic guidelines in place, we can now discuss the details of this wildly popular game, and their implications pertaining to gender.
In order to create a character within the game, the player must choose from a number of options, including race (elf, orc, troll, human, dwarf, etc.), class (priest, mage, hunter, paladin, warrior, etc.), and gender. The most significant difference among all these choices is clearly race, but the disparities between genders are painfully apparent within each race. The males of each race are bulkier and significantly more muscular. Each would be considered a body-builder were he to have a real life counterpart, however if female humans for instance were to have a real life representative, she would be fit, perhaps toned, but certainly not muscular. The human female has large hips, small feet, C-cup breasts, a small waist, and her choice of which smiling face with which to equip her. Male humans on the other hand have nothing but straight, sometimes angry faces to choose from. Male night elves have nothing but sneering faces and angry, glowing eyes. Male trolls are constantly hunched over, even when they run, while female trolls stand erect, back arched, with perky breasts, flat stomachs, and long toned legs.

Bear in mind that everything in Warcraft, like any other completely fabricated game, work of art, etc., is intentionally made to be a certain way. Every single detail was specifically laid out, debated (or instinctively done), and executed with purpose. This means that this discrepancy was thought of, weighed, then painstakingly done, using different gender-related cues specific to each race to let the common gamer know immediately upon seeing a character its gender. What’s more is that these are stark differences between genders, and yet they are never questioned by the gamers who encounter them over and over. How do the creators of Warcraft know what distinguishing marks say “male” or “female” to their audience? Moreover, why doesn’t
the audience realize it is being manipulated with its own assumptions regarding gender and gender relations?

The answer lies in human nature. Throughout recorded history, the male of the species has physically been the more dominant of the sexes. This is assumed to be the case, this is what we are taught from a very young age, and this is exactly why cues like those used in Warcraft are placed unquestioningly upon an audience that accepts it without a word. Let us look at this portion of the game from the perspective of a future archaeologist. After playing the game, he would understand that a world full of adventurers hell-bent on killing everything they come across demands that everyone in the game have an unusual amount of muscle. This might explain the physique of all the males in the game. After seeing the female characters, our archaeologist might conclude that their sex appeal is one method to attract an audience (assuming it still is at the time of our future archaeological dig), so there is no reason to give gamers the option of choosing a human female with anything other than a perfect body.

Everything in this game is meant to appeal to the nature of the gaming community. With that in mind, our archaeologist needs to use every part of this game to learn everything she can about this very specialized community. She can attempt to disassemble various aspects of the game in order to reconstruct the portion of our society that consists of gamers, their concept of gender, and the disparity that distinguishes male from female in their eyes. She can begin with the physical appearance of each character. But physique is just one aspect of the game that serves to help the archaeologist analyze how gamers categorize male and female attributes. The way each gender wears their armor can be very telling.
Every gender of every race has the opportunity to wear the same armor, be it cloth, leather, mail or plate. There are various levels of armor, some enabling the wearer to be more thoroughly defended than others. Cloth armor tends to consist mostly of full-length robes, which often resemble a woman’s dress, however male characters are not made fun of for wearing them, since what matters is how effective a job they do. When human males wear these robes, they are loose-fitting, cover his entire body, and fall straight to the ground. However, when a human female dons the same set of robes, suddenly the skirt is skin tight, a slit runs up her leg, and the top shows off her stomach, arms, and back. The worst of these instances occur with very advanced plate armor, where a male character will appear to wear a solid black metal breastplate, and a female character wearing the same chest piece will appear ready for a day at the beach, complete with bikini top. We should consider how our archaeologist would react to such a stark difference in clothing type. She may ask why it is acceptable for males in this game to cover their bodies while females are allowed (rather, expected) to show more skin. Bearing in mind the fact that the gamer community consists almost entirely of males between the ages of 13 and 35, she may conclude that this game is simply catering to its audience. She may also conclude that while the men clearly wear armor, the women are merely dressing up, forcing them to fill the role of the dainty woman even while in combat. Tami Amanda Jacoby puts it well:

“Since women have traditionally been unarmed and absent from the upper echelons of the defence [sic] industrial complex, men have inadvertently
been conferred the right to “protect” women, while women have been defined as vulnerable and in need of protection.”¹

Diablo II is another computer game in which women are forced, even on the battlefield, into more passive, feminine roles. Unlike in Warcraft, Diablo II does not give each class its choice of gender. The warrior character, here called the “Barbarian,” is always a man. He is vicious, bare-chested and tattooed. The paladin, like the barbarian, is also male, and uses only hand-to-hand combat to defeat his foes, a very confrontational way to win a battle. The Necromancer, one who wakes the dead to fight for him, is never given a female equal in the game. Each of these fighters is very physical or dark in their fighting styles. The only two female real player characters in the game are the Amazon, who fills the role of the hunter and is encouraged to use distance attacks like arrows or throwing spears, and a Sorceress, who depends on her knowledge of the elements to attack her enemies with balls of flame and ice. Our archaeologist would surely be struck by the passivity of the female roles, even when in battle. The male characters in the game are allowed to be overtly violent, while the women, while often more powerful than the men, are kept at a distance from their attackers. This may suggest to her the expectations on men and women in our time; men are perhaps allowed to be more confrontational, while women should solve their problems equally completely, but still maintain a safe distance.

Another way in which Warcraft appeals to its audience visually is through dance. Each gender of each race has a specific dance that, when prompted by a real life person,

he or she will perform until told to stop by the real life person that character represents. Male characters, disco or shuffle their feet or do flips; some of them are humorous. Female characters, on the other hand, swivel and gyrate and roll their bodies to an imaginary beat. The female elf dance cannot be described in any way other than erotic. An archaeologist may conclude from these displays that the males are meant to be the comic relief, while the females are meant to be the real entertainment. This theory can be further supported through an analysis of the jokes the female elves and human males tell when prompted. The elf female will say “That’s right, I’m dancing again! I hope you and your friends are enjoying the show.” The creators of the game are practically admitting that this character was made to dance erotically in order to entertain onlookers. The human male has the capability of being a paladin, a holy warrior, who can cast a spell called protection, which is essentially a shield. When prompted to tell a joke, he will say “Of course I use protection, baby, I’m a paladin!” This can safely be interpreted as an allusion to practicing safe sex, and the two jokes are often juxtaposed. Our archaeologist may take another stance completely, and claim that since the male dancing involves more physical exertion, than men are assumed to be more physically coordinated than women, more athletically inclined, while women’s motions are more subtle, and naturally more sexual, bearing in mind that they would only be considered sexual when presented to the appropriate audience.

An important question that the archaeologist must ask herself first and foremost is whether or not the characters portrayed in Warcraft accurately represent what people were like during the game’s creation, or if they represent our ideal man (a muscular, murderous, disco dancing adventurer) or woman (a lithe, flirtatious, heavily armed
stripper). Another possibility is that these characters represent complete fantasy. The last explanation would be an unhealthy mixture of each option; to assume that the culture that created Warcraft, including those who contributed to it by participating in it, assumed things like elves have never and will never exist, but if they did, it is also assumed that the female elves would be sexy, and the male elves would be angry.

Now let us travel beyond the physical appearances and inner workings of each character to discuss NPCs (Non-player Characters), and their function in the virtual landscape. Their primary function within the game is to hand out quests, or jobs to real player characters to do, in order for them to make progress (by which I mean become more wealthy, more powerful, and to be come better equipped with armor, weaponry, etc.). I would like to use what I consider to be an ideal example: a husband and wife NPC, both of whom give quests when addressed by a real player character. The husband asks the real player character (hereon called the “adventurer”) if she could please go to his farm, which is now overrun by bandits (both male and female), and retrieve for him a family heirloom in the form of a watch. His wife, on the other hand, asks the adventurer if she would gather up some ingredients for a stew she wants to make for a friend of hers (another woman who lives in a farm nearby). Our archaeologist may interpret this to mean that the man represents the keeper of the family heritage, while the woman is in charge of more basic matters like cooking and keeping in touch with friends. Jacoby points out this important distinction using a “home front—battlefield”\(^{2}\) model:

\(^{2}\) Jacoby, 40.
“…home front—battlefield is a powerful interface of discourses and practices that designates particular roles to men and women in conflict zones.”

The archaeologist may compare this portrayal of the husband and wife relationship to the way the ancient Mayans’ portrayal of their spousal relationships has been interpreted. Women are portrayed on pottery doing household chores such as cooking and basket-weaving. Men were clearly the primary rulers of the ancient Maya cities, yet it is made clear in various scripts that the man is incomplete without a wife to cook meals, tend to ancestral offerings, assist him with ceremonies, and so on. Without his wife, the man is an incomplete ruler. This is how the evidence left by a civilization, given to us after hundreds of years is interpreted today. Based on gender relations in Warcraft, similar conclusions might be drawn about our own culture.

Perhaps the most fascinating part of Warcraft as far as the topic of gender is concerned is the chat window. Everyone online at the time can type in the chat window for anyone within a certain area to read. The conversation is usually game-based, but is not limited to topics of in-game items, events, monsters and so on. Even when discussing apparently genderless monsters like bears or cats, I was shocked to discover how gendered the “gamer slang” used by the vast majority of the players was. If a monster were to decisively wipe-out a player, he might type something like “I just got raped by that guy, that fag totally raped me.” This kind of language is more than common in gaming chat, it is practically expected. Now, our archaeologist might notice, if she did her research, that at least 99% of all people who talk this way in-game are male. She might ask herself what kind of society has men and boys who are reared to love their

3 Jacoby, 40.
mothers, sisters, and wives, who are comfortable using so strong and violent a word (on so many levels) as rape. She may conclude that the word rape had lost its significance for so many people to use it with such nonchalance; or that men had so come to dominate this society (having out numbered women a thousand to one) that words that depicted such a violent offense, known to mostly be committed against women, had, without a voice to correct the error, lost any real significance in this specialized gaming society.

Any conclusion our archaeologist can draw from Warcraft will still only be based on information from a specialized community, within a society which may or may not be misrepresented through these images and texts. The overall population may be completely different from those 4.5 million people world-wide who play this game for hours upon hours a day. These misinterpretations can be extended to our present interpretation of Maya images and glyphs, or even of the 1950s advertisements. The clear advantage we have in the case of those ads is to have access to first-hand accounts of what the era form which those artifacts came today. The key, then, is to keep careful records of our time, to constantly vigilant and introspective, to analyze why we say or do things one way and not another, and what that could mean in terms of race, class, or gender.
Bibliography

Title Page

1. Title of submission: Nostalgia and Song Lyrics—Identity and Connectedness

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Abstract

Those were the days, my friend
We thought they'd never end
We'd sing and dance forever and a day
We'd live the life we'd choose
We'd fight and never lose
For we were young and sure to have our way

The wistful sentiment of lyrics of songs such as “Those Were the Days,” (Hopkin, 1968) has been expressed in musical genres ranging from classic country to contemporary rap. It may be surprising to learn that such a universal human experience has received little empirical attention in psychology. The term “nostalgia” was coined to refer to the phenomenon of longing for home by Hofer in his 1688 medical dissertation (Anspach, 1934), and the word retained its use first as a medical and then as a psychiatric disease into the first half of the 20th century. By the second half of the 20th century, the meaning of the word nostalgia had broadened beyond “homesickness” to “wistful memory or recall of an earlier time” (Burchfield, 1976).

Originally classified a disease, nostalgia has been conceptualized as maladaptive throughout the majority of its history. However, the universality of nostalgic sentiment suggests that the experience serves an adaptive function. Psychoanalytic theorists have suggested that nostalgia helps young adults accept the loss of their idealized childhood (Kaplan, 1984) and accomplish the important process of individuation (Neumann, 1949/1971; Peters, 1985). Other theorists have proposed that nostalgic reminiscence enables a person to assess personal change over time (Cavanaugh, 1989), adapt to discontinuity in life (Davis, 1979), and maintain a sense of self-identity and connectedness to others (Hertz, 1990; Mills and Coleman, 1994; Wilson, 1999).
Empirical tests of theories are few, given a lack of consensus with regard to operational definitions and appropriate methods of measurement. Stern (1992) makes a distinction between two types of nostalgia—historical, in which a distant past is perceived as superior to the present, and personal, in which a personal past is remembered wistfully. Defining 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),” Holbrook and Schindler (1991, p. 330) developed a 20-item inventory on which respondents indicate their level of agreement with evaluative statements about the present and the past.

Restricting the term to feelings toward the personal past lived by an individual, Batcho (1995; 1998) developed a 20-item inventory on which respondents rate the extent to which they miss each of the items from when they were younger. According to Stern’s distinction, Holbrook and Schindler’s technique assesses historical nostalgia and Batcho’s inventory assesses personal nostalgia. The availability of surveys to measure the degree to which a person is predisposed to nostalgia has encouraged researchers to conduct empirical investigations of theories of nostalgia.

Batcho (1998) found that participants who scored high on an inventory of personal nostalgia recounted autobiographical memories in which other people played prominent roles. Similarly, Batcho (2002) found that autobiographical memories solicited by an explicit instruction to recall nostalgic memories were rated higher in nostalgia, love, and contentment than were memories elicited with a neutral instruction. In another study, Batcho (2004) examined the relationship of personal nostalgia to psychological change after three events and found that personal nostalgia was correlated with favorable changes in perceptions of continuity,
social connectedness, belonging, and identity. The pattern of findings across studies suggests that nostalgia can strengthen a person’s sense of self and connectedness to others.

Many theorists argue that connectedness to others is essential to maintaining a sense of self-identity (Hertz, 1990; Mills and Coleman, 1994; Wilson, 1999). Theories that emphasize the role of personal nostalgia in preserving a sense of self focus on two dimensions of identity formation—defining self in reference to others and sustaining continuity across changes over time. Each of these dimensions can be found in songs that express nostalgic feeling. For example, the integral connection between self and other is made clear in the contemporary song, “Who I Am,” in which Jessica Andrews (2001) sings “I am Rosemary's granddaughter, the spitting image of my father . . . I've got friends who love me and they know just where I stand. It's all a part of me and that's who I am.” The survival of self-identity despite dramatic changes with the passage of time is clear in the folk song “Those Were the Days” (Hopkin, 1968). The lyricist notes “the busy years went rushing by us; we lost our starry notions on the way. Just tonight, I stood before the tavern—nothing seemed the way it used to be.” The threat to self is clear as the lyricist continues, “In the glass, I saw a strange reflection. Was that lonely woman really me?” The sense of continuity is restored with the acknowledgement of an enduring relationship “there came familiar laughter. I saw your face and heard you call my name. Oh, my friend . . . in our hearts, the dreams are still the same.”

Given their power to evoke emotion (Stratton & Zalanowski, 1994), song lyrics constitute a rich vehicle for the exploration of the characteristics and psychological functions of nostalgic sentiment. The richness of lyrics, however, also presents serious methodological difficulties in distinguishing among the diverse elements and attributes inherent in creative works. Using original song lyrics composed for the study, Batcho (in press) explored the
relationship of nostalgia to lyrical emotion and social connectedness. Consistent with theories that relate nostalgia to social connectedness, participants who scored high in personal nostalgia preferred lyrics with other-directed themes. Although results suggested that identity was an important feature of nostalgic lyrics, identity had not been manipulated in the composition of the lyrics.

In the current study, lyrical content was manipulated to explore the relationship of nostalgia to identity and social connectedness. Four sets of original song lyrics were rated on seven characteristics by 96 undergraduates. All sets involved an individual’s recollection of childhood experiences but differed in their emphasis on the impact of those experiences on the lyricist’s sense of self and in the centrality of others. Two sets recounted experiences that influenced the author’s later sense of identity—one focused on time spent with a close relative, and the other focused on a memorable solitary achievement. Two sets of lyrics recounted childhood activities without mention of a later impact on identity—one centered on having close friends, and the other about solitary childhood play and the world viewed from the child’s perspective.

Participants completed Batcho’s (1998) inventory as a measure of personal nostalgia for the respondent’s remembered past and Holbrook’s (1993) inventory as a measure of historical nostalgia for a distant past perceived as superior to the present. Results are discussed within the framework of major theories of nostalgia (Batcho, 1995, 1998, in press; Cavanaugh, 1989; Davis, 1979; Holbrook, 1993; Mills & Coleman, 1994; Ross, 1991; Sedikides, Wildschut, & Baden, 2004).

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‘Determinants of Prenatal Care use among Women in Peru’

(Preliminary Report)

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‘Determinants of Prenatal Care use among Women in Peru’

Abstract

Objectives: This study examined the predisposing, enabling, need and healthcare systems factors of two patterns of prenatal care use (frequent prenatal care, early prenatal care) among Peruvian women.

Methods: Data from the 2004 Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) was used to assess the women’s use of prenatal care. All data was weighted, resulting in a sample of n=1771 women who had a live birth since January 1999. Bivariate chi square analysis and logistic regression were used to analyze the effects of the selected factors on prenatal care use.

Results: Speaking an indigenous language, having secondary or higher education, and high socioeconomic status (SES) were significantly associated to frequent prenatal care (four prenatal care visits or over). Women having five children or more, not being a member of the Maternal and Health Insurance, and having a mistimed pregnancy were significantly less likely to have frequent prenatal care. Women who were currently unmarried, who never had a history of abortions or stillbirths, and whose last pregnancy was mistimed and unwanted were significantly less likely to have early prenatal care. Using a modern contraceptive method was positively related to early prenatal care.

Conclusion: Although the Peruvian government made significant improvements in the health sector such as implementing Insurance for pregnant women free of charge for the poorest population, there are still efforts to be made in order to increase health services among underserved women (e.g. women with five children or more, with elementary or no education, unmarried, of low SES, of risk for an unwanted or mistimed pregnancy, of risk for abortion or stillbirths, not using a modern contraceptive method, not being a member of the maternal and health insurance).
I. Introduction

In countries with low maternal and infant mortality, prenatal care is a basic component of the maternal care services. Prenatal care alone may not solve all health care complications and mortalities related to pregnancy, however major efforts have been made especially in developing countries to assure that pregnant women have access to adequate prenatal care (Goodrum, 2001; De Brouwere, 1998). There are not many scientific researches about prenatal care effectiveness in the developing world but the World Health Organization recommends four visits for normal pregnancies (Villar et al, 2001).

Early Prenatal care may strive for early detection of obstetrical complications or high-risk pregnancies and, therefore, initiate prevention or intervention (Goodrum, 2001; Liu, 1998; Pisake, 2004; Villar, 2002; WHO, 2005).

Research in several countries has found many factors to be associated with prenatal care utilization e.g.: maternal education (Chakraborty et al., 2003; Elo, 1992; Vogl, 2004; Yu et al., 2001); health insurance coverage (Ciceklioglu et al.,2005); household wealth, (Van et al., 2006); marital status (Henze, 2004; Jaramillo, 2002; Mekonnen, 2002; Yu et al., 2001); area of residence (Kébreau, 2005); Ethnicity (Jaramillo, 2002), parity (Mekonen, 2002); intentionality of the pregnancy (Hulsey TM, 2001); distance to health facilities (Kébreau, 2005) Increasing maternal age has been associated with use of prenatal care, however, or older has been negatively associated with prenatal care use (Henze, 2004; Mekonen, 2002).

This study was designed to examine Predisposing, enabling, need and health care system factors of prenatal care use among women in reproductive age in Peru.
II. Methods

Data for this study comes from the Peruvian Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) 2004. The DHS is part of a program funded by USAID and implemented by Macro International Inc. In Peru, this survey has been applied at the national scale every four or five years, starting in 1986. To tackle the lack of information and follow ups during the intervals between surveys that did not allow timely implementation of new strategies or policies, a new, year by year rolling DHS was designed and started interviewing in 2004; interviews are conducted in a permanent way during nine months of each year. Data for the DHS 2004 was collected from December 2003 to September 2004. In 2004 the DHS surveyed a total of 6600 households and it is a representative sub sample of the total targeted sample of 33000 households to be implemented in five consecutive years (from 2004 to 2008).

The DHS includes a household questionnaire and a women’s questionnaire, the latter interviews women ages 15-49 found in the selected households. For this study we used the women’s questionnaire, focusing in the maternal and child-health component which among other information, obtained information on the use of health-care services by the mother during pregnancy for children born since January 1999. A multi-stage, cluster sampling procedure was used to select women to be interviewed by the DHS. In total, 6419 reproductive-aged women were eligible for the survey. Of the 6419 women, 6251 answered the questionnaire (INEI, Encuesta demográfica y de salud familiar 2004). The sample for this study was based on women who had their last child born alive during the five years prior to the interview date, including a total of 2053 births. Women who reported more than one pregnancy during the five-year period were asked to focus on the most recent pregnancy. It was necessary to weight the data to make the observations more representative. The weighted number of observations is n = 1771. All analyses were weighted.
The model of utilization of prenatal care used in this study is the health behavior model developed by Anderson and Newman. The original formulation included three types of factors that influence care use: **predisposing factors**, which includes sociodemographic characteristics and attitudes toward service use; **enabling factors**, that is, factors or means that facilitate the use of health services; and **need factors**, considered as the most immediate cause of health care use (Andersen and Newman, 1973). Subsequent revisions of the model added a fourth category, **healthcare system factors**, which includes health policy, resources and their organization in the health care system (Andersen, 1995).

The outcome variables were frequency of prenatal care and initiation of prenatal care. Frequency of prenatal care was dichotomized into 2 groups: 1: infrequent and no prenatal care (0-3 visits), and 2: frequent prenatal care (4 or more visits). Initiation of prenatal care was dichotomized into 1: early prenatal care (women who reported their first visit in the first to third month), and late prenatal care (women who reported their first visit in the fourth to ninth month).

Independent variables for this study included 1: **Predisposing factors**: Age at first birth (15-19, 20-34, 35-49); Parity (Para 1, Para 2-4, Para5+); household size, defined as the number of people living in the house (1-5, 6-10, 11+); ethnicity (Spanish speakers, indigenous language speakers); Number of children under five living in the house (0, 1, 2+), 2: **Enabling factors**: current marital status (married, not married); mother education (none or primary, secondary or higher); partner’s education (none or primary, secondary or higher); socioeconomic status (SES) (low/medium SES, high SES); whether the woman was currently working (yes, no); ever used contraceptive methods (traditional and no method, modern method). Intentionality of the last birth (wanted, mistimed or unwanted); member of the Maternal and health Insurance (yes, no); member of EsSalud (yes, no); getting money
needed for treatment (big problem, small problem); distance to health facility (big
problem, small problem); concern for no female health provider (big problem, small
problem); Final say on own health care (Respondent alone, Other than respondent). A
low /medium SES was defined as an SES in the bottom 3 quintiles of the wealth index.
Women who were affiliated to EsSalud include those who were affiliated with a
private insurance or to a public insurance system for formal workers, 3: Need factors:
history of abortion or stillbirths (yes vs. no), 4: Healthcare Systems Factors: Place
of residence (urban, rural area).

Bivariate chi-square analyses were used to determine the relationship between
prenatal care use and selected variables (predisposing, enabling, need and health care
system factors). Logistic regression derived adjusted odds ratios for prenatal care use.
Data were analyzed with the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS).

III. Results

Table 1 presents the distribution of prenatal care utilization by the sampled
women’s characteristics using Pearson’s Chi Square analysis. About 90 % of women
had frequent prenatal care. Of those who used prenatal care, 74% reported having
initiated prenatal care early. The highest prevalence of frequent prenatal care occurred
among: women 35 years old or older (93.8%), women who reported having only one
child (92.1%), household size of eleven or more (92.3%), being Spanish speaker
(88.1%), having one child under five and no children under five living in the house
(89.5% and 88.7% respectively), women reporting secondary education or higher
(93.3%), women whose husband had secondary education or higher (91.8%), women
with high socioeconomic status (96.4%), women who had ever used a modern
contraceptive method (89.7%), women reporting their last birth was wanted (91.8%),
women who were affiliated to the Maternal and health Insurance (92.0%), women
who considered getting money needed for treatment as a small problem (91.6),
women who considered distance to health facility as a small problem (91.5), women who considered the absence of female health provider in the health facilities as a small problem (90.8%), women who decided to seek care on their own, women living in the urban area (92.7%).

Women reporting a higher prevalence of early prenatal care included: those in the 35 to 49 year age group (87.1), those who reported having only one child (74.2%) and 2 to 4 children (75.9%), those who were Spanish speaker (75.1%), having one child under five living in the house (76.4%), women reporting being married (82.9%), those reporting secondary education or higher (76.6%), those whose husband had secondary education or higher (77.6%), those with high socioeconomic status (81.9%), those who had ever used a modern contraceptive method (76.4%), those reporting their last birth was wanted (82.4 %), those who were not affiliated to the Maternal and health Insurance (76.6%), those who were not affiliated to EsSalud (78.7%), those who considered getting money needed for treatment as a small problem (82.1%), those who considered distance to health facility as a small problem (78.0%), women who considered the absence of female health provider in the health facilities as a small problem (78.8%), women who decided to seek care on their own (76.2%), those who had a history of abortion or stillbirths (84.2%), and those living in the urban area (78.7%).
Table 1- Frequent Prenatal Care and Early Prenatal Care among Women in Peru, by Selected Characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Frequent prenatal care</th>
<th>Early prenatal care</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Predisposing Factors:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Age at first birth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-34</td>
<td>959</td>
<td>863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-49</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parity</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Para 1</td>
<td>595</td>
<td>548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Para 2-4</td>
<td>877</td>
<td>774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Para 5+</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household size</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-5</td>
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<td>757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>809</td>
<td>690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11+</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous language</td>
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<td>198</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>1527</td>
<td>1345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children under five</td>
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<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1077</td>
<td>964</td>
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<tr>
<td>2+</td>
<td>641</td>
<td>532</td>
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<td><strong>2. Enabling Factors:</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Current marital status</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not married</td>
<td>1141</td>
<td>987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married</td>
<td>629</td>
<td>556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother education</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary and below</td>
<td>643</td>
<td>492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary and higher</td>
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<td>1051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partner education</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Elementary and below</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary and higher</td>
<td>1220</td>
<td>1120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socioeconomic status</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low/medium</td>
<td>1101</td>
<td>897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>670</td>
<td>646</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Currently working</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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| Ever used contraceptive method | no     | 757 | 673 | 88.9 | 730 | 551 | 75.5 |
|                               | yes    | 1014| 870 | 85.8 | 959 | 698 | 72.8 |
| Intentionality of last birth   | wanted | 785 | 721 | 91.8 | 762 | 628 | 82.4 |
|                               | mistimed | 506 | 434 | 85.8 | 482 | 312 | 64.7 |
|                               | unwanted | 479 | 388 | 81.0*** | 445 | 309 | 69.4*** |
| Insurance:                    |        |     |     |      |     |     |      |
| Maternal health insurance     | No      | 979 | 815 | 83.2 | 900 | 689 | 76.6 |
|                               | Yes     | 791 | 728 | 92.0*** | 790 | 561 | 71.0** |
| EsSalud                        | No      | 853 | 753 | 88.3 | 809 | 637 | 78.7 |
|                               | Yes     | 911 | 783 | 85.9 | 873 | 609 | 69.8*** |
| Getting money needed for       |         |     |     |      |     |     |      |
| treatment:                    | Big problem | 1280 | 1095 | 85.5 | 1219 | 864 | 70.9 |
|                               | Small problem | 489 | 448 | 91.6*** | 470 | 386 | 82.1*** |
| Distance to health facility    | Big problem | 713 | 576 | 80.8 | 664 | 450 | 67.8 |
|                               | Small problem | 1057 | 967 | 91.5*** | 1025 | 799 | 78.0*** |
| No female health provider      | Big problem | 910 | 762 | 83.7 | 856 | 593 | 69.3 |
|                               | Small problem | 860 | 781 | 90.8*** | 833 | 656 | 78.8*** |
| Final say on own health care   | Respondent alone | 1097 | 977 | 89.1 | 1058 | 806 | 76.2 |
|                               | Other than respondent | 673 | 566 | 84.1** | 632 | 444 | 70.3** |
| 3. Need Factors:              |         |     |     |      |     |     |      |
| Ever had abortion, stillbirths | No      | 1447 | 1259 | 87.0 | 1378 | 987 | 71.6 |
|                               | Yes     | 324 | 284 | 87.7 | 311 | 262 | 84.2*** |
| 4. Health Care System Factors: |         |     |     |      |     |     |      |
| Area                          |         |     |     |      |     |     |      |
| Urban                        |         |     |     |      |     |     |      |
| rural                        |         |     |     |      |     |     |      |
|                              | 1067 | 989 | 92.7 | 1045 | 822 | 78.7 |
|                              | 704 | 554 | 78.7*** | 645 | 428 | 66.4*** |

Note: Significance tests are based on Pearson chi-square analysis. Significance: * p ≤ 0.05, ** p ≤ 0.01, *** p ≤ 0.001.
Tables 2 and 3 present the odds ratios and 95% confidence intervals for significant factors of frequent prenatal care and early prenatal care, respectively, after adjustment for other variables from table I. Variables which were not significant in the bivariate analysis were not included in the multivariate analysis. Model 1 adjusts for predisposing variables; model 2 adjusts for predisposing and enabling variables; model 3 adjusts for predisposing, enabling, and need variables; model 4 adjusts for predisposing, enabling, need and health care system variables. In table 2, need factor was not included as it was not found significant in the bivariate analysis.

In table 2, model 1, women who were 19 or younger at the time of the last birth were significantly less likely to have frequent prenatal care (0.714; 0.522, 0.978) than women age 20-34. Compared to women who had only one child, women with five or more children were less likely to have frequent prenatal care (0.237 [0.144, 0.391]). In model 2, compared to women having only one child, women having five or more children were significantly less likely to have frequent prenatal care (0.515 [0.275, 0.963]). In comparison with Spanish speaker women, those who spoke an indigenous language had an adjusted odds ratio of frequency of prenatal care of nearly 2 (1.758 [1.115, 2.772]). Women who had secondary education or higher had an odds ratio of more than 2 (2.055 [1.313, 3.217]). Women with high socioeconomic status (SES) also had an elevated adjusted odds ratio of frequent prenatal care (4.126[2.433, 7.000]). Women who had a mistimed pregnancy were significantly less likely to have frequent prenatal care (0.511 [0.331, 0.788]) compared to those with an intended birth. Women who were not affiliated to the maternal and health insurance were 0.216 times (0.150, 0.311) less likely to have frequent prenatal care than to those who were affiliated to the maternal and health insurance. Women considering distance to health facility as a big problem when seeking any health care were less likely to have frequent prenatal care 0.654 (0.454, 0.942) than those who considered distance to
health facility as a small problem. In model 3, women with five or more children born alive were less likely to have frequent prenatal care compared to women with only one live birth, (0.529 [0.282, 0.994]). Women who spoke an indigenous language had an adjusted odds ratio of frequent prenatal care of 1.824 (1.149, 2.897) compared to women who spoke Spanish. Mother education remained significant, those with secondary education or higher were more than two times as likely to have frequent prenatal care as those with only elementary education or no education (2.047 [1.307, 3.205]). SES was significant, those with a high SES had an elevated odds ratio of frequent prenatal care (3.748 [2.155, 6.518] in comparison to women of low SES. Women who had a mistimed pregnancy were significantly less likely to have frequent prenatal care (0.511 [0.331, 0.789]) compared to those with an intended birth. Those who were not affiliated to the maternal and health insurance were less likely to have frequent prenatal care (0.210 [0.145, 0.303]) than those who were affiliated.

In table 3, model 1, early prenatal care was found to be significantly lower among those 15 to 19 years old (0.658 [0.517, 0.837]) relative to those 20- to 34-year age group. In model 2; not married women were significantly less likely to have early prenatal care (0.537 [0.405, 0.712]) in comparison with married women. Women using a modern contraceptive method had an adjusted odds ratio of early prenatal care of 1.395 [1.013, 1.920] compared to women using a traditional method or not using any method. Women who had a mistimed and unwanted pregnancy were significantly less likely to have an early prenatal care (0.539 [0.398, 0.730]) and 0.672 [0.481, 0.939]), respectively) compared to those with an intended birth. Women considering no female health provider as a big problem when seeking health care were less likely to have early prenatal care visit (0.768 [0.597, 0.879]) than those who considered it as a small problem. In model 3; not married women were less likely to have early prenatal care (0.545 [0.411, 0.724]) compared to married women. Women using a
Table 2: Logistic Regressions: Frequent Prenatal Care in relation to predisposing, enabling, need and health care system factors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Model 1 Adjusted OR (95% CI)</th>
<th>Model 2 Adjusted OR (95% CI)</th>
<th>Model 3 Adjusted OR (95% CI)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Predisposing Factors:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age at first birth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>0.714 (0.522, 0.978)</td>
<td>0.853 (0.601, 1.211)</td>
<td>0.865 (0.609, 1.228)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-34</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-49</td>
<td>2.009 (0.257, 15.689)</td>
<td>1.132 (0.129, 9.894)</td>
<td>1.095 (0.127, 9.455)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Para 1</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Para 2-4</td>
<td>0.691 (0.448, 1.065)</td>
<td>0.896 (0.552, 1.452)</td>
<td>0.910 (0.561, 1.477)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Para 5+</td>
<td>0.237 (0.144, 0.391)</td>
<td>0.515 (0.275, 0.963)</td>
<td>0.529 (0.282, 0.994)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous language</td>
<td>0.988 (0.660, 1.478)</td>
<td>1.758 (1.115, 2.772)</td>
<td>1.852 (1.167, 2.939)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. Enabling Factors</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary and below</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary and higher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socioeconomic status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low/medium</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>4.126 (2.433, 7.000)</td>
<td>3.748 (2.155, 6.518)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intentionality of last birth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanted</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mistimed</td>
<td>0.511 (0.331, 0.788)</td>
<td>0.511 (0.331, 0.789)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unwanted</td>
<td>0.812 (0.523, 1.260)</td>
<td>0.807 (0.519, 1.253)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal health insurance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>0.216 (0.150, 0.311)</td>
<td>0.210 (0.145, 0.303)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Distance to health facility</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big problem</td>
<td>0.654 (0.454, 0.942)</td>
<td>0.695 (0.477, 1.014)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small problem</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3. Health Care System Factors:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.758 (0.488, 1.178)</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
modern contraceptive method had an adjusted odds ratio of early prenatal care of 1.378 [1.013, 1.920] compared to women using a traditional method or not using any method. Women who had a mistimed and unwanted pregnancy were significantly less likely to have early prenatal care (0.551 [0.406, 0.748]) and 0.674 [0.482, 0.943]), respectively) compared to those with an intended birth. Women who did not have any history of abortion or stillbirths were significantly less likely to have early prenatal care (0.553 [0.389, 0.785]) in comparison with women who had abortion or stillbirths.

In model 4; not married women were less likely to have early prenatal care (0.545 [0.411, 0.724]) compared to married women. Women using a modern contraceptive method had an adjusted odds ratio of early prenatal care of 1.379 [1.000, 1.903] compared to women using a traditional method or not using any method. Women who had a mistimed and unwanted pregnancy were significantly less likely to have an early prenatal care (0.551 [0.406, 0.748]) and 0.674 [0.482, 0.943]), respectively) compared to those with an intended birth. Women who did not have any history of abortion or stillbirths were significantly less likely to have an early prenatal care (0.552 [0.389, 0.785]) in comparison with women who had abortion or stillbirths.
### Table 3- Logistic Regressions: Early Prenatal care in relation to predisposing, enabling, need and health care system factors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Model 1 OR (95% CI)</th>
<th>Model 2 OR (95% CI)</th>
<th>Model 3 OR (95% CI)</th>
<th>Model 4 OR (95% CI)</th>
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<tbody>
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<td><strong>1. PREDISPOSING FACTORS:</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age at first birth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>0.658 (0.517, 0.837)</td>
<td>0.837 (0.647, 1.084)</td>
<td>0.856 (0.661, 1.110)</td>
<td>0.856 (0.660, 1.110)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-34</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-49</td>
<td>2.607 (0.699, 9.730)</td>
<td>1.296 (0.337, 4.977)</td>
<td>1.382 (0.360, 5.304)</td>
<td>1.382 (0.360, 5.303)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>2. ENABLING FACTORS</strong></td>
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<td>Current marital status</td>
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<tr>
<td>not married</td>
<td>0.537 (0.405, 0.712)</td>
<td>0.545 (0.411, 0.724)</td>
<td>0.545 (0.411, 0.724)</td>
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<td>Married (ref)</td>
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<td>1.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ever used contraceptive method</td>
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<tr>
<td>traditional and no method (ref)</td>
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<td>1.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>modern method</td>
<td>1.395 (1.013, 1.920)</td>
<td>1.378 (1.013, 1.920)</td>
<td>1.379 (1.000, 1.903)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intentionality of last birth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanted (ref)</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mistimed</td>
<td>0.539 (0.398, 0.730)</td>
<td>0.551 (0.406, 0.748)</td>
<td>0.551 (0.406, 0.748)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unwanted</td>
<td>0.672 (0.481, 0.939)</td>
<td>0.674 (0.482, 0.943)</td>
<td>0.674 (0.482, 0.943)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No female health provider</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big problem</td>
<td>0.768 (0.597, 0.879)</td>
<td>0.784 (0.609, 1.011)</td>
<td>0.784 (0.608, 1.011)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small problem (ref)</td>
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IV. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This analysis revealed the association between the predisposing, enabling, need and health care system factors and two patterns of prenatal care use (frequent prenatal care and early prenatal care). In the multivariate analyses, we found that mothers aged 15 to 19 were less likely to have frequent prenatal care and early prenatal care but only in the first model which includes predisposing factors. They are not significant when we include the enabling factors. Young motherhood was found a risk factor for not having prenatal care and late prenatal care in the study by Stella (Stella M. Yu et al, 2001). Other studies report older age as a risk factor for no prenatal care (Henze, 2004).

Women who had five children or more were the least likely to have frequent prenatal care. However, for women who entered prenatal care, their parity was no longer a significant determinant of early prenatal care. Women with more children may feel more confident about pregnancy and not perceive the need for prenatal care; they may also have less time for seeking prenatal care.

While indigenous language speaker mothers were more likely to have frequent prenatal care in models 2 and 3, there was no difference for Spanish or indigenous speaker mothers to have early prenatal care. The notable result from the present data: the protective effect of speaking an indigenous language for frequent prenatal care could be a confirmation that policies and programs are having positive effects. The government has invested heavily and targeted to the most remote areas in recent years in order to expand primary health, including maternal health care services with no fees for the poor population (Ministerio de Salud, The seguro Integral de Salud success 2005; Cotlear, 1999) but efforts to the underserved Spanish speaking population should not be left unattended.

Women with secondary education or higher were more likely to have frequent
prenatal care but only in model 2 and 3, not in model 4 which includes area of residence. This positive association is not found for early prenatal care across any of the models. The role of education has been reported in several studies (Elo, 1992; Vogl, 2004; Mekonnen, 2002; Henze, 2004; Yu et al, 2001) Educated women may have greater autonomy to make decisions about their own health; they may also have more family and social support and higher socioeconomic status. However, education could be less important as a determinant of early prenatal care.

While unmarried women were not less likely to have frequent prenatal care, they were less likely to have early prenatal care. Women who are not married may have less support from their spouses or family than women who are married and it may delay attendance to early prenatal care.

High socioeconomic status was positively associated with frequent prenatal care, but was not associated with early prenatal care. Findings of positive association between high SES and prenatal care have been reported in other studies (e.g. Van et al, 2006).

Having a mistimed pregnancy was negatively associated to frequent prenatal care and early prenatal care, unwanted pregnancy was also negatively associated to early prenatal care but not to frequent prenatal care. Other studies show unintended pregnancies linked to inadequate prenatal care and late initiation or no prenatal care (Hulsey, 2001; Marston, 2003). It may reflect the woman unwillingness to recognize her pregnancy and as a result delay the initiation of prenatal care.

Insurance plays an important role for prenatal care access; women not having maternal health Insurance were less likely to have frequent prenatal care but insurance status did not affect for having early prenatal care. Health Insurance may help in reducing the woman financial burden and facilitate the use of prenatal care. Significant association between insurance and amount of prenatal care were found by
Women who considered distance to health facility as a big problem when seeking care were less likely to have frequent prenatal care but in model 2 only, there was no significance with early prenatal care in any model, this was just a subjective view of the woman, previous studies in Peru suggest that geographic barriers may be still hindering prenatal care use (Jaramillo Miguel, 2002; Vogl, 2004).

Among factors that were negatively associated with early prenatal care but not prenatal care use we have: not using a modern method, considering the fact that there is no female health provider as a big problem for seeking care and whether the woman had a history of abortion or stillbirth. Women using a modern contraceptive method may have different socioeconomic and behavioral background than those who use traditional method or no method at all and it may increase the likelihood of early prenatal care, also the adoption and use of contraceptives may facilitate more rapid adoption of health care use or vice-versa (Mosley and Ahmed, 1997). Women considering the unavailability of female health care provider as a big problem for seeking health care services serves as a proxy for the woman to seek prenatal care and her consideration about health provider gender, it may reflect that women from very private backgrounds may feel shame or fear to male health provider, this situation could be improved with educational programs for mothers to increase acceptance of male prenatal care provider and also for providers to be sensitive to cultural issues. History of abortion may reflect the woman experience of her previous health condition and consequently perceive the need to have early prenatal care (Ciceklioglu et al., 2005).

Peruvian government has made significant improvements in health care but there are still efforts to be made in order to increase health services among underserved women, e.g. women with five children or more, with elementary or no education,
unmarried, of low SES, of risk for an unwanted or mistimed pregnancy, of risk for abortion or stillbirths, not using a modern contraceptive method, not being a member of the maternal and health insurance. It is our hope that these changes will lead to improvement in health and access to healthcare as those who are advantaged. Also, further research that builds on this study is needed to provide information and suggest policies.

This study had several limitations. The Peruvian DHS 2004 was conducted in 2004. Women who had a live birth since January 1999 were interviewed. This could have introduced recall bias into the study. We are unable to examine important factors such as cultural acceptability of aspects of prenatal care, women’s knowledge and beliefs. We did not include some important enabling factors, for example distance to health facilities, but we did include area of residence and a question about whether the woman considers distance to health facility as a big or small problem which did not show significant association to prenatal care use, this limitation may not have significantly affected the results.
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Teaching Diversity Awareness: Learning from Observation and Reflection

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Introduction

It is important that colleges of education include assignments for students to discuss cultural diversity issues. All students, not just education majors, should have preparation programs which include knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to interact effectively with individuals from diverse racial, ethnic, and social class groups. Cultural activities should be used to facilitate understanding diversity.

Athletic training students are faced with diversity issues on a regular basis. They spend long hours providing prevention, care, and rehabilitation of injuries to a diverse population of athletes. Therefore, students should receive formal training on multicultural education and diversity awareness to be better prepared to handle interpersonal and professional responsibilities.

Athletic training is now recognized as an allied health profession. Athletic training educators need to be aware of the overall scope of the educational mission. Educators should not only teach the aspects of athletic training necessary for passing the certification exam, but also prepare students to understand issues of race, discrimination, identity, and diversity. Athletic training
educators need to provide sensitivity training and sociocultural awareness according to the 2007 NATA *Athletic Training Educational Competencies.*²

Salili & Hoosain³ state that including multiculturalism in athletic training teaches students to accept, understand and appreciate culture, race, social class, religion, and gender differences and instills in them during their formative years a sense of responsibility and commitment to work toward the democratic ideals of justice, equality, and democracy.

Geisler⁴ recommended that two questions: “How might your personal cultural perspective affect your practice as an athletic training professional?” and “How might athletes from different cultural backgrounds interpret your language, comments, and behavioral patterns?” be included in didactic and clinical learning experiences for athletic trainers. The purpose of this paper was to examine how athletic trainers answered the two questions.

**Methods**

Over the last four years, graduate students (N=74) enrolled in a Pedagogy class from the Athletic Training Education Program at California University of Pennsylvania were asked to observe their work setting for two weeks to identify issues in diversity and respond to the two previously stated questions. A presentation on diversity was given to the students prior to their observation. The graduate students’ internship assignment required working 30 hours a week as an
athletic trainer in either a high school or college setting. They held an authoritative role and they were responsible for the environment in their athletic training rooms. They were told to let their athletes know that racist, sexist, homophobic, and other types of discriminatory remarks were not acceptable. For example, if a student made a discriminatory remark, the athletic trainer was to promptly speak up and state “That is inappropriate language and not welcome here.” Students and/or athletes need to know that disparaging comments would not be tolerated.

Results

Most of the students believed that their cultural perspective would have a positive affect on their athletic training profession. Some students commented their cultural perspective may have a negative affect on their athletic training practice. They may, without knowing, treat athletes differently and neglect their feelings.

The majority of the students reported that athletes may interpret their language, comments, and behavior in a negative manner. They stated that their actions and comments could be misinterpreted, and that self discipline, with respect to language, comments, and behavior, is the key for addressing diversity issues.
The following quotes were some of the responses to the first question:

“How might your personal cultural perspective affect your practice as an athletic training professional?”

- In my culture it is believed that you should work through your own problems and be tough through pain. I find that I may not be sympathetic to athletes that are more sensitive to pain. Therefore, this attribute affects my ability to treat the athlete’s injury in a negative way.

- At times as humans, we are drawn to those we feel most comfortable with and may tend to provide care for those individuals first. We must make sure that we provide equal care to all athletes in need. Care should be given first to those whose health needs are most critical.

- It makes a big difference knowing your athlete and their social status. I’m not saying to be nosey but just get the feel through observation. It makes a big difference with how the athlete deals with serious injuries and their attitude towards rehabilitation. You want to be able to talk to the athlete and understand their concerns and questions. If the athlete trusts you and finds you as a role model then you have a better chance of getting successful results as far as rehabilitation is concerned. Knowing your athlete is so important. It helps you make big decisions for the athlete and helps you interact with the person. It’s all about the athlete feeling comfortable about being themselves with you. Understanding different
cultures can only further your professional background as an athletic trainer.

Students stated the following for the second question: “How might athletes from different cultural backgrounds interpret your language, comments, and behavioral patterns?”

• **Athletic trainers need to be extremely aware of what is being said in the training room, on the playing field, and any other time athletes may be around. Language that could offend another individual should not be used. First, an athlete should feel comfortable around the athletic training staff. If improper language is being used that individual may feel tentative around you. This may also affect how the athlete trusts you as well. Another reason that improper language should not be used is due to the fact that an athlete may not come to you when an injury occurs if he or she believes they will not receive the proper treatment due to their different background or lack of trust in you.**

• **We must give instructions clearly and ask them for their feedback to ensure that they understand what we are trying to communicate. Sometimes different words are used for different items, thereby causing a barrier of communication.**

• **During a college cross-country invitational, I was called over to care for a runner from Kenya. He had intense pain in his lower back, and when I**
lifted up his shirt to look at his lower back, I saw a scar on the left side. I asked him where he had gotten it, thinking in my head it was some type of surgery or previous injury, and he said, “hunting”. To that reply I was confused and was not sure if I had heard him correctly so I asked him again. His reply was the same, “hunting”. At this point I could tell that he was starting to get a bit frustrated from the pain and from me not comprehending his previous injury, so I decided to inject a little bit of humor into the situation. I asked him, “Were you hunting or were people hunting you?” This being the most innocent of statements or I thought it was, he laughed. I gave the athlete ice and a few instructions to follow. The athlete was very polite when leaving and I got him to smile one last time. I discussed the situation with another athletic trainer. She told me how much fighting was over in Kenya at the time and he could have been “hunted”. I felt terrible at the mistake I had made, but luckily for me, the athlete allowed me to indirectly learn something new about his culture without taking offense to my innocent comment.

- Athletes from cultures placing a great amount of importance on showing respect may be somewhat insulted by the lack of respect in the behavior of some Americans. Additionally, those from cultures in which women have little power or voice may not take kindly to the influence American women have on everything from day-to-day life to the economy. For
example, an athlete from this type of country may not be pleased with a female athletic trainer making the decision of who is ready to play and who is not. Also, I tend to be rather laid back with a joking attitude. Athletes from other cultures, especially when English is not their first language, may not understand and take comments personally or in a way other than how they are meant.

- The way you dress says something about the way people will perceive you. When we go to work; our shirt should be tucked in, hair combed, and clothes ironed. If you dress and look confident; athletes will be more willing to come to you for assistance. If you have a dress down day at work, you may want to think about any wording that may be on your shirt. Someone may not find that same word or saying funny and may be offended.

- In the south home remedies are quite often used to treat illnesses and injuries. I have found that mothers will often perform these remedies on their children while receiving treatment from us. If you tell the mothers not to use the remedies they become irate and tell their children not to come back to us for treatment. If you do not embrace their culture or understand their culture you are more likely not to have them adhere to your treatments.
Differences in race, gender, social class, and sexual orientation are associated with power. Prejudices may be reflected based on the norms of dominant groups. Incidences of racial fear, discrimination, and avoidance still occur. The following situations were reported:

- **Being an African-American female I am often a minority as an athletic trainer.** As a woman, at times it can be difficult to work with sexist male coaches especially in football.

- **The junior high football team was scheduled to play an away game.** The coach said that there was a good possibility that the game would be canceled due to the fact that several of the parents didn’t want their children playing in the game because their opponents were primarily African American athletes.

Discussion

The topic of cultural diversity is complicated and some faculty and students are uncomfortable when discussing diversity issues. Students reported they observed facial expressions and body language which indicated discrimination. There were times when individuals stated they were not being acknowledged. Either a certain gender or race would dominate the discussion and exclude individuals from participation. These behaviors cause individuals to feel alienated.
Students commented that there were situations where they did speak up promptly to athletes who made offensive or insensitive remarks. They explained to the student who made the remark why the comment was distasteful. It helped them to establish a safer environment and they believed the athletes understood not to make any comments in the future. The graduate athletic training students may not have responded to offensive language if they had not received a lecture informing them to not allow that type of behavior in their work environment.

No student commented on a homophobic situation. Homophobia is not an issue people in sports want to address. Student-athletes are hesitant to talk about homophobia for fear of having individuals believe they are associated with homosexuality. Sport remains an area where homophobic attitudes and behaviors are developed.

Conclusion

Diversity awareness and multicultural education needs to be addressed somewhere in all curricula. The results for the assignment described in this paper identified that students reflected on their multicultural values, enhanced their awareness for diversity issues, and became cognizant of the need for professionalism with their language, comments, and behaviors in the athletic training environment. A combination of lecture, observation, and reflective
discussion helped the students to be socially conscious and critically aware of their role in society.

References


TITLE PAGE FOR HEGEL PAPER

a. Title of paper: “Spirit Realizing Itself as the Embodiment of the Divine in Hegel’s *Phenomenology of Spirit.*”

b. Topic area of Submission: Philosophy

c. Name: Anthony P. Biduck

d. Institutional affiliation: The New School for Social Research

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   b. 917.232.4883
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A Brief Abstract of Anthony P. Biduck’s paper: “Spirit Realizing Itself as the Embodiment of the Divine in Hegel’s Phenomenology of Spirit.”

This paper analyzes the tension invoked between the Christian doctrines of Christ, and Hegel’s critique of Christianity, which appears in the Manifest Religion section in chapter VII. By providing a critical analysis of Manifest Religion, the tension is resolved in three ways: i) to set forth an evaluation of Hegel’s critique of Christianity, ii) to show how this critique brings us to the ultimate point of the historical movement of the dialectic, and iii) to show how the content of Manifest Religion is the same content of Absolute Knowing except that religion portrays it through picture-thinking. The paper also argues that Spirit in its most fully developed form comprehends itself as God or the divine, Absolute Spirit. In order for this to happen, not only must Subject become aware of itself as Substance, but also the Phenomenology must show the reverse to happen, that is, the dialectic of Spirit must unfold by Substance becoming aware of itself as Subject.
“Spirit Realizing Itself as the Embodiment of the Divine in Hegel’s
*Phenomenology of Spirit.*”

G.W.F. Hegel’s (1770-1831) critique of Christianity is adduced in the claim in the
*Phenomenology of Spirit* (1807) that “the divine nature is the same as the human.”¹ For Hegel,
the embodiment of the divine Being was not only relevant for Jesus, who, as Christian doctrine
understands it, was virgin born more than 2000 years ago, and who is above and separate from
all other humans because he embodies the absolute, pure divine Being. Rather, Spirit itself, that
is, the human being, already possesses this absolute divine principle without any appeal to a
transcendent, metaphysical divine. The individual man, Hegel says, is the “immediately present
God (¶ 763).” The tension invoked here is created between the Christian doctrines of Christ, on
the one hand, and, on the other hand, Hegel’s critique of Christianity, which appears in the
Manifest Religion section in chapter VII, the penultimate chapter of the *Phenomenology*. For
Hegel, religion should not be thought about in a transcendent, metaphysical way, but rather, it
should be practiced and realized in an immanent and rational way in the community. By
providing a critical analysis of Manifest Religion, the aim of resolving this tension is threefold: i)
to set forth an evaluation of Hegel’s critique of Christianity, ii) to show how this critique brings
us to the ultimate point of the historical movement of the dialectic, which occurs in the final
chapter on Absolute Knowing, and iii) to show how the content of Manifest Religion is the same
content of Absolute Knowing except that religion portrays it through picture-thinking and,
therefore, has not actually attained the rational outlook contained in Absolute Knowing. Thus, if
or when religion drops its dependence on picture-thinking, Spirit is then on its way to realizing
Absolute Knowing. This latter claim raises the following questions: Is picture-thinking internal

¶ 763. Hereafter *Phenomenology*. 
to religion? Or, rather is picture-thinking itself a merely contingent concept and not a necessary one to realize the Absolute? To answer these questions, it will be important to examine the relation between religion in chapter VII and philosophy in chapter VIII in the *Phenomenology*.

The claim at the start of the paper may well enough lead one to ask the following question: If God becomes man, as is depicted in the Christian religion, then how is it possible, in Hegel’s account, that all human beings can actually realize the absolute, divine Being? Furthermore, how does the figure of Christ, who represents the divine Being in the human form, become universalized by representing all humans? Spirit must become aware of itself – through rationality and reason – as Spirit and take its own Self to be authoritative. In other words, Hegel’s ultimate aim in the *Phenomenology* – and this is how he goes beyond any other philosopher in the Western philosophical tradition – is to show that Spirit in its most fully developed form comprehends itself as God or the divine, Absolute Spirit. In order for this to happen, not only must Subject become aware of itself as Substance, but also the *Phenomenology* must show the reverse to happen, that is, the dialectic of Spirit must unfold by Substance becoming aware of itself as Subject.

**The Manifest Religion and the Rise of Spirit Becoming Absolute**

Religion portrays the Absolute with the concept of *Vorstellung*—perhaps the most important concept in Manifest Religion. Spirit, as in-and-for-itself, comprehends itself (Spirit) as Spirit (itself) in the form of *Vorstellung*. The use of picture-thinking was not previously discussed in the *Phenomenology*, and the full discussion of it first appears in Manifest Religion. *Vorstellung* is not portrayed through theoretical or conceptual thinking, but rather through parables, stories, images, and symbols. For Hegel, the teachings of the Bible, for example, are
not to be understood literally or as mere matter of fact. They are only a representation of conceptual truth. Picture-thinking itself does not take place at the level of the Concept (*Begriff*) or in rational thinking i.e., philosophy. In “The Othering (Becoming Other) and Reconciliation of God in Hegel’s Phenomenology of Spirit” Schönendorf writes, “Picture-thinking is a way in which content [(what is true and real)] and form [(what still contains a defect)] are separated for consciousness.”

Though picture-thinking is a mode of externality that is separate from the internal movement of the natural consciousness, the stories and symbols of picture-thinking can be seen to be analogous with the movement of the natural consciousness. Ultimately, picture-thinking must become identical with the natural consciousness, but in order for this to happen, the natural consciousness, which is Absolute Spirit in Manifest Religion, must overcome its use of picture-thinking that occurs at this stage in order to progress to the point where Absolute Spirit is conceptually grasped, which occurs in Absolute Knowing.

In Manifest Religion, God can be seen to move in a threefold descension, which at the end loops back around to the beginning. The first moment begins at the element of pure Thought or pure Substance. This first moment is analogous to the conception of God in the Old Testament as abstract and without form. However, since this abstract level remains imperfect the dialectic moves on because Spirit is not yet reconciled with its own Self. The second moment is Spirit’s descension from an abstract and selfless form to a becoming-human. This moment is analogous with the representation of Jesus in the New Testament. In this second moment, I will focus on the Incarnation (*Menschwerdung*), and the death of Christ, which represents the divinity’s reflection into Himself and the return to the Father. The natural consciousness at this

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2 Schönendorf, Harald, S. J., “The Othering (Becoming Other) and Reconciliation of God in Hegel’s *Phenomenology of Spirit*” in *The Phenomenology of Spirit Reader: Critical and Interpretive Essays*, edited by Jon Stewart, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998); p. 377, (my addition in []’s),
stage sees God in the human form, and spirit becomes self-consciously aware of itself as Spirit. The third moment discussed is the resurrection, which represents the manifestation of Spirit in the community. This is the moment whereby Spirit takes its complete form as both in-itself – and – for-itself. This third moment is Spirit’s return from otherness, and Spirit at this stage becomes actualized in the community. Here Spirit becomes the universal self-consciousness, reconciled on both an individual and a universal level. Thus, the dialectic in Manifest Religion is reflective of the Trinity, which Hegel explicitly discusses. The dialectic of Religion progresses from the Old Testament to the New Testament to, finally, Hegel’s conception of Absolute Knowing.

“In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth (Genesis 1:1).” This is the first moment of picture-thinking in the Old Testament. This representation or conception of God in Christian eyes is not an immanent one. When God or heaven is understood as transcendent, it leads one to take flight from this world, thereby annihilating one’s existence on Earth and keeping one’s head clouded with a conception that is imaginative and invented by man. In the Old Testament, God is understood as an eternal and selfless Spirit. When religion understands God as a selfless and abstract entity lacking inwardness, he becomes wholly separate from the individual and, therefore, objective. Moreover, the world, too, lacks inwardness and a self. Hegel writes,

[T]hat which is posited as essence [i.e. the world] is simple immediacy or being, but qua immediacy or being lacks a Self, and, therefore, lacking inwardness is passive, or being-for-another. This being-for-another is at the same time a world (¶ 774).

Thus, picture-thinking sets forth God and the world as lacking a self.

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3 The Old Testament depicts God as Spirit in Genesis 1:3: “And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters” (my italics). God as eternal is found in Deuteronomy: “The eternal God is thy refuge, and underneath are the everlasting arms…” (33:26-27, my italics).
However, the opposite can be argued. According to Jean Hyppolite in *Genesis and Structure of Hegel’s Phenomenology of Spirit*, “God becomes self in the creation, but the world, insofar as it expresses this movement itself, becomes a finite self in-the-world.”¹⁴ This would mean that the moment of creation by God is also a moment where God becomes other, a thought picture-thinking cannot grasp. God’s act of creation is a negativity because God becomes other. Hegel writes:

But simple essence, because it is an abstraction, is, in fact, the negative in its own self and, moreover, the negativity of thought, or negativity as it is in itself in essence; i.e. simple essence is absolute *difference* from itself, or its pure othering of itself (¶ 769).

The abstraction or negativity of God is the Self (*for*-itself) (ibid.). The very act of othering is a becoming of the Self, and the world was created by God not for Himself, but for another. The world, Hegel says, is Being-*for*-another (¶ 774). But what does it mean to say that God is an other? “He is only an other insofar as he thinks himself. But he is thus at the same time identical with himself.”⁵ In the very act of thinking, God becomes other. This othering of God remains in pure thought. Thus, in the act of creation, God also becomes external to Himself. This act shows that God can think of Himself as object. The world, as the work of God, is an object created by God, which, at the same time, is different from Him. “It is the unfolding of everything that is contained in substance.”⁶ Schöndorf takes this one step further: “If God is other in Himself, He is also not only an object of knowing, but rather is Himself knowing.”⁷ However, what is lacking is that God needs to be known by other living, conscious beings.

According to Pinkard, in order for God to come to a full self-consciousness about Himself, there

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⁵ Schöndorf, p. 379.
⁶ Ibid., p. 381
⁷ Ibid., p. 379.
requires recognition from another.\textsuperscript{8} Hence, for God to become \textit{known}, he needs to make human beings in the world.

God, as abstract and selfless, as is pictured in the Old Testament, is the way in which humans recognize God. However, God Himself is not complete because the dialectic of religion transitions, and at the beginning of the New Testament, God is known in the human form.\textsuperscript{9}

Thus, the movement from the Old Testament to the New Testament is a movement whereby the abstract, formless God dies, to a conception of the divine as now manifesting in and taking the form as a human being. In the New Testament, God is a living presence in the community amongst others, and God, therefore, is recognized by others. “In this religion the divine Being is known as Spirit, or this religion is the consciousness of the divine Being that it is Spirit (¶ 759).” When the Absolute Spirit, in its form as self-consciousness, becomes aware of the divinity in an actual man, a sensuous being living in the world, which is seen and heard, self-consciousness is not imagination but is actualized (¶ 757). Hegel writes,

\begin{quote}
Consequently, in this religion the divine Being is \textit{revealed}. Its being revealed consists in that it is known. But it is known precisely in its being known as Spirit, as a Being that is essentially a self-conscious Being (¶ 759).
\end{quote}

In the New Testament this divine Being is pictured in the figure of Jesus Christ, a God-man or man-God, who is self-consciously aware that he embodies the divine Spirit.

In the New Testament, moreover, man does not realize God through a withdrawal into the Self; rather, God becomes \textit{known} to man externally in the community. Man, therefore, sees God

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{8} p. 255.
\item \textsuperscript{9} In the prophecy of the coming of Elijah in the Book of Malachi, the Lord is mentioned in this closing passage of the Old Testament: “Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the \textbf{Lord}: And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse (4:5-6).” Later, and this refers directly to the passage above, in the New Testament in the book of Matthew, Christ says, “And from the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force. For all the prophets and the law prophesied until John. And if ye will receive \textit{it}, this is Elias, which was for to come (11:12-14).”
\end{itemize}
first in another human. The individual in the community sees the divine Being in only one individual human, namely Christ. This is clearly portrayed in the Gospels, who were written by Christ’s disciples. Thus, it is obvious that the divine-human Being is fathomable by other human beings. This is also how Spirit becomes aware of itself in the community (¶ 765), and the content of the community’s consciousness is the certainty of Spirit’s presence. The figure of Jesus, consequently, who is immediate or immediately present to the consciousness of the sensuous individual (¶ 762), is the first appearance of the Absolute Being revealed as Spirit.

However, the divine Being appearing only in one man is shown to be incomplete in the Phenomenology. In the last sentence of ¶ 762, Hegel claims that the problem in this first immediacy is that the individual is stuck at the level of perception. Moreover, Christ, as the incarnation of God, is understood by Christianity as something separate from the human being.\(^\text{10}\)

Hegel wants to show that the divine is not only manifest in one man, but rather, the divine Being is manifest in all human beings. In terms of picture-thinking, in order for this to happen, therefore, Christ must represent the entire community. In other words, and this is the incompleteness shown at this stage, the individual self-consciousness must reconcile itself with the universal self-consciousness.

Believing that God only manifested in the historical figure of Christ cannot be the claim to universality, nor the way in which its meaning gets established. Thus, the individual Self is not yet the Self of everyone—the universal Self (¶ 762). In order for there to be reconciliation

\(^{10}\) One place this becomes relevant in the New Testament is in John 14, where Christ says to Philip, “Anyone who has seen me [Christ] has seen the Father. How can you say, “Show us the Father”? Don’t you believe that I am in the Father, and that the Father is in me? The words I say to you are not just my own. Rather, it is the Father, living in me, who is doing his work. Believe me when I say that I am in the Father and the Father is in me (New International Version, my addition in [’s]).” This passage does not mention anything at all about human beings possessing a divine quality. The divine quality is only unique to Christ, which is merely one-sidedness because God (the Father) lives only through Christ (the Son), and not through all beings.
between individuality and universality, the divine principle must not be understood as merely contained in one individual. What Hegel wants to show, and this is his critique of Christianity, is that the divine principle that Christ is understood to possess is a principle contained in all individuals. I am a divine-human spirit just as you are a divine-human spirit. Hegel writes, “The divine nature is the same as the human, and it is this unity that is beheld (¶ 759).” God must become one with man. Consciousness must comprehend that it, along with every individual being, is the immediately present God (¶ 763). The kingdom of God dwells not only in Christ, but it dwells within all men.11

For Hegel, then, how does the human being come to realize that the divine Being is already manifest and identical with the human, finite being? In order for this to happen, the religious believer has to overcome the disparity that remains between him and God. The cause of this is due to only seeing Christ as the divine manifestation. Hegel does not reject that Christ was a historical figure; though, he is opposed to the belief that Christ was the only individual ever to possess the incarnation of God. For Hegel, the problem here is that the subject mistakes itself as something different from the Absolute divine Being. The Absolute divine Being, who is pictured as Christ in the New Testament, is ultimately the Self that is manifest in all men. Spirit taking itself (actual spirit) as object must become identical with the infinite spirit—its essence. In other words, the individual must reconcile its finite thinking with the infinite consciousness of the Absolute. To see God only in picture terms through Biblical stories is not the path consciousness can take to overcome the objective disparity that exists between the reconciliation of individuality and universality. The way in which this is overcome is by realizing that the

11 This is also alluded to in a passage from Corinthians: “Don’t you know that you yourselves are God’s temple and that God’s Spirit lives in you (1 Corinthians 3:16)?”
content religion uses to portray the Absolute divine Being through picture-thinking, is the same content that makes up the human individual Self. Thus, the individual must overcome picture-thinking and conceptually grasp the Absolute divine nature as its own Self. The notion of Vorstellung employed by Christian doctrine is a hindrance that keeps Spirit from fully and conceptually grasping itself as the Absolute. In overcoming picture-thinking, Spirit is then on its way to realizing Absolute Knowing, which is essentially the same content as religion. When this is comprehended, Spirit knows the divine is immanent, and all notions of God as separate and transcendent from the human being, as is the case in Christianity, are overcome. Thus, God must die again.

In terms of picture-thinking, the death of God, the second moment of the Trinity, is represented in the crucifixion—the death of Christ on the cross. In negating His finite sensuous existence by dying on the cross, Christ performs a voluntarily, autonomous act of free will, which is done in order to re-unite with the infinite Spirit of God, the Father. The crucifixion, therefore, is not an act of suicide, nor a turning away or a taking flight from the world. Rather, the crucifixion represents the Son’s return to the Father (Spirit’s return to pure Thought), which is also God returning into Himself.

The moment of the death of Christ is also the moment of the revelation of Spirit in the community. This is expressed pictorially in terms of the resurrection, the third moment of the Trinity. This is the representation of God as both the Spirit of man in the community and the notion of particular individuality—(Christ) dying away and becoming universality (the Spirit of the people). Hegel writes,

[D]eath becomes transfigured from its immediate meaning, viz. the non-being of this particular individual, into the universality of the Spirit who dwells in His community, dies in it everyday, and is daily resurrected (¶ 784).
The death of God, therefore, does not only represent the death of Christ, it also represents the position of Spirit as manifest in the universal self-consciousness of the community where it is resurrected there everyday. For Jesus is “the resurrection and life (John 11.25).”\(^{12}\) Hyppolite writes,

> This community is no longer Christ as a specific figure, but the Holy Ghost in which the Incarnation becomes eternal. The Christocentric point of view of the Bible tends to disappear to make place for this universal Christ which is the community.\(^{13}\)

Jesus represents eternally the universal self-consciousness of the community. With His physical presence now absent, his spiritual presence manifests in the community.\(^{14}\) At this stage, essence is reflected into itself and it becomes Spirit (¶ 780).

The threefold descension of religion, which is also circular, looks like this: God moves from abstraction (pure substance) to human actuality (incarnation), and back to abstraction (crucifixion and resurrection). Also, each of these movements is a negative movement, that is, a movement into otherness because a notion of otherness requires a notion of negativity. In the New Testament, the othering of God, which expresses negativity, is represented in the relation between Father (God) and Son (Christ). The otherness is shown in the act of negativity of God (Father) becoming other to himself by manifesting as the Son (Christ). God (Father) is wholly externalized in the form of the Son (Christ). God, as Christ, becomes self-consciousness in the

\(^{12}\) Jesus proclaimed this to Martha, Lazarus’ sister, to inform her that her brother “will rise again in the resurrection (John 11.24).”

\(^{13}\) p. 568.

\(^{14}\) Another way one can make sense of the claim that Christ died and went back to the Father, and then was resurrected is through the cultic community of the church. It is important to note that these claims about Christ’s Incarnation, his death, and his resurrection cannot be made sense of, held together under, and followed without the Christian church, which unites the community of believers as part of the congregation. Jay Bernstein explains that there is no meaning to Christianity without the church, whereby the church is understood to be a religious community—a community withholding the Spirit (\textit{The Bernstein Tapes}). The truth of Christianity, therefore, is carried out through the church and the community belonging to it.
body. In the body, God is other than His abstract essence and even has knowledge of His absolute otherness. The relation between the Father (God) and Son (Christ) is a relation that essentially has no difference. Fundamentally, they are the same; they only differ in form. Hegel writes:

In this *simple* beholding of itself in the “other”, the otherness is therefore not posited as such; it is the difference which, pure thought, is immediately *no difference*; a *loving* recognition in which the two sides, as regards their essence, do not stand in an antithetical relation to each other (¶ 772).

Spirit in the community precisely parallels the movement of the self-consciousness of the individual, the natural consciousness. Universal self-consciousness is represented in the return of self-consciousness into itself and its concrete particularity dying away in its universality. This occurs when self-consciousness reconciles itself with itself (¶ 785). Thus, the same three moments of God represented in the Trinity is analogous to the movement in Hegel’s conception of Substance becoming Subject. Through the act of negation, spirit becomes actualized, or Substance becomes Subject, because the very act of othering is a becoming of the Self. Hegel writes in the “Preface,”

Further, the living Substance is being which is in truth *Subject*, or, what is the same, is in truth actual only in so far as it is the movement of positing itself, or is the mediation of its self-othering with itself (¶18).

This would be to say, as Jay Bernstein argues, the notion of God, as otherness, is incoherent because God would be finite, and, therefore, dwell in death (*The Bernstein Tapes*). If Spirit knows itself as “other,” it could not know itself as universal—the Self of all (¶ 762). When Substance becomes Subject, Subject is actualized in the community as the universal self-consciousness. Hegel writes,
This knowing is the in breathing of the Spirit, whereby Substance becomes Subject, by which its abstraction and lifelessness have died and Substance therefore has become *actual* and simple and universal self-consciousness (¶ 785).

Though Substance becomes Subject, there is still incompleteness in the section on Manifest Religion. The imperfection here is expressed in the community because it does not yet posses a consciousness of what it is (¶ 787). The community is Spirit, but it does not yet know itself to be as such. It has not yet become one with God. At the level of picture-thinking, the community has reconciled itself with God, but it has not yet grasped this conceptually at the level of Thought; this is only known implicitly. The communities own relation between itself and God remains separate and distant. Hegel writes:

The world is indeed *implicitly* reconciled with the divine Being; and regarding the divine Being it is known, of course, that it recognizes the object as no longer alienated from it but as identical with it in its love. But for self-consciousness, this immediate presence still has not the shape of Spirit (¶ 787).

The reconciliation that has occurred for self-consciousness is in its heart. That is, consciousness only *feels* the eternal love, but it has not yet actually comprehended this immediate object within its own consciousness as the form of Spirit. Therefore, the individual’s consciousness “is still divided against itself and its actual world is still disrupted (¶ 787).” In other words, self-consciousness is not yet the object of its own consciousness; the consciousness of the community is still split between itself and its actual world (¶ 787). The spirit of the community must overcome its religious consciousness in order for the implicit reconciliation between itself and the divine Absolute to be fully realized (¶ 787). Hegel writes,

The Spirit of the community is thus in its immediate consciousness divided from its religious consciousness, which declares, it is true, that *in themselves* they are not divided, but this merely *implicit* unity is not realized, or has not yet become an equally absolute Being-for-self (¶ 787).
The content of religion is Absolute Spirit, and Spirit at this stage of Manifest Religion has not yet overcome this form of picture-thinking. However, picture-thinking is an important and essential device that can be employed by Spirit in order to guide it towards realizing Absolute Knowing i.e., pure speculative knowledge. All that Absolute Spirit must realize at this stage is that the only way to comprehend God in the pure speculative knowledge of Absolute Knowing is by dropping its use of picture-thinking. Thus, “all that now remains to be done is to supersede this mere form, or rather, since this belongs to consciousness as such, its truth must already have yielded itself in the shape of consciousness (¶ 788).” Religious consciousness must realize that the self-consciousness of the universal community itself and man’s place in it fully embodies the Divine, and it does so only in a truly immanent way. This is fully comprehended when the Absolute divine Being is no longer felt in love, but when its thinking is rational. Thus, it is only in philosophy – and thinking about the world and man’s place in it rationally – that Absolute Knowing is attained. Thus, Absolute Knowing already contained within religion. Picture-thinking is a religion’s, or more specifically for Hegel in Manifest Religion, Christianity’s, means to portray pure speculative knowledge. Hegel writes,

God is attainable in pure speculative knowledge alone and is only in that knowledge, and is only that knowledge itself, for He is Spirit; and this speculative knowledge is the knowledge of revealed religion (¶ 761).

Thus, speculative knowledge is already contained in Manifest Religion. Furthermore, Spirit at this stage is God, and God is Spirit—Absolute Spirit. When Spirit attains this knowledge, it realizes that pure speculative knowledge is divine. That the Divine becomes known to Spirit shows the divine is Spirit. God is Spirit and Spirit realizing itself as Spirit is God.

In chapter VIII (“Absolute Knowing”), pure speculative knowledge is comprehended by Spirit via the Concept. This is where the reconciliation of individuality and universality is
complete. The totality of the individual as Spirit is merely the individual himself—Spirit, who sees both himself and everyone else in the community as divine and spiritual. At the level of pure speculative knowledge, i.e. philosophy, the true shape of Spirit is the subject itself. The self-consciousness of Absolute Spirit comprehended in Absolute Knowing is speculative knowledge. The is the last shape of the *phenomenology of spirit*, and this is where the dialectic culminates, the place where Spirit is in the shape of Science and the time where Absolute Spirit manifests itself to itself in its own consciousness.

**Conclusion**

The most important concept discussed in Manifest Religion is picture-thinking. This is also the form religion uses to portray the Absolute. However, it does this only through stories and symbols, and not via the Concept, which is not comprehended by Spirit until Absolute Knowing. In terms of picture-thinking, the three major moments discussed in Manifest Religion is expressive of the Trinity—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. In the Old Testament, God is abstract and selfless, but when the dialectic of the Bible transitions into the New Testament, God becomes man. The Absolute divine Being – God – manifests in a human being, namely Jesus Christ, and becomes known by others in the community in human form. Jesus Christ – a God-man, man-God – is self-consciously aware of Himself as embodying the divine Absolute. Christ, therefore, is immediately present to the natural consciousness. The one-sidedness in this first appearance of the Absolute divine Being is that it only represents Christ, and not all humans. At this stage, the human being is not considered divine, and the conception the religious believer has of Christ is transcendent. Hegel’s critique of Christianity is to show that the divine nature is the same as the human nature. The natural consciousness must come to realize that it beholds the
manifestation of the divine Being, which is pictured in the figure of Christ. After the death of Christ on the cross, he is resurrected back in the community. Christ, as the Holy Spirit, is representative of the entire self-consciousness of the community.

This movement of the Trinity is analogous with Substance becoming Subject. Though the natural consciousness is actualized in the universal self-consciousness of the community, there is still incompleteness in Manifest Religion. Self-consciousness has not yet taken the shape of Spirit. The object of self-consciousness is known, but it is known only through the feeling of love. Furthermore, the Spirit of the community is divided from its religious consciousness. These two must be unified so that this unity becomes identical as absolute Being-for-Self. This occurs when religious consciousness supersedes its form of picture-thinking.

Though picture-thinking must be overcome, it is an essential and important way guiding Spirit towards realizing Absolute Knowing. When we reach the end of Manifest Religion, Spirit is still holding on to picture-thinking. This is what keeps Spirit from realizing pure speculative knowledge even though the content of Absolute Knowing is already contained in Religion, which Hegel mentions at the beginning of ¶ 761. All that Absolute Spirit must do is conceptually comprehended God via the Concept of pure Thought. This does not happen until the dialectic culminates in “Absolute Knowing.” Spirit must realize that not only its own self fully embodies the divine, but also, and this is the Hegelian critique of Christianity, the entire universal self-consciousness of the community—all human beings that make it up embody the divine Absolute. This is not fully comprehended until Absolute Spirit no longer feels this through the feeling of love, but only when it fully rationalizes this in the pure conceptual Thought of Absolute Knowing. At this stage, God is Spirit and Spirit is God. With this
realization, there is no more appeal to transcendence. God is fully realized as immanent because
the human being is seen as (the) divine.

When the individual consciousness realizes God as immanent, the divine reaches for the
human. This conception is radically different from all previous conceptions of God or religion
that Hegel discusses in the *Phenomenology*, whereby the human was reaching towards an above
and wholly transcendent, divine Absolute. Moreover, both the individual and the universal self-
consciousness of the community are considered divine when God is conceived of as immanent.
In this light, the individual not only reconciles the oppositions splitting its own consciousness,
but it also reconciles its own self with God. Through rational and conceptual thinking, the
individual consciousness overcomes the picture-thinking that religion uses to display the divine
Being. Thus, for Hegel, religion essentially is immanent and takes place in the community with
human beings as divine. In this light, the divine is humanized and the human is divinized.

Ultimately, there is no God in the Hegelian notion of philosophy in chapter VIII. Because
philosophy, which is the most developed form of Spirit, is placed at a higher stage than
religion in Hegel’s system, it does not mean that Hegel is trying to put an end to religion.
Religion is an integral stage in the history of Spirit, and what is implicitly present within it takes
place in philosophy. However, religion can never merge with the pure rational and conceptual
thinking of philosophy because it uses *Vorstellung* to realize the Absolute. It is only in
philosophy that Absolute Spirit is conceptualized and actualized in Absolute Knowing. This is
the culminating point of the dialectic in the *Phenomenology*—the point at which this shape of
Spirit is Science.
Women:

Reporting from the sidelines of sports journalism

Topic area: Journalism

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Women:

Reporting from the sidelines of sports journalism

The band is blasting the school fight song. Fans are on their feet, jumping and screaming loudly as the team takes the field for one last drive before the half. It’s game day in anywhere USA. From here to there, it happens all across the United States. In Honolulu, Hawaii, sits Lelia Wai, a sports reporter and columnist who works for the Honolulu Advertiser.

Wai is scrambling as the half is about end, jotting down notes and preparing to write a first-half recap. Hawaii drives the length of the field, scores and the crowd erupts. The clock runs out and there’s one half remaining. Fans begin streaming out of their seats and begin the long wait for an open restroom to satisfy nature’s unyielding call. Meanwhile in the press box, Wai has no wait and a single stall all to herself. Great news for Wai, right? Not so for women, however. This incident “… points out one of the more glaring faults of sports (reporting): There aren't enough women,” (Wai 2005, December 6).

Sports. Is it a game? Multi-million dollar contracts for athletes and league empires alike leave little doubt that sports are much more than sandlot antics. Sports are big business, and so is the task of covering them in the specialized field of sports reporting. Women who choose to pursue this career automatically are at a disadvantage when compared with their male counterparts, according to Hardin and
Women: Reporting from the sidelines

So why would a woman want to cover sports? The games played within the stadiums are done so on clearly marked territory. There are clearly marked boundaries indicating what is within or outside the limit. For the women who cover sports as journalism professionals, there are shadows of foul poles. Exactly what is and what is not outside the lines is vague, at best. Women sports reporters are outnumbered, often harassed both in and out of the locker room and continually must prove themselves to colleagues, editors/bosses, sources and readers/viewers, according to Hardin and (Shain, Fall 2005). Yet, women still must produce accurate, interesting and reliable information on deadline in the same fashion as male colleagues.

The disparity between the two sexes can be summarized by two words: tradition and credibility. Tradition is the vehicle for the disparity between the sexes in sports journalism, and credibility is the crutch that holds tradition up when challenged. Women have been a part of sports reporting from a point as early as 1870, but were ushered into prominence, relatively, in the 1920s, according to (Boyle, 2006). Women sports reporters have yet to be fully embraced, however.

When viewers see a play-by-play TV announcer calling a college or pro football game, they inevitably see a man. Same goes for radio viewers, who hear a man’s voice calling the action. Little is different in the pages of the morning paper, or even on the Internet. Predominantly, the story tellers of sports are men. Research from the 1970s, ’80s and ’90s indicated a possible scientific explanation for this gender preference. Readers/consumers were shown to prefer same-sex reporting in many instances, especially when the story topic was of a particular gender slant (i.e. sports
is a slant that is preferred reading for men, while fashion is preferred reading for women). Women journalists in sports reporting were shown to have an uphill climb, not only with getting a message across to the audience but also within the traditional male-dominated office culture.

**First down: Communicating with the consumer**

A main obstacle for women sports reporters is dealing with sources and readers who object to women covering male-dominated sports. Nevertheless, for women of the field, it is an unfortunate aspect of their work.

Wai returns to the office after a long day of reporting about the University of Hawaii football game from the previous day. The voicemail light on her office phone is illuminated. Wai thinks for a moment about what she wrote. Was it wrong? She tapped out a simple sidebar, a piece on fan reaction to the athletic department using a new type of music at the game. The piece had nothing to do with the game, nor had it ever intended to be about the game. Merely, it was a color piece to supplement the *Advertiser’s* coverage of Hawaii athletics. She listened to the voice mail and later wrote about the message in a column:

‘Oh, Leila, honey. I read your article online and … oh, honey, why don’t you leave the football to the men? Stick to covering women’s volleyball or tennis; leave the hard stuff for the men.’ … I spent a few days thinking about this message before finally deciding there was nothing I could do about it but move on. Yes, it was ignorant and spiteful. But it isn’t the first time it has
happened, and it won’t be the last for females in sports. (Wai 2004, November 9)

Whether watching a television broadcast, surfing the Internet or scanning through the morning’s headlines, consumers make constant judgments as they diffuse news and information. Women sports reporters are challenged inherently to bridge the gap between reporting and the perceived credibility they have with their audience and readers.

Research found that sexism was shown to be a factor in the evaluation of student newspaper editorials (Noel and Allen, September 1976). Though only the author’s name was changed on the editorial, not the content, Caucasian male readers preferred the work of male authors. In addition, race was a very strong indicator of perceived quality. Readers of Caucasian decent, regardless of gender, were more likely to misidentify an author’s message and to devalue his or her writing skill based on the name being associated with a minority, in this instance Mexican-American decent. Editorials that were given female minority names scored the lowest in both quality and message identity. The authors of the study considered that readers hold writers who have a greater stake in the topic to a higher standard than someone who is writing about a subject of less personal interest. Likely the political and cultural climates have changed sufficiently in the past 30 years to suspect that the findings may not replicate. Still, the findings indicated women reporters had more difficulty retaining credibility among their audiences and readers (Noel and Allen, September 1976).

A slightly more recent study tested whether a reporter’s perceived sex as
readers determine it from a byline had any effect on story evaluation, especially with regard to story topic (Shaw, Cole, Moore and Cole, Spring 1981). The authors found that stories associated with a particular sex (sports or fashion, for instance) were evaluated differently based upon the perceived sex of the author. Using a hard news story on the arrest of a rapist, test subjects scored a male byline as being more believable, informed and accurate. But overall, women’s bylines were determined to be dramatic and more interesting than male versions.

When it came to the fashion story, stereotypically a story of interest primarily to females, the male bylines were heavily degraded compared with a woman’s byline. The opposite was true of sports stories, stereotypically of interest primarily to males. The researchers also found that male test subjects were more stereotypical in general than females. This may cause difficulty for women sports reporters when trying to overcome stereotypes of large male audiences and readership groups.

In society at large, gender often is an issue to consider. Gender is a factor with regard to credibility in social-influence situations (Feldman-Summers, Montano, Kasprzyk and Wagner, 1980). In this study, test subjects conformed more readily with a gender-specific issue when the gender of the influencing group matched the gender of the issue. That is to say, with a gender-specific issue, such as women’s healthcare, test subjects were more likely to conform if the majority of the social group (played by confederates) matched the gender of the issue.

Overall, men were more likely to conform to women’s issues when in the minority and were less likely to conform to male-related issues. This research relates to the gender of a reporter and its potential affect on credibility among newspaper
readers. It must be supposed that readers of gender-specific stories will find greater credibility among reporters whose gender coincides with the story topic, which is parallel to the findings of Andsager and Mastin (1990) that readers prefer similar-sexed syndicated newspaper columnists.

Second down: Struggles in the locker room and beyond

Wai is back at it again, taking calls and writing briefs of local sporting events for the next day’s paper. The phone rings, and Wai answers. “Sports,” she says. The caller pauses. “I called sports, right?” The incident makes for another notation in a column:

I'm used to it, to the point that when I tell someone what I do, I gauge their reaction. Typically, it's kind of a widening (then a narrowing) of the eyes, a tilt of the head, a scrunching of the lips, and an inevitable quiz:

Sample: "Who's the quarterback for the Minnesota Vikings?"

Daunte Culpepper. Duh.

Shock follows when I know the answer. A sort of haughty ‘I figured’ look if I don't. (Wai 2004, November 9)

When the sports arena is enlarged beyond the local and non-professional sports, the stakes skyrocket for all reporters. Deadline pressure mounts, story counts rise, breaking news expectations climb and the time spent working a beat swells. An example – high school football seasons last but a few weeks, late August to November. Pro football teams are at work nearly year-round with off season mini-camps, training camps, a 17-week regular season schedule that begins in late August and ends in late December.
That is to say nothing of postseason, which could extend into February. Demands, both physical and mental, placed on a high school football reporter are far different than those carried on the shoulders of pro sports beat writers. The instances in which a reporter is required to cover male-dominated, professional sports are those that offer the greatest challenges to any journalist, male or female. But for the women reporting in the upper echelons of sports, the divergence between equality and fairness when compared with male colleagues is perhaps at its widest.

Hardin and Shain (Fall 2005) explore the male-dominated, locker-room and office cultures of sports journalism in the *Newspaper Research Journal*. Their article clearly relates a vast deficiency in the number of women who are reporting about America’s sporting events. In an informal 2001 survey of 50 high-circulation newspapers, women constituted 13 percent of the collective sports departments. Most often, women filled the roles of copy editor, clerk or reporter.

Beyond the mere filing of game stories on deadline and challenges of reporting in general, men were shown to climb through the ranks of sports departments. Women, on the other hand were left to prove themselves over and over and rarely found themselves moving up within an organization (Hardin and Shain, Fall 2005).

Male-dominated norms within the sports world also work against women in the field. An example of a norm: women don’t understand the rules of games or sports in general as well as men. Sexual harassment also is rampant. In a mail survey by 48 percent of women sports reporters said they were sexually harassed – often times by sources they covered (Hosino, 1998). Hardin and Shain (Fall 2005) also proposed that
women are less likely to be accepted within sports journalism. One of the reasons: Women are, according to the article, more family-oriented than males. Because of male-instituted pressure to work long hours without extended breaks or absences, even for family reasons, the craft of sports journalism is suggested to be more difficult and less enjoyable for women.

Disparity in newsrooms is nothing new for women. Reed is a 1999 Nieman Fellow and an Emmy winning broadcast journalist. In her article that appears in \textit{Nieman Reports}, (Reed, Spring 2002) urged women journalists to investigate and document the differences in gender among editorial staffs at U.S. newsrooms. This suggestion was made after Reed found herself in the midst of a wage shortfall of 40 percent when she compared her salary with males who had similar backgrounds and assignments and duties. Understanding the possibility of gender bias and strife within newsrooms may help paint a more accurate picture when assessing the affect gender has, if any, on credibility and the ability of women to be effective in the news industry.

Another point to consider is access, especially as it relates to reporting. (Fuller, Spring 1992) discussed the access issue for women sports reporters who cover professional U.S. sports teams. In a similar fashion to what (Hardin and Shain, Fall 2005) found with regard to gender issues within a newsroom and in the locker room, Fuller explained through reporter accounts how women often confront access barriers to the locker room and a litany of additional conflicts once they are inside. While the article is dated, it’s important to understand women sports reporters still do face issues that are separate from their male counterparts. For example, (Hardin and Shain,
Fall 2005) reported that players sometimes would masturbate in front of women reporters or throw jock straps at them.

All women reporters also must contend with the ill-conceived and nonprofessional actions of other women in the field. A fictional account took place in the baseball movie, *Mr. 3000*, in which a female TV reporter sleeps with a source. Although purely fictional, the reaction from Joane C. Gerstner, president of The Association for Women in Sports Media and a sports reporter for the *Detroit News*, was swift as recounted in a *SportsIllustrated.com* column (Deitsch, October 1, 2004):

… if you're not in the business, I don't think people understand what we do. The first question I get asked from people if I'm out on a speaking engagement is: 'What's it like in the locker room? Are you there for the athletes?' They don't get what we do. We're still females coming into a male bastion. So when there are things out there that are so far beyond the norm, it is damaging.

Wai also has experienced this sort of misunderstanding of her job, though not from colleagues. While giving a student tour of the *Advertiser*, Wai was asked if she ever used her "feminine wiles to get better quotes from the male athletes." Another of the girls present in the group said, “I would.” responded in her column:

I said no, that I play things straight. Because if I wanted to be taken seriously, I needed to hit my subjects with questions my male counterparts wouldn't hesitate to ask. That requires knowledge, not hair twirling. (Wai 2005, December 6)
Third down: Making a case

While there are many bleak signs for women in sports journalism, all is not lost. (Wai 2004, November 9) admitted that despite the occasional sour encounter with chauvinism, her career mostly “has been a blast.” She continued to say that, “most of the people I encounter are extremely helpful, and acceptance of women in sports has improved.” Research has shown that women are sometimes viewed equally compared with their male counterparts, and in some instances, superior to them.

Burkhart and Sigelman (Autumn 1990) found that bylines of a gender-neutral nature tended be evaluated somewhat lower than those of a specific gender. Additionally, there was little difference in how readers judged bylines between males and females. Using what they termed “unsophisticated news readers,” Burkhart and Sigelman found women’s bylines were rated higher than men in categories such as accuracy, writing style and trustworthiness. That finding is contrary to earlier studies, such as Noel and Allen (September 1976).

When women move up the corporate chain, it seems to indicate positive results for news organizations in terms of both diversity and coverage. Craft and Wantan (Spring 2004) preformed a content analysis of 30 Web sites from news organizations that boasted high ratios of female editors compared with those that did not. Most notably they discovered a difference in tone, as the male-dominated newsrooms generally reported news that was more negative, which is similar to the findings of reporting trends discussed later by Rodgers and Thorson (2003). Also, in the case of male-dominated newsrooms, Craft and Wantan found that news beats
were more likely to be distributed according to gender.

Perhaps as news outlets further embrace digital technology and Web-based news channels, women may benefit the most. A Web-related experiment was conducted by Flanagin and Metzger (November 2003). They found that viewers of the study’s Web sites rated opposite-sex sites with more credibility than they did same-sex sites. For the study, Web sites were created with a particular gender in mind. Both men and women subjects then assessed the sites from several angles such as message, sponsor and credibility. In general, men found the sites significantly more credible than women, regardless of the gender assigned to the material on the Web site. The finding contradicts what has generally been found in studies of print media such as the one conducted by Andsager and Mastin (1990). Many print studies have shown a positive effect when a same-sex source reads work by a same-sex columnist.

When it comes to the essential standards of journalism, women may be better able to adhere to the guidelines and ideals. Rodgers and Thorson (2003) researched whether or not there is a difference in news gathering based on gender at three U.S. daily newspapers of varying circulation. There was a difference. Female reporters tended to stereotype less, were found to use more diverse sourcing and were more positive in content when compared with male reporters. Their research did not indicate what types of stories were evaluated, however. Story topics that are stereotypically associated with a particular gender, or females in this study, may help explain why articles written by women differed in positivism and stereotyping from those written by men.

Zoch and Turk (Winter 1998) focused on the reliance of official sources
(mayors, council members, managers, etc.) to report news in daily newspapers of varying circulation size and how reporter gender affected the types of sources selected. As was the case with the research conducted by Rodgers and Thorson (2003), Zoch and Turk found there was a difference between gender and that women reporters were more likely than their male counterparts to quote female sources in stories.

Zoch and Turk concluded that a newspaper staff composed of more women reporters than men likely will result in additional women being quoted. A lack of feminine sourcing is something their research illuminated because men reported a majority of the news and tended to quote men more exclusively. With relation to sources and credibility, the tendency of reporters to select like-sex sources also could affect the tone of an article and the way in which readers of a particular gender identify with its message and value.

**Fourth down: Time to punt?**

With research indicating credibility is an issue and an entrenched male system of norms and evaluation, should women forgo the world of sports journalism altogether? Should women omit their names from the list of opportunity to become senior leaders in sports departments and be satisfied simply with working the phones, constructing pages and reporting on various beats? Should Wai, a woman under 30-years-old who likes her work, be satisfied as a reporter who occasionally runs into a chauvinistic hiccup? No. Research isn’t infallible and pioneering change in a tradition-rich environment such as sports journalism takes time and dedication.
Earlier research may have pointed to a credibility gap between genders in sports writing, but there is enough evidence to the contrary to kick the crutch out from under tradition. There no longer is a reason, scientific at least, to indicate a woman will not make for as successful a sports journalist as a man. Certainly, there are challenges, a myriad as noted by Hardin and Shain (Fall 2005).

Starting with Flanagan and Metzger (November 2003), their findings about the Web and that same-sex sites are not as popular among either males or females, may bode well for women. And considering the contrary findings, the extent to which a reporter’s gender may factor in source credibility also could be dependent upon the means of publication (print vs. virtual). The virtual world, perhaps because it is devoid of tradition, might be the environment in which women sports journalists will thrive. After rounding the bases of chauvinism, lack of credibility and sexism, women sports reporters may find the Internet is home plate. It could be the place, at last, where sports journalists stand on equal footing.

Regardless of what is reported and where, access will always be a paramount concern for women sports journalists. It is especially critical to note the way access may affect source credibility, Fuller (Spring 1992). If a reporter is denied access or is constantly berated on the basis of gender, one must assume that reporting will be a more a difficult task. Thusly, the product may suffer. Readers/consumers likely will not understand the differences in the tasks of male vs. female sports reporters and will judge credibility on the article produced, not the effort required to produce it. Similarly, editors and bosses may grow tired of hearing excuses as to why women reporters are unable to write the same “types” of stories as their male counterparts.
Access must remain a non-issue in order for credibility to be fairly judged.

Further expanding on the notion of credibility difference between genders was a study by Rogers and Thorson (2003). They found positive results for women, such as women tended to stereotype less than men. When ascertaining credibility of a news product, it’s important to understand if there is an inherent difference in article quality as produced by reporters of opposite gender. Burkhart and Sigelman (Autumn 1990) showed that women tend to score higher in certain reporting categories than men, but their research is contrary to the findings of others, such as Shaw et al. Still, audience evaluation is an important aspect to journalists, from any medium or beat.

With relation to sources and credibility, the tendency of reporters to select like-sex sources, as found by Zoeck and Turk (Winger 1998), also could affect the type of article written and the way in which readers of a particular gender identify with its message and value. Both men and women reporters, not just in sports but those covering any beat areas, need to be encouraged to diversify sourcing to include an equal representation of both sexes in stories.

Most recently, research conducted by Andsager and Mastin (Spring 2003) found that women columnists scored higher than men, overall, which is contrary to many earlier findings. Perhaps as women have become more readily visible in the news industry, sports and other beats included, the audience perception of them has adapted when compared with test groups of the 1970s, ’80s and ’90s. Incidentally, Andsager and Mastin (Spring 2003) found that the highest scoring of a group of five columnists tested was an African American woman:

This suggests that, despite the under-representation of people of color and
women in the syndicated column business, the disparity is not due to audience bias (p.68).

This finding is an important step forward for women. It is a dissenting voice in the argument that credibility is an issue for women journalists.

The research of Craft and Wantan (Spring 2004) found that news beats in male-dominated newsrooms were broken more by gender (i.e. men wrote sports and courts; women wrote fashion and features). One could argue, however, that the breakdown is a factor of tradition more than an intentional bias on the part of male editors. While it is easy to excuse the breakdown in such a way, it’s not accurate. In the case of female-dominated newsrooms, Craft and Wantan found no such distinction. What types of news a reporter covered was most dependent on the gender of that reporter’s editor. Newspaper readers, especially those who are trained by news outlets to perceive news from a male-dominated newsroom, may also perceive articles differently and more along gender lines than audiences exposed to a gender-neutral news outlet. This is especially true if stories are produced strictly in a gender-slanted way (men only write sports; women only write fashion, for example). If that is the case, readers are apt to interpret the particular gender slant in some way relating to credibility.

Credibility is the currency of a journalist, yet women sports reporters are even in more need of guarding their monetary wares. Associations of women sports journalists are a starting place for this protection. These groups offer support and advice to women of the craft, but are vital for many other reasons. First, associations will be beneficial in weeding out the non-professional reporters from the masses at
work in newsrooms around the country. Accreditation programs could be offered to help raise the level of perceived credibility among readers and viewers. Still, as tirelessly as the associations work and the women within them, perseverance is the key to outlasting the traditional male-instituted norms of sports culture. Associations can help women to better endure these situations and to speak out against wrongdoing within the field.

With credibility in their pockets, women sports journalists can begin to chip away at the traditions of a male-dominated sports culture. And women journalists, such as Wai, may emerge from the sidelines of sports reporting to take an integral and commanding role in the business of sports reporting.
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FACTORS RELATED TO PERSISTENCE TOWARD BACHELOR DEGREE COMPLETION: THE IMPACT OF RACE/ETHNICITY

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Abstract of Paper

This study explores the relationship of a variety of factors to the six-year persistence of students seeking bachelor degrees at 4-year institutions and analyzes the impact of race and ethnicity on these relationships and on the degree of persistence toward bachelor degree completion. The study utilizes the Beginning Postsecondary Student (1996/2001) longitudinal data set from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) that followed a nationally representative sample of beginning postsecondary students for six academic years irrespective of whether they had remained at their initial institution, transferred, temporarily stopped out, or departed from higher education altogether (“system persistence”). The weighted sample of 1,090,182 students includes only those who had began their postsecondary education at 4-year institutions and had as their initial goal the completion of a bachelor’s degree. Of this group, 71.8% was White, non-Hispanic; 11.4% was African American, non-Hispanic; 9.4% was Hispanic; 6.7% was Asian/Pacific Islander; and 0.7% was “Other”. Descriptive and multivariate statistical techniques were utilized to determine whether there were any significant differences based on race and ethnicity in the relationship of selected factors to the successful progress toward bachelor degree completion.

The results revealed that after six years, 72% of the total group of students had persisted by either completing their bachelor’s degree (60%) or by maintaining enrollment in a 4-year institution (12%). Differences in the persistence rate of each racial/ethnic subgroup were as follows: Whites (75%), African-Americans (59%), Hispanic (63%), and Asian/Pacific Islanders (78%). The variables gender, educational aspirations, aptitude test scores, parents’ education level, delayed entry, plus first year GPA, academic and social integration, satisfaction levels, hours worked while enrolled, percent full-time attendance, and incidence of transfers all had varying degrees of impact on six-year persistence. The relationship of many of these factors to persistence differed across racial/ethnic groups. The results from this study will be useful to administrators, advisors, and faculty in 4-year institutions who are seeking ways to enhance and promote bachelor degree completion in various groups of students.
Determinants of Formalized Retirement Plan Participation: Community, Family, Demographic, Economic and Perceptual Factors

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Determinants of Formalized Retirement Plan Participation:
Community, Family, Demographic, Economic and Perceptual Factors

Abstract:

Pension plans are giving way to individual contribution plans; Social Security faces an uncertain future; and, trends toward consumerism and use of credit are seducing consumers away from long-term planning. These counteracting trends call us to investigate the factors that impact retirement savings in the current historical period, particularly participation in formalized retirement plans like 401(k)s, IRAs and Keogh plans that provide tax incentives for making contributions toward retirement.

Using data collected from a sample of 1269 adults aged 18-64 in Michigan’s Upper Peninsula we create logistic regression models to determine the predictive value of five sets of variables on different types of savings behavior including saving in a formal retirement plan. The categories of variables range from macro level community circumstances to micro-level individual characteristics such as family status, economic situation and attitudes.

Key Words: savings, retirement, family adaptive strategies, economic decisions
Determinants of Formalized Retirement Plan Participation: Community, Family, Demographic, Economic and Perceptual Factors

Introduction

Popular reports of savings behavior among American households provide alarming accounts of the near total absence of savings. (Velde 1999) Savings is an important means to security in the event of catastrophe (unemployment, hurricane, disability, ill-health), for retirement, and for children’s economic social mobility through higher education. Therefore, it is critical to consider who is and is not saving, and to discover the significant determinants of savings behavior. Past research in the social sciences on savings behavior has been undertaken primarily within the fields of economics and economic psychology. A sociological lens applied to this research topic will add new dimension to the development of predictive models along with adding important interpretive power.

All human behavior including savings behavior is socially embedded. Individuals’ consumption and spending decisions are made within the social structure and the historical moment in which they find themselves, and the current historical period is one beset with large scale change. The meanings of savings, the motivations for savings, and the strategies and opportunities for savings are impacted by these large scale changes. Thus, we believe it is not only important to add sociological theory and analysis to the topic, but also to readdress the topic using previously considered economic variables to determine their current impact and salience in the new millennium.

Increases in affluence in the United States during the post-World War II period created an unprecedented number of individuals and families with discretionary income and therefore with choices regarding consumption and savings. The watershed changes
in the economy during the mid 20th century lead Katona (1980) to examine how the macro-structural situation in society interacted with micro-level individual motives, attitudes and expectations as well as cultural attributes to explain savings behavior. This research will follow and expand on this multi-level explanatory model.

With deindustrialization, globalization, and the technological revolution we are now experiencing another watershed period of changes that will impact individuals’ needs, motivations, and choices with regard to savings and consumption. In particular, the ways in which individuals and families support themselves during the period after they leave the labor force is changing. No longer do most individuals rely on family to support them in their elder years; no longer do most employers offer employees prospects for lifelong income; and, no longer can we be certain of a future with adequate governmental provision of social security as a safety net. The changes are not absolutes, and they are occurring over a transitional period of decades, but they do portend the need for changes in individual savings behavior for retirement.

The predominant sources of retirement income in the United States in recent history have been Social Security, personal savings and employer-sponsored retirement plans. We are seeing meaningful changes, however, in the character and viability of all these retirement sources for current and future generations due to demographic shifts and political and ideological shifts in the role of the state and the employer in individuals’ economic livelihood. Social Security is facing an increasing strain as the baby-boom generation ages and there are fewer workers contributing to a system that supports more and more beneficiaries. The long-term viability of the system is in question and the
balance has shifted from social and institutional responsibility to personal, individual responsibility.

Personal savings rates are at an historical low, and are, in the aggregate, disappearing. In fact, in June 2006 the personal savings rate stood at a negative 1.5% of overall disposable personal income (Economic Forecast...Outlook 2006:241). Research shows that the typical babyboomer household is saving well below the rate necessary to sustain their current standard of living past their retirement (Engen, Gale and Uccello 1999; Laibson, Repetto and Tobacman 1998). Consumer culture and the availability of consumer credit are two contributing factors in this downward trend in personal savings. “Lifestyle expectations, perceptions of luxury and need, norms regarding the acceptability and management of debt, and strategies of controlling family finances are all in flux” (Livingstone and Lunt 1992: 113).

The predominant form of employer-sponsored retirement plans have changed as well with movement away from defined benefit plans to defined contribution plans. (McCourt 2006:1) Defined benefit plans are plans (eg. pension plans) where an employer manages monies and commits to providing a predetermined level of retirement benefits. Defined contribution plans (eg. 401Ks) are plans where employers manage or oversee an investment process but the level of retirement benefit is dependent on the success of the investments over time. As shown on Table 1, from the period 1975 to 1999, there was a large increase in the number of defined contribution plans (DC) and a significant decline in the number of defined benefit plan (DB) sponsors. Only state, local and federal governments have remained stable in their provision of defined benefit plans (Ibid: 2). (Table 1 about here)
Defined benefit plans and defined contribution plans each can take on a number of manifestations, but there are important differences between the two. “Under a defined benefit plan, the employer takes on the risk that assets may not produce sufficient investment returns to support a promised level of benefits” (Ibid). With a defined contribution plan the individual employee bears the risk. Additionally, “401(k) plans, which make up the bulk of defined contribution assets, require employees to invest their own retirement assets” (Ibid:4). Hacker (2006) calls the trend in the shift of responsibility for managing economic risk from government and employers to individuals and their families the defining economic transformation of our times.

Based on a 2002 survey, “fully half of American workers have made ‘negligible’ contributions to their retirement plans while an estimated 15% have saved nothing at all” (Cassel 2003). Outside of an employer-employee relationship, individuals can participate in ear-marked, tax-advantaged retirement plans like Individuals Retirement Accounts (IRAs) or Keogh plans, but in these cases the saver must seek out and establish the plan his/herself.

With these gradual changes in the structure and viability of our traditional sources of retirement income and the prevalence of formalized contribution plans, it is becoming more and more critical to examine the factors that contribute to retirement savings decision making. Also, with individuals taking on more and more of the investment risk associated with retirement plans, their levels of risk aversion and their abilities to factor time into savings and consumption choices becomes more pivotal. For those who are unemployed or are not offered an employer-managed plan, individual initiative and
investment management becomes even more critical for the security of their economic future.

*Savings - Definitions*

The social science literature offers a variety of definitions for the concept of savings. Early economists (e.g., Keynes 1936) regarded savings as what is left of disposable income once consumption is deducted. This economic definition is now considered insufficient because it ignores the deliberate nature of saving and the way people modify either disposable income or consumption for the sole purpose of saving.

Some economists conceptually interpret savings as a process used to maximize consumption utility over the lifetime and/or to smooth out the income stream over time (e.g., Miles 1997). Some argue for the inclusion of spending on durable goods as savings because these goods are consumed over a long period of time (e.g., Friedman 1957, Fernadez-Villaverde and Krueger 2002, Economic Forecast...Outlook 2006). These approaches, while meaningful in accounting practices or theoretical models, do not sufficiently capture the ordinary conceptualizations of actual savers whose behaviors and decision making strategies are substantially less sophisticated (Laibson et al 1998, Kennickell et al 1997).

Katona (1975), a pioneer in linking economic research to individual perceptions and beliefs, offered alternative definitions that considered how ordinary people think of savings. In making that connection, he developed the following three savings categories: contractual saving such as mortgage payments and other installment payments; discretionary savings whereby one deliberately saves spare income; and residual savings or monies that are by default leftover at the end of an earning period. Warneryd (1999)
describes three distinct motives for savings that he considers persistent and enduring through time: the precautionary motive, the bequest motive and the investment or profit-making motive. DeVaney and Chien (2001) argue that savings for retirement through tax-deferred savings plans fall within the precautionary motive because the amount saved in these types of plans is not withdrawn until a person retires.

_A New Conceptualization_

There are many possible ways to examine savings and to operationalize savings in the research process. We offer an alternative 3-category conceptualization that has relevant distinctions for research on savings. It is a modification of Katona’s concepts adjusted to reflect the current investment structure. The categorization is as follows:

- **Formal Savings Plans** - Plans that are earmarked by the intermediary managing organization for long-term goals like retirement or education and where participation is encouraged through tax benefits, such as 401(k), IRA, Keogh, state-sponsored college savings plans

- **Personal Savings** – Deliberate savings, either regular or sporadic, in financial savings vehicles where intentions and requirements are defined and determined by the saver his/herself. This category would include funds held in accounts that are not formally earmarked or favored in any way for their long-term nature and can be for purposes that may or may not include retirement, such as savings accounts, stock, bond, mutual fund purchases.

- **Residual savings** – Leftover monies that are not funneled into a means for saving and are liquid and available for consumption at any time, eg. money remaining in regularly accessed accounts (like checking), wallets or cash.
We recognize the existence of other assets and investment forms in an individual’s total portfolio such as the primary residence, other real estate, art, and collectibles, but for purposes of analyzing savings and not necessarily wealth, we believe that the above, more limited categorization is meaningful. Our analysis will concentrate on the first category, formalized savings, with the assumption that explanations and determinants of formalized savings will differ from personal and residential savings. Of the various types of formalized savings, we will focus on formalized retirement plan participation.

*Theories of Savings:*

Social science theories of savings fall loosely into two categories – a) formal explanatory models rooted in economic theory and b) exploratory and descriptive approaches focusing on strategies. The explanatory models fall on a continuum from the most basic econometric conceptualization of savings as a means for maximizing lifetime consumption utility based on income to more sophisticated models that are either pure in their commitment to economic rationality or incorporate other social, cultural and psychological determinants.

The economic model of optimizing lifetime consumption based on income expectations fails to support economists’ assumption that intentions and actions are always consistent. Consumers in the aggregate neither save at the rates that would maximize their consumption utility nor do they even save at the rates they, themselves, believe they should to achieve this goal (Laibson et al 1998:91, Bernheim 1994).

To address the discrepancy between the economic theory of utility maximization and actual savings behavior, recent economic research has developed models with
additional theoretical considerations and more explanatory power (i.e. Laibson et al 1998, Miles 1997, Engen et al 1999, Bernheim et al 2001). We will highlight a few recent examples of this economic approach that offer theoretical foundation for our own approach and variable selections. (See section entitled Analytical Plan.)

As an example of an economics-based study that expands on the basic principle of utility maximization, Miles (1997:2) includes a measure of uncertainty to “shed light on the [debate] as to whether precautionary behaviour can account for the apparent discrepancies between actual consumer spending patterns and the path of expenditure consistent with optimization of a lifetime utility function”. Miles also enters residential asset appreciation into his model as an explanatory variable, and finds that uncertainty does matter but changes in housing prices do not have a meaningful effect on savings.

The precautionary savings hypothesis argues that one saves due to uncertainty about future income. Specifically, it proposes that individuals and families will save more in conditions of uncertainty “when they face substantial uninsurable labor income risk and need liquid assets to smooth their consumption” (Laibson et al 1998: 92). Engen and Gruber (1995) note that the 1995 Survey of Consumer Finances showed precautionary savings as the most frequently reported motive for saving. Their work suggests the importance of the consumer’s perception of his/her future financial situation in the savings decision.

Laibson et al (1998) provide another example of savings research that attempts to move beyond the basic economic notion of utility maximization. They point out that actual savings behavior “contradicts the standard economic model of the maximizing consumer… and…[they] try to make sense of the apparent conflicts between attitudes,
intentions, and behavior in the domain of saving” (ibid). Their econometric model argues that consumers have hyperbolic discount rates, or demanded rates of return which are extremely high in the immediate term, but lower in the longer term. This leads to “short-run preferences for instantaneous gratification [that] will undermine a consumer’s effort to implement long term optimal plans” (ibid). They deduce from their model that hyperbolic consumers will save more using defined contributions plans than with self-directed savings (ibid:110). Likewise, we hypothesize that formalized savings are predicted and explained differently than personal savings or overall savings.

Models of savings behavior have evolved to include social, cultural and psychological variables as well as other economic variables (Lunt and Livingstone 1991, Joo and Grable 2000, DeVaney and Chien 2001, Warneryd 1999). The inclusion of these new variables adds not only new dimensions but also intuitive, contextual and explanatory power to the ideas already assessed through economic models alone. For example, an analysis of our current consumer culture and the norms surrounding the use and acceptability of credit help to explain the discrepancy between short and long-term discount rates discussed by Laibson et al (1998). The speed and availability of consumer credit in today’s economy makes it particularly hard for consumers to resist short-term temptations. And, consumer culture contributes to temptation for dissaving, or the situation when “current consumption exceeds current income and when total resources decrease”. (Beverly et al 2003:144)

Savings, consumption and attitudes all have socially embedded meanings that are relevant to how individuals act (Katona 1975, Douglas and Isherwood 1978). Savings behavior has been found to be positively related to optimism about personal
circumstances and the economy (Lunt and Livingstone 1991). This finding, on the surface, appears to contradict the precautionary savings hypothesis that argues savings increase in conditions of uncertainty and concern. Lunt and Livingstone (1991:633) argue that the relationship between optimism and savings is a function of an individual’s locus of control and belief in hard work and fair outcomes. We argue instead that the contrary findings of optimism and precautionary savings are attributable to the differences among economic situation and individual characteristics, and we hypothesize that the differences and relative importance of optimism and precaution will be separately revealed in analyses that consider categories of savings. Specifically, we expect that income uncertainty (precaution) would increase liquid, personal savings while decreasing contributions to formalized savings plans that are not liquid or impose penalties for early access. Those with optimistic views of the mid to near term would be more likely to contribute to inaccessible, long term plans. DeVaney and Chien (2001) argue that retirement savings would fall into the category of precautionary savings, and though this argument has some merit we see a substantial difference between the savings actions that would be undertaken for long term preparedness compared with short/mid term precaution. To tease out the differences, we look at both who participates in a plan and whether or not they contribute the allowable maximum.

Lunt and Livingstone (1991) also find that savings is not a unitary notion, and different factors discriminate between savers vs. non savers in general and the total amount of one’s savings. Specifically, they find that social and psychological variables like optimism, access to support and information regarding finances, and simplified strategies of handling finances were meaningful discriminators between savers and non-
savers. Psychological variables, however, were relatively poor predictors of total savings. Rather, total savings was predicted by demographic and economic variables like having higher income, being male, being older and having fewer children. We include similar family, demographic and economic variables in our model to ascertain their impact on formalized retirement savings.

Unlike the economic models that seek to explain why consumers do not act optimally, the exploratory/strategy-based literature assumes consumers will act sub-optimally. It takes for granted that saving can be challenging and requires effort and self-control, and it assumes that saving is important and desirable in the current economy. Research of this type appears both in academic literature (Beverly et al 2003, Kennickell et al 1997, Lyons et al 2003), and the popular media (Cassel 2003, Harris 2003, Domino 2005).

While our research will fall more closely into the former category of explanatory models, exploratory research draws important distinctions between different savings vehicles and the motivations and strategies likely to surround them. Beverly et al (2003) provide a concise discussion of strategies for saving that gives theoretical substantiation to behaviors that appear irrational. For example, they explain how a behavior such as deliberately selecting a bank account that charges per withdrawal is an economically rational, not irrational, behavior for someone who is concerned with spending temptations. The consumer is seeking to jump the hyperbolic curve, if you will. Similarly, one might increase one’s federal withholding and thus forego the time value of their money because it forces them to save. Beverly et al (2003) argue for the importance of “pre-commitment constraints” like federal tax withholdings and payroll deductions as
important means of savings. Also, they identify the significance of “windfall” income (like tax refunds, inheritance and work bonuses) rather than regular income in savings planning. Different social circumstances and motivations result in different savings strategies facilitated by different economic and savings processes and vehicles. Thus, the savings process is composed of different stages and psychological and behavioral strategies. Importantly, Beverly et al (2003) recognize the deliberate action of increasing one’s income to facilitate savings, not merely “putting away” a portion of what one happens to earn. The process of securing one’s financial situation is multi-faceted and subject to multiple influences.

Moen’s (1992) work on family adaptive strategy complements Beverly et al’s (2003) work by pointing out that action is most definitely socially situated and that families devise actions for “coping with, if not overcoming, the challenges of living and for achieving their goals in the face of structural barriers” (Moen 1992: 234). Retirement and retirement savings are different today and mean something different today than they did even 10 or 20 years ago. Opportunities for earning, saving and spending have changed both in practice and in meaning. We believe that the type of savings, the goal of savings and the role of government in offering incentives for saving have meaningfully changed how we can account for savings behavior and decisions.

**Contribution of the Study**

The current study makes a unique contribution to the savings literature offering a new operationalization of savings as falling into distinct categories that we propose will be predicted differently and are socially relevant given the present day structure of investment options. In particular, this paper will examine explanatory models in one
savings category, Formalized Plans, concentrating on a particular subset Formalized Retirement Plans. The formalized plan is a savings process constructed through social policy to motivate savings for goals determined to be socially and economically important by government bodies. Our approach, therefore, examines who is favorably influenced by savings policies.

We also expand upon previous social science research on savings by applying a sociological lens both to the development of our analytic strategy and to the interpretation of our results. We pay close attention to the social significance of the savings categories in today’s economy and to the meanings associated with consumption and savings in different social locations. We distinguish family characteristics as an important subset of variables and consider the strategic nature of family decision making given structural boundaries.

Finally, our study will add new variables describing the community context surrounding our respondents. We will model the impact of the actual economic structure of the respondents’ communities by including data on unemployment rates, median income, and predominant employer types and occupations within the community. These variables offer an additional window beyond demographic characteristics into the social location of the respondent. They provide a picture of the reference group that surrounds the respondent and the way savings decisions are influenced by social context. We include data on both respondent perceptions of community financial health and actual measures thereof, which, we hypothesize, will allow us to differentiate between social psychological motivations and economic structural motivations to saving.

Methods
Our data were collected from April through September 2004 via a telephone survey of residents aged 18-64 in Michigan’s Upper Peninsula (UP). In that time a total of 1270 interviews were completed including 1129 interviews with individuals randomly selected from the UP general population using random digit dialing, and 141 interviews that made up an oversample of Native Americans achieved through a supplemental dialing within census tracts known to have high proportions of individuals in this category. For purposes of this analysis, we are not interested in looking at a subsample of Native Americans, so the data have been weighted to account for the oversample. Population probability measures were used to determine the weights. After applying weights, the final number of interviews included in the analysis was 1269.

Using the outcome disposition categories of the American Association of Public Opinion Researchers’ Standard Definitions and the accompanying formulas for calculating outcomes, the overall response rate for the survey was 43.5%, the refusal rate was 21.6%, the cooperation rate among eligible households was 66.9% and the contact rate was 93.7%. Within households containing at least one eligible adult, the respondent was selected randomly using the Trohldal-Carter technique. The average interview lasted approximately 20 minutes.

Respondents provided zip code data that were subsequently used to match their responses with regional Census zip code aggregate data from the 2000 U.S. Census. This allowed us to include the community variables of unemployment rate, median income, population, percent of zip code residents employed in different occupational categories, and percent of zip code residents employed by different types of organizations. All analyses were conducted using SPSS 14.0 for Windows.
The survey topics included a variety of questions on attitudes and behaviors. For purposes of this research we are focusing on questions about respondents’ participation in savings plans in general, tax-advantaged retirement plans specifically, and level of contribution to tax-advantaged retirement plans. Also, we utilize responses to questions on respondent perceptions of the community’s future business conditions and their own family’s future financial conditions, preferences regarding the timing of receipt of an unexpected financial windfall, and basic demographic characteristics. The financial windfall question is part of a larger battery of questions that investigates temporal preferences and discount rates, and it offers the options of receiving an unexpected inheritance in the form of $20,000 immediately or $32,000 in 5 years for a 10% rate of return. See the appendix for specific wording of questions used in this analysis.

Finally, in our analysis, we control for interviewer gender based on findings from a previous research project that suggests interviewer gender may lead to social desirability bias in survey research. This survey gathered data on interviewer gender and resulted in a nearly even distribution of surveys conducted by males and females. (See Whitaker et al 2006)

Analytic Strategy

Our analysis of savings behavior centered on the responses to three consecutive questions on respondents’ participation in savings plans (See Appendix). Using the three questions, we were able to identify four distinct groups and to make comparisons between groups and sets of groups as suggested by our literature review and hypotheses. There were 79 cases in our sample where the respondent did not respond to the savings
questions, leaving 1191 valid cases to be used in our analysis. The categories of respondents were as follows:

1. Individuals who do not participate in a savings plan (33.7%, \(n=401\))

2. Individuals who participate in a savings plan but not a tax-advantaged retirement plan (13.5%, \(n=161\))

3. Individuals who participate in a tax-advantaged retirement plan but do not make the maximum allowable contribution to that plan (32.1%, \(n=383\))

4. Individuals who participate in a tax-advantaged retirement plan and make the maximum contribution. (20.7%, \(n=246\))

Only categories 3 and 4 speak directly to formalized plans as we have defined them. Category 2 participants characterized themselves as participating in a plan, but we did not ascertain the degree to which those plans were earmarked or tax-advantaged for a purpose other than retirement (eg. education savings, vacation savings, christmas club accounts).

Because there are multiple determinants that go into savings decision-making, we constructed three multivariate analyses in the form of binomial logistic regressions to determine the relationship between 5 sets of independent variables and different types of savings behavior. The variable categories progressed from macro to more micro inputs and were entered into the model in a stepwise manner in order to determine the incremental importance of each. The sets were as follows:

- Community characteristics (unemployment rate, population, percent of community employed by a manufacturing company, percent of community employed by an educational institution or social service organization, percent of
community with managerial jobs, percent of community with service jobs, percent of community who are self-employed, community median income);

- Family characteristics (number of adults living in the household, number of children under 17 living in the household, respondent marital status);

- Individual characteristics (Age, sex, education level);

- Economic situation (labor force participation, respondent’s own and household member’s membership in union, income);

- Economic perceptions (perception of community business conditions in the coming year, perception of family’s financial conditions in coming year, attitude toward an unexpected financial windfall).

The community variables offer a picture of the actual economic well-being of the respondent’s community as well as a picture of the reference group that surrounds the respondent. Employer types within the community and occupations held by community members suggest the availability and access to types of defined benefit and defined contribution plans for the reference group. For example, as indicated by the research on trends in defined benefit plans, education and social service employers would be more likely to offer traditional pensions than would private employers. The self-employed could initiate formal retirement plans in the form of IRAs or Keogh plans but would not have access to 401(k) plans which are employer-sponsored. Within economic variables we were interested in union membership to the degree that union members are more likely to have favorable access to retirement plans (either DB or DC) with good information on the advantages thereof. We did not include race in our model only because our sample was generated in an area with little racial diversity (96% white).
In our first equation (Liquid Save v. No) we attempt to uncover any unique determinants between those who do not save in any form of plan and those who save in a plan of some sort, albeit not a formalized retirement plan. (Group 1 compared to Group 2). We make the assumption here that the formalized retirement plan is the form of plan with the most specific long term purpose and longest period of illiquidity. Thus, the relevance of this equation is based on the assumption that savings within a non-retirement plan may be a more liquid or flexible step within savings behavior. We believe it may be important to determine how and what transitions someone into this step. It is a limitation that we do not know what form of savings program the respondent has, other than knowing that it is not a formal retirement plan.

Our second equation (Retirement v. No) looks at those who have a tax-advantaged retirement plan compared to those who do not. As discussed previously, retirement plans have become more and more important to an individual’s and family’s long term stability in this era than in past eras when pensions and social security were more common and more secure. (Groups 1 & 2 compared with groups 3 & 4)

Our third equation (Max Out v. No) looks at those who are involved with formalized retirement plans and contribute the full amount allowable compared with those who do not contribute the full amount. (Group 3 compared with Group 4)

Findings

We start with a summary of the explained variation across each model. In each of the models, the categories of variables we included, along with a control for interviewer gender, offered an explanation of between 26 and 46 percent of the variance in the dependent variables. Each category of variables makes a different level of contribution to
each unique savings decision. Community, family and economic variables make the highest level of contribution to the decision to save outside a formal retirement plan only, while economic and family variables were most highly influential in the decision to engage in a formal retirement plan. Community and perceptual variables had the most predictive power on whether or not one makes the maximum contribution once they are involved in a formal retirement plan. See Table 2 below.

(Table 2 about here)

These findings reinforce our argument that formal retirement plans are a unique mode of savings, differently predicted than other forms of savings and that the social context of the consumer/saver is relevant to his/her decision making in the savings arena. Further it demonstrates that both macro-structural factors and perceptual factors significantly influence savings decisions. A closer look at the impact of specific variables presents a more comprehensive picture.

Comparing the multivariate analyses for each of the three different savings behaviors reveals that each savings behavior is differently predicted. See Tables 3 and 4. Only five of our twenty-two independent variables offered a statistically significant contribution to the prediction of liquid savings behavior as we have defined it for this research, (that is, participating in a savings process but only outside of a formal retirement plan) compared with having no savings plan. Economic criteria were the most important predictors in this model with liquid savers earning more than non-savers. Part-time workers and those not in the labor force were less likely to be liquid savers than those working full-time. Additionally, respondents in manufacturing communities and communities with higher levels of service work were more likely to save in non-
retirement plans than to not save. Finally, more adults in the household was significantly positively related to liquid savings behavior.

(Tables 3 and 4 about here)

Participation in formal retirement plans was predicted very differently and was primarily a function of an individual’s economic situation and their individual characteristics. The single most important predictor of participating in a retirement plan was labor force participation. (Wald statistic 71.717, p=.000). Income was a highly significant predictor as well (Wald statistic 59.551, p=.000), but employment itself, controlling for income, had the strongest effect. Compared with those who work full time, those who are not in the labor force had a significantly lower likelihood of retirement plan participation, a finding that is intuitively logical given that access to and education regarding formalized plans is facilitated by employers. Part-time workers, who are often not offered benefits, are less likely to participate than full-time workers as well. Employers that offer 401(k) plans do so upon employment and often through annual open season, primarily to full-time employees only. Thus employees are faced with a decision to invest along with information on the advantages of the plan. Non-workers and part-time workers without benefits may initiate plans like IRAs on their own, but they need to be aware of the advantages and to independently act on this information. People are more likely to save when the process is easy, even passive. For example, Harris (2003) reports that when workers must open their own 401(k) plans, the participation rate for workers with less than 12 months of tenure is 50 percent, compared with 90 percent when employees are enrolled automatically but may opt out. Iyangar et al (2004) discovered that choice plays a meaningful role in plan participation, with plan participation highest
among those whose 401(k)s offered the least number of options and thus the least amount of personal research and active choice. Clearly, the non-working have a significantly higher barrier to entry into formal retirement plans with more active requirements compared with workers whose companies offer a plan.

Income was the second most influential variable on retirement plan participation. Surprisingly, income was not a statistically significant predictor of making the maximum contribution to the retirement plan. Labor force participation was significantly related to maximum contributions but had the opposite effect than on participation in a retirement plan. Though non-workers were less likely to have a plan, once they took active steps to participate, they were even more likely to take full advantage and make maximum contributions.

Attitudes significantly explained retirement plan participation, though attitudinal variables were less important than the effects of individual and economic variables. Those who had optimistic views of the community business conditions in the coming year were more likely to participate in a formal retirement plan. At the same time, those who felt their own family’s financial situation was declining were also significantly more likely to participate in a formal retirement plan. The findings support both the optimism and precautionary savings hypotheses.

Attitude toward the family’s future financial condition was not a significant predictor of savings outside a retirement plan (liquid savings, by our definition), but it was a predictor of savings within a retirement plan. Together these findings refute our hypothesis that precautionary savers would be less likely to save in a long-term illiquid plan and more likely to save in some other savings vehicle.
Optimism about community situation was also significant in the model on
collection levels within a retirement plan. Those who anticipate good community
business conditions are more likely to contribute the maximum. Community context
variables reveal the effect of actual economic conditions compared with perceived
conditions. In areas where individuals face higher unemployment, participants are least
likely to maximize their contributions. The role of perception of one’s family financial
situation is not statistically significantly related to maxing out contributions to a
retirement plan.

The precautionary savings hypothesis, then, yields unusual and somewhat
contradictory results where people who are concerned for their own financial futures do
tend to save in formal retirement plans, but actual indicators of earnings instability lead
them to place less money in the plan. Overall, though, optimism about business
conditions is significantly likely to lead to long-term savings.

These models also include data on individuals’ attitudes toward a potential
financial windfall. Respondents were presented with a hypothetical scenario where they
could receive an unexpected inheritance of $20,000 now or $32,000 in five years.
Temporal preferences for receiving a windfall do not significantly affect an individual’s
likelihood to be a liquid verses a non-saver or to be a retirement plan participant.
However, individuals with a higher propensity toward instant gratification (would prefer
the inheritance now) were more likely not to contribute fully to their retirement plans.
This was the single most predictive factor in the model of maximizing contributions, and
the findings resonate with Laibson et al.’s (1998) discussion of hyperbolic discount rates
and the allure of instant gratification.
The characteristics of one’s community were not significant predictors of participation in a formal retirement plan, but they were important to the determination of how much one would contribute within one’s plan. Individuals living in communities with higher proportions of workers in education and social service organizations (those likely to have pensions) were less likely to take full advantage of tax breaks and savings in formal plans, but those living in areas with higher proportions of managerial workers were more likely to set aside the maximum. As mentioned, as unemployment rate went up, the likelihood of contributing the maximum declined. Surprisingly, those in lower median income areas and in lower population areas were more likely to contribute the maximum allowable under their plan.

Many of the family and individual determinants of retirement plan participation were consistent with past research findings on determinants of savings in general. Specifically, those who have higher incomes, are older, married, and more highly educated are more likely to invest in a formal retirement plan. Contrary to past findings (Joo and Grable 2000, Lunt and Livingstone 1991, Badenhop et al 2003), our research revealed that women are significantly more likely to save in retirement plans than are men. Historically, women have fared poorly in retirement due to 1) their disproportionately higher level of responsibilities for child and elder care which cause them to interrupt if not forego labor force participation; 2) the wage gap that has left them with smaller amounts of income for saving; and 3) their tendencies toward risk aversion and conservative investment styles (Bajtel and Bernasek in Women and Retirement 1999). Our findings with regard to gender show that, controlling for labor force participation and income, women are significantly more likely than men to be liquid
savers than non-savers, to be retirement plan participants than non-participants, and to contribute the maximum to their retirement plans than not. Women’s labor force participation rates have increased and the wage gap has improved, but we consider changes in cultural norms as potentially at the root of this new finding.

We suggest that changes in the recent past have not simply offered women more money with which to save but have shifted cultural norms regarding women’s responsibility for their own and their families’ economic well being. Higher divorce rates, the higher incidence of female heads of households, and higher levels of education among women have resulted in an increased emphasis on women’s self-sufficiency in providing economically for themselves and their families. When this need combines with an overall higher rate of risk aversion among women (Sunden and Surrette 1998, Joo and Pauwels 2002), we see a motivation to save, rather than to spend. In our current economy, women may perceive investing as the less risky rather than the more risky behavior.

Our research does not reveal whether dollar for invested dollar women and men earn different average rates of return, but it does reveal that women no longer fit into the stereotypes depicted in the following description from a web-based, financial product marketing organization. “Women [are] trained to nurture and seek acceptance, view money as a means to create a lifestyle. Women spend on things that enhance day-to-day living. Theirs is a now-money orientation. Men [are] trained to fix and provide, view money as a means to capture and accumulate value. Men don't spend, they invest. Men don't want something, they need it. Theirs is a future-money orientation.” (Bankrate.com
Policy makers and financial service professionals should be aware of the fallacy in these gender stereotypes as they construct methods to motivate savings into the future.

The research findings ran counter to our expectations in several ways. There were several variables that we believed would be of higher importance in the predictive models than they were. We expected union membership to significantly impact plan membership and contribution levels because union membership generally indicates access to favorable benefit plans and education on benefits. In explanation we consider that the negative impact on retirement plan participation one might expect from the existence of a strong union-offered DB plan was cancelled out by the positive impact of having good education about and access to a DC plan. This possible explanation is supported by the finding that having a household member in a union was significantly negatively related to a respondent’s retirement plan participation. The effects of either a spouse’s good DB plan or good DC plan would have the same directional impact on the respondent’s plan participation choice – the choice to forgo participation because retirement needs were being taken care of elsewhere.

Our findings show the presence of children does not determine whether someone participates in a savings plan (formal retirement or otherwise), though it does cause a reduced level of contribution to an existing plan. Undeniably, the existence of children drains resources in the present, and would, on average, affect available funds for contribution.

Finally, we were surprised that the prevalence of self-employed individuals in a community did not impact any of the savings behaviors we considered. Such communities may be more rural (where there are many family farms) and may have a
high number of individuals whose investments are caught up in their businesses rather than financial savings programs. Also, the self-employed would have the same high barrier to formal plan participation that non-workers have, given that they would have to seek out a plan on their own. Lunt and Livingstone (1991) found that savings information and advice from friends and family are important to savings decision making. Based on our research, the proportion of self-employed individuals in one’s community did not systematically affect that information and advice in a way that would impact on retirement plan participation or retirement plan contribution levels.

Conclusion

Individual savings has become a more important means to livelihood in retirement than it was in previous generations when pension plans were more prevalent and social security was more stable. This research provides findings that are important to consider when creating savings plans and policies designed to increase the level of retirement plan participation and the amount of savings within retirement plans. Looking at three different savings behaviors, we found that each was predicted differently, a finding that supports our hypothesis that savings is not a unitary notion and formal savings plan behavior can and should be looked at separately.

Moen and Wethington (1992) discuss the idea of Family Adaptive Strategies or actions that families engage in to deal with the barriers they face through structural forces. This framework sees families as flexible, decision making units who are constrained in their options by the social structure. Our work here supports the conception of families as adaptive decision making units with regard to their savings in several ways, but our work also reveals that savings can be a passive action that needs to be more central and strategic in individuals’ and families’ decision making. Future
amendments to savings policy and savings plans may need to place participation
decisions more squarely in front of citizens on an ongoing basis. Campaigns that
regularly notify individuals of the tax and personal advantages of savings and suggest
participation or increases in contributions would make this topic top-of-mind at regular
intervals through the life-course.

In support of the view that people are active in their choices, we found that
women are significantly more likely to save in a formal retirement plans and contribute
the maximum to their plans than are men. This is a change from past findings and from
stereotypical conceptions of women as uninterested, uninvolved and secondary in long-
term financial planning, and we credit this change to women’s active adaptation to
changes in marriage, divorce, single-parent child-rearing, and labor force participation.
As a result of these structural changes, women have taken on a more responsible and
active role in their own and their family’s financial stability.

Other indicators that individuals are active and strategic in their savings decision
include findings that income is significantly positively related to savings plan
participation and that individuals are more likely to participate in a retirement plan if they
are concerned about their family’s financial condition in the future. They are, however,
less likely to contribute the maximum to a retirement plan if they have more children at
home and if unemployment in their community is higher. Finally, individuals whose
spouse’s were members of unions and thus likely to have favorable retirement plans,
were less likely themselves to participate in a formal retirement plan.

Other findings show that savings behavior is more passive and based on
individual characteristics rather than being based on a proactive, strategic response to the
structural situation. The strongest predictor of participation in a retirement plan was full-time employment. Because this relationship was revealed with a control for income, we conclude that it is the access and opportunity for plan participation facilitated by employment that leads to higher levels of participation. Full-time employment is more likely to be accompanied by benefits, and it is also most likely to accompany plan participation. Individuals who do not have access to an employer-sponsored plan can still initiate a plan on their own, but they are less likely to do so. Put simply, people are more likely to engage in a plan when it is easier to do so.

Retirement plan participation is also significantly related to being older and married. With the age of marriage increasing and the life span increasing, it may be important to educate individuals on the importance of long-term planning earlier in their lives and outside of marriage. Also, families must consider the long-term costs of delaying higher contributions to retirement until their children are older. Those with optimistic attitudes about the economy in their community are more likely to participate in a retirement plan and contribute the maximum. There is little policy makers can do to affect this other than institute policies that will create a genuinely favorable economic future for Americans in all social locations.

Finally this research revealed that though many individuals participate in formal retirement plans, consumers/savers have difficulty dealing with desires for short-term or instant gratification. They are often impatient for returns and likely to indulge in the present rather than delay consumption until a later date. Respondents’ attitudes about whether they would want an unexpected financial windfall now or would wait for it for 5 years with a guaranteed 10% annual rate of return was the most predictive variable in
whether they contribute the maximum to their retirement plan. This finding supports the literature discussing short term desires and it puts our consumer culture front and center in any discussion of motivating savings.

Community context did not predict savings plan participation but it did offer significant explanation for savings outside of formal plans and for amount contributed within a plan. Income itself was not a significant predictor of contribution levels, but the economic context surrounding the respondent was. Once again, it may be important for all communities to receive common educational information on the benefits of savings and plan participation, and to receive it on an ongoing basis so differences in employer-provided and family/friend provided advice on savings won’t compromise some individuals’ opportunities to create a secure future for themselves and their families.

This study offers new information and a new perspective on savings but it also has several limitations that might be addressed and improved upon in future research. Specifically, in the future we would be interested in analyzing savings behavior in a national sample rather than a regional one. The study area for this research, the Upper Peninsula region of Michigan, is a limitation because the region is a fairly rural and limited-resource area. Another limitation is that the study region and thus our sample are predominantly white, which did not allow us to consider the impact of race or ethnicity.

We also suggest that future research on savings behavior gather more specific data on the types of savings vehicles people are using and the goals associated with their saving. We continue to advocate the analysis of formalized savings plans, or plans with tax advantages designed to promote a specific long term savings goal. It would be
informative to differentiate between types of formal retirement plans and to consider formal education savings plans or healthcare savings plans as well.
Appendix

Survey Questions

1. Do you participate in any type of savings plan such as a 401K, IRA, educational savings plan, supplemental retirement plan, employer matching plan, Cds, bonds or stocks?

2. Are you using a plan that allows you to delay paying taxes on your savings until after retirement?

3. You said you are using a plan that allows you to delay paying taxes on your savings. Are you contributing to that plan to the maximum extent possible under the guidelines?

A. Now turning to the business conditions in your community, do you think that during the next twelve months you community will have good times financially or bad times?

B. Thinking of the example of the unexpected inheritance and your given financial situation, when would you prefer to receive the inheritance? (Right away for $20,000, 5 years from now for $32,000)

C. Now looking ahead, do you think a year from now you and your family living there will be better off financially or worse off financially?
Bibliography


Table 1: Changes in the Number of Private and Public Pension Plans

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<th>Types of Plans</th>
<th>1975</th>
<th>1985</th>
<th>1995</th>
<th>1999</th>
<th>% Change</th>
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<td>Private DB</td>
<td>103,000</td>
<td>170,000</td>
<td>69,000</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>-51% (from 1975)</td>
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<td>208,000</td>
<td>462,000</td>
<td>624,000</td>
<td>683,000</td>
<td>+228% (from 1975)</td>
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<td>State/Local</td>
<td>NA</td>
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<td>2,284</td>
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<td>Federal</td>
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<td>8,591</td>
<td>8,630</td>
<td>8,615</td>
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(Source: McCourt 2006: 2)
Table 2: Nagelkerke R-Squared for each step of 6 step stepwise regression

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Liquid Save v. No</th>
<th>Retirem’t v. No</th>
<th>Max Out v. No</th>
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<td></td>
<td>Increment  Total</td>
<td>Increment  Total</td>
<td>Increment  Total</td>
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<td>n=449</td>
<td>.296 .466</td>
<td>.466 .263</td>
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<td>n=1021</td>
<td>.026 .026</td>
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<td>n=572</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
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<td>.075 .075</td>
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<tr>
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^ = Step not significant at 95% level of confidence, all other steps significant
### Table 3: Logistic Regression Results

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<th>Community Vars</th>
<th>Liquid v. No Liquid=1, No=0</th>
<th>Retirement V. No Have plan=1, No=0</th>
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<td>Wald</td>
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<td>% of comm. emp. by manufacturing</td>
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<td>% of comm. w/ management jobs</td>
<td>.109*</td>
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<td>.003</td>
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<td>% of comm. w/ service jobs</td>
<td>.103**</td>
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<td>-.043</td>
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<td>Attitude toward unexpected inheritance (Base=want it now)</td>
<td>-.277</td>
<td>.285</td>
<td>-.155</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p ≤ .05  ** p ≤ .01  *** p ≤ .001
Table 4 – Rank Order of Importance of Significant Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community Vars</th>
<th>Light Save v. No</th>
<th>Retirement V. No</th>
<th>Max Out V. No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment rate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of comm. employ’d by</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manufacturing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% comm. employ’d by</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ed/social serv org</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of comm. w/ management jobs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of comm. with service jobs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of comm. who are self employed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median income</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Family Variables              |                  |                  |               |
| # adults in HH                | 2                |                  |               |
| # kids in HH                  |                  | 9                |               |
| Marital Status                |                  |                  |               |

| Individual Variables          |                  |                  |               |
| Education                      |                  |                  | 6             |
| Sex                           | 5                | 3                |               |
| Age                           | 3                |                  |               |

| Economic Variables            |                  |                  |               |
| Labor force Participation     | 4                | 1                | 8             |
| HH member in Union            |                  |                  | 7             |
| Resp in Union                 |                  |                  |               |
| Income                        | 1                | 2                |               |

| Attitudinal Variables         |                  |                  |               |
| Perception of comm. Business conditions in year | 8 | 5 |               |
| Perception of family financial cond in year |                  | 9 |               |
| Attitude toward unexpected inheritance |                  |                  | 1 |
Title: Promoting Transformative Community-University Partnerships

Topic area: Cross-disciplinary: Sociology, Education, Youth, Family and Community

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Co-Authors: Dr. Cheryl Booth, MSU Extension, 4-H and Youth Programs, and FACT, 160 Ag Hall, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824, boothc@msu.edu and Dr. Patricia Farrell, University Outreach and Engagement, Outreach Partnerships and FACT, 8 Kellogg Center, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824 farrellp@msu.edu.
Promoting Transformative Community-University Partnerships

Effective university engagement efforts result in meaningful and often transformative outcomes for faculty, staff and community collaborators. Since 1999, a university-wide coalition at Michigan State University called FACT – the Families and Communities Together Coalition, has supported university-community engagement projects that both 1) are responsive to public issues and community concerns and 2) are furthering faculty scholarship and professional goals. A recent survey of community partners on the impact of these FACT engagement efforts find relatively high levels of expected and achieved benefits to the community, positive-satisfactory evaluations of collaboration and strong inclinations to continue partnerships. Faculty partners report strong academic and scholarly outcomes from these partnerships in terms of publications, external research funds, and policy and program innovations.

This presentation will review the reported outcomes and impacts of these partnerships. In addition, we will examine how collaborations address the challenges of bringing together partners with very divergent points of view to bridge the gaps between community agents and university scholars. To be sustainable, research-based outreach collaborations must integrate disciplinary knowledge and research with the needs and expectations of the community partner to make authentic and timely progress toward community goals. We will present a model of transformative engagement for sustained impact and discuss methods of measuring that impact in meaningful ways for all partners.
Title: Factors Influencing the Provision of Quality Psychosocial Services in Washington State Skilled Nursing Facilities

Topic area: Social Work

Presentation format: Paper session

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Abstract:

Although psychosocial needs such as depression, anxiety, and behavioral symptoms are widespread among persons living in American skilled nursing facilities (SNFs), the scope and quality of services provided to address those needs appears insufficient. Indeed, substantial evidence indicates SNF residents’ psychosocial needs are generally not met (Tirrito, 1996; O’Neill & Rosen, 1998; Parker-Oliver & Kurzejeski, 2003; Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS), 2003). Social workers have been recognized as the primary providers of psychosocial services in SNFs, and both workload and practice knowledge barriers have been identified as factors that impede their ability to provide necessary services (Tirrito, 1996; O’Neill & Rosen, 1998; DHHS, 2003, Parker-Oliver & Kurzejeski, 2003). However, specific factors that either enable psychosocial care or reduce the barriers to service delivery have yet to be explored. Furthermore, little is known about the connection between service provision and resident outcome-related indicators of facility quality of care. The social work profession has affirmed that research addressing each of these areas is vital to achieve a higher standard of psychosocial care for vulnerable persons living in SNFs (Vourlekis, Zlotnik, & Simons, 2005).

This paper session will present findings from a research project that utilized a three-category quality assessment framework to address these gaps in the social work knowledge base. A cross-sectional survey design was utilized to link two sources of data, one from a self-administered questionnaire completed by social services directors in SNFs across Washington State, and the other from three-years’ worth of resident-centered facility state inspection results. Analysis centered on determining the independent and combined effects of organizational structure, organizational processes, and individual social work characteristics on resident psychosocial outcomes. Results indicate that four factors have the most influence on the provision of quality psychosocial care services: the degree of facility ownership turnover, the extent of social worker’s practice experience, the social worker’s level of identification with the helping role, and the facility’s overall values related to incorporating residents’ individual differences into the plan of care. Potential interventions to enhance psychosocial services in SNFs suggested by these findings will be discussed.

References:


Submitted to be published in the conference proceedings at the Hawaii International Conference on the Social Sciences

Title: Racial and Ethnic Differences in the Accrual of Functional Impairment Over Ten Years: The Role of Health Care

Author: Mary Elizabeth Bowen
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ABSTRACT

This study examined the accumulation in functional impairment among white, black, and latino Americans over time within a CD advantage model and the relationship between medical service utilization and functional impairment. Ten years of data from the Health and Retirement Survey (HRS), 1992-2002, was examined using hierarchical linear modeling techniques. The HRS is a prospective, multi-stage national probability cohort study. The subsample included adults aged 50 years old and older at the baseline year 1992 (n= 8,442). Blacks had higher rates of functional impairment accumulation compared to whites across the subsequent years (P<.001) after controlling for time-varying medical conditions (hypertension, diabetes, cancer, and lung disease), health insurance coverage, and socioeconomic position (SEP). Compared to whites, physician visits (P<.01) and hospital and nursing home stays (P<.001) were associated with more functional impairment among blacks while hospital and nursing home stays were associated with more functional impairment among latinos (P<.01) after adjusting for demographics and time-varying medical conditions, health insurance and SEP.

Nationally, blacks and latinos begin older adulthood with more functional impairment, and blacks continue to accumulate more impairment than whites in later years. Medical service use among blacks and latinos was associated with more functional impairment after considerations of comorbid medical conditions and other instrumental health factors. The results support the cumulative disadvantage model such that disparities in health continue to accrue for racial minorities into older adulthood. These results are consistent with reports that disparities in medical care negatively impact the health of older blacks and latinos.
Developing Interpersonal Bonding Relationships in the College Classroom

Educational Psychology: Poster Presentation

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Abstract

This qualitative study was designed to explore interpersonal relationships in the college classroom, i.e. the bonding relationship between teachers and students or among students themselves. The major purpose of this research was to understand the nature of classroom interpersonal relationships, discover their patterns, and identify the conditions for developing the kind of bonding relationship which most benefits learning in the college classroom.

Interpersonal relationships, especially bonding, are closely related to students’ learning. There is considerable evidence that a positive student-teacher relationship positively influences many desirable instructional behaviors, including student motivation to learn and willingness to talk (Menzel & Carrell, 1999), student fondness for the teacher and the teacher’s instruction (Moore, Masterson, Christophel, & Shea, 1996), and teacher credibility (Thweatt & McCroskey, 1996). Both Mead and Vygosky believe that human cognition is inherently social and develops when external social interactions are internalized (Valsiner & Van der Veer, 1988). Lack of interpersonal relationships in class can heighten students' distress (Hara and Kling, 2000) and hinder students’ potential for learning (Knowlton, 2005). In spite of this evidence, few qualitative studies have investigated classroom interpersonal relationships (Rawslin, 1985). Therefore, conducting qualitative studies on classroom interpersonal relationships is urgent (McMcroskey, 2006).

This study used a grounded theory method with an emergent design. Two research methods were used: participant observation and individual interview. The research site was in the E department at V University. The class observed was a graduate class with twenty Caucasian students. One year (two semesters) was spent observing one professor’s teaching (fourteen weeks a semester, three hours a week). Observations of the professor’s classroom teaching were collected every week, and individual interviews with the professor and three students from each class were also obtained. All observations and interviews were videotaped with permission.

This study discovered that in order to create bonding between two people, three conditions need to be met: familiarity, commonness, and significance. Familiarity refers to how much these two people know about each other. This knowledge can be anything, including one’s appearance, background, experience, education, knowledge, personality, hobbies, etc., and it can be obtained through three different ways: a) direct interaction with the person; b) indirect knowledge from some specific resource (e.g., someone who had direct contact with this person); or c) indirect knowledge not about this specific person but the general group which this person belongs to (e.g., country, culture, race, or school) from secondary resources (e.g., movies, books, education, stereotypes, rumors, people talks etc.).

Commonness indicates how many of the issues involved in this familiarity (i.e. the topics known about one another) these two people share in common. Commonness does not have to be something they possess themselves but can be “shared” in three different ways: a) they share it themselves (e.g., I am from China, too.); b) someone they know shares it (e.g., My aunt is from China, too); or c) nobody specific they know shares it, but they have learned about it from secondary resources such as movies, novels, media, ads, gossip, religion etc. (e.g., I just watched a movie about China.)
Significance is the last and also the most important condition in developing bonding relationships. Significance means the two people both perceive the commonness (i.e. shared experience) between them as being significant. Significant does not necessarily imply a positive evaluation of what is shared, but merely that it is viewed as important by both people (e.g. divorce). The more significant they both perceive the commonness to be, the more bonded they will feel with each other. Otherwise, if only one or neither perceives it as significant, little or no bonding will develop between them.
DESCRIPTION OF STUDY

This study examines the partisan division of seat shares and changes in seat shares, to develop a theory of partisan control and change in State Legislative politics. The models analyzed in this study consider national level forces, internal determinants, and other conditions influencing majority legislative status, including a common assumption that partisan outcomes in American State legislatures are determined by top-of-the ballot forces. The theoretical framework encompasses seven dynamic hypotheses for explaining the formation of majority coalitions in legislatures’ accounting for: a random walk in the form of swings or drift in legislative elections (Stokes-Iverson), perfect duopoly competition (Downs), trend stationary time series (Key), election cycles (Alesina), a bicameral equilibrium model (Tsebelis-Money), a model of disequilibrium adjustment (Kramer-Schofield), or the existence of a critical election (Burnham). Generally, the empirical findings confirm the importance of electoral cycles, gubernatorial coattails, and state trends, in the determination of the outcomes in elections for state legislatures. This study finds significant internal trends in twenty-eight states, with gubernatorial vote percentages highly related to partisan seat divisions in all states. These findings suggest that an aggregate outcome in these elections is not simply a random walk fluctuation from election to election. Another basic finding is that the outcomes in gubernatorial elections are more evenly divided than legislative shares, with all states excepting Alaska and Montana having at least one chamber significantly different from perfect competition. Even though the primary findings are with regard to state level effects, there is evidence of two, four, and eight-year election cycles, after controlling for significant national trend and gubernatorial coattail effects. For longer historical periods, the estimates indicate that the Democratic Party was the majority party in sub-national politics during the initial four phases of study (from 1936 to 1990). These findings also reveal the absence of any critical election over this seventy-year time horizon, although there were a few years with larger Democratic Party majorities. Whereas the Republican Party gained seats in some individual states and elections during the most recent period (from 1992 to 2006) to substantially increase the overall level of competition toward an even partisan division in American politics.
Currently, in the less neglected world of state politics, there is greater attention concerning the role of political parties in state politics. Perhaps this is due to the changes in party control in state gubernatorial elections and state legislative majorities since 1994. With more policy responsibility and federal decentralization, the increases in the number of Republican governors and changes in partisan control of gubernatorial offices have become a more visible, and a practically relevant fact, as meetings of the National Governors’ Association and the related changes in party affiliation are reported as variables shaping public policy and national elections. Even when this number reached a peak of thirty-two in 1996, for the 1954 to 2006 period, there were notable defeats in the 1998 elections for the Republican Party, in California and Iowa. The latter case represents a particularly interesting example because this was the longest serving Republican administration, from 1968 to 1998, and because the public opinion polls favored the Republican candidate throughout the campaign. The inability of the Republican Party to win three-in-row in these states, combined with the losses for the Democratic Party in other state elections is suggestive of the greater volatility in statewide elections.

Similar increases in instability are reported for changes in partisan control, and electoral competition to control, state legislative majorities. Part of this increase involves the regional transformation of the South, where there is widespread evidence of electoral realignment and two-party competition in both gubernatorial and state legislative elections. While changes in partisan control of legislatures are less frequent than rotations in gubernatorial offices, there are more examples of shifting legislative majorities since 1994, than before the post-1994 Congressional Republican majority. In 1994, Republicans held legislative majorities in twenty-seven states’ senate’s and twenty-six house majorities. Similar to the level of control of
gubernatorial offices, these outcomes represent maximum levels of partisan control for the Republican Party since 1952. With the exception of 1946 and 1952, the 1994 through 2006-decade is similar only to the 1942 through 1952 elections in terms of an evenness of partisan division in control of state governments. Since the 1992 elections, the Republican Party has controlled approximately one-half of the state legislatures, but because there are only six elections to study during this time frame, there is insufficient evidence to determine whether this constitutes a permanent shift toward the Republican Party or simply an increase in partisan competition.

The ability of the Democratic Party to win gubernatorial elections, and the related failure of the Republican Party to maintain or to gain legislative majorities in several states suggests that neither the trends at the regional nor national levels are completely unidirectional, favoring one party across the board. While gubernatorial elections produce Presidential candidates, state legislative candidates are prospective Congressional candidates. In state politics, the focus on apportionment and redistricting, state level fiscal policy, and the change in partisan control of Congress, contributes to an increase in the attention paid to partisan control of state legislatures. This in turn produces a greater effort by the national political party organizations to win state legislative majorities. By assessing state legislative elections, this study examines the increases in the scope and reduced variation in party competition within U.S. Domestic Politics. The evidence suggests there is greater party competition, hovering closer to fifty-fifty shares, in the levels of party control through more frequent changes in party control in recent elections. However, the short durations of evidence, the recentness of the elections, and the general acceptance that both state politics and partisanship appear to be changing, all confirm the importance of state level partisan competition.
LITERATURE ON STATE ELECTION OUTCOMES

The literature on state elections focuses on party competition, critical elections, divided government, and changes in state government, including those changes in both state gubernatorial and legislative elections. Since the 1950's, the adoption of new constitutions and reforms to existing state institutional arrangements have increased the value and the cost of running for public office. These organizational incentives incorporate consequences for both politics and policy reform.

Electoral change has further reinforced this pattern of organizational development by increasing competition. Where measurements of party competition confirm increases and changes in the level of party competition, these changes correlate with a decline in traditional patronage, jobs and contracts, party machines and increasing partisan organization around state and candidate-centered electioneering. The new style of campaigning has reduced partisanship as a voting bloc, while increasing the importance of parties as suppliers of election consulting services to candidates. At the same time, the diminishment of partisanship in the electorate has not eliminated the importance of partisanship to voters. While candidates may run their campaigns away from references to party politics, with signs listing only their names and an American flag in some regions of the country, two-party affiliation of governors and state legislators is at an all-time level. The absence of significant representation for third parties, the elimination of fusion ballots in almost all parts of the country, the alignment of candidates at the state level with the national political parties, and the extensive use of single member districts have all reinforced the predominance of the Democratic and Republican political parties.
The critical election and divided government literatures provide further evidence of this expansion in both short and long term partisan competition. At the national and local levels there appears to be a dealignment taking place, as evidenced by declining voter’s partisan identification, declining traditional party organization (Mayhew, 1986), and a continued erosion of the New Deal coalition (Rabinowitz, Gurian, and MacDonald, 1984). At the same time, regional realignments appear to be taking place in the South with national political parties and the decline of the Civil War cleavage in American politics. These contrary patterns suggest some combination of realignment and dealignment imply more uniform levels of party competition throughout the United States. This pattern is similar to the two party competitions before the Civil War, between the Democratic and Whig parties, rather than after (Aldrich, 1995). From 1936 to 1992 and the present, the continuing declines in unified partisan control of state government and the greater frequency of party change at the state level further supports this transition from one-party dominance to two-party competition throughout the United States.

More generally, the literature on state elections considers both election results and reform of electoral institutions (Jewell, 1994). The importance of the changes in apportionment, the instances and cases concerning gerrymandering, the changing roles of political parties in redistricting, and the change from multiple to single-member districts have all had a profound effect on state elections. The creation of single member districts, with plurality rule and unique partisan affiliation of the candidates, further reinforces a two-party system. As evidence, the only independents or third (or fourth, for that matter) party candidates elected to state legislatures in recent years have been elected in multi-member districts.
Greater use of single member districts also appears to have led to incumbency advantages in state legislatures. While reelection rates are still below rates for Congress, campaign strategies and costs, the creation of safe single member districts, and greater legislative organizational capacity have all served to increase incumbency advantages at the state level. In some states, this generated demands for term limits, and in some cases, these movements produced term limitation constraints on state legislatures, distinct from those longer in-practice term limits and succession rules for gubernatorial elections.

All of these electoral reforms changed the value of running for office and the potential for either sustained partisan control or frequent partisan change. The consequences of these reforms are captured by the empirical measures of partisan competition documenting increases in electoral competition. But these reform effects are also estimated by votes to seat relationships (Gryski, Reed, and Elliot, 1990), changes in the votes-to-seat coefficients over time, and the evidence suggesting greater proportionality, and therefore, less partisan bias, in these ratios. While speculative, it is possible that the cumulative effect of state constitutional changes, organizational development and incentives, and election reform produces a more efficient aggregation of voters’ candidate and partisan preferences into legislative representation. However, this increase in proportionality also reinforces two-party politics, resulting in greater competition in some state contexts while increasing the potential for greater instability, in the form of shifting voting majorities.
ON THE STABILITY OF PARTISAN CONTROL

The tension within democratic elections between agenda control for a dominant political party and destabilizing electoral success for other major parties is essential for understanding how state elections are influenced by political parties and voter preferences. Statewide elections consist of more heterogeneous constituencies than most single member districts, whereas the tendency for single member districts to reinforce two-party competition is an important determinant of divided partisan control. Because statewide constituencies, and other at-large elections, may be more volatile than district or ward constituencies, the existence of both types of constituencies creates greater potential for differing majorities, and thus, the greater probability of divided partisan control or divided government.

According to Joseph Schlesinger the very definition of a political party entails a distinct entity from voters. While voters may be, and often are, incorporated into the study of political parties, neither voting nor voters’ are the sole features of a political party. As Schlesinger argues (1991) political parties are decentralized organizations for contesting elective offices, supplying candidates to voters.

In this process of a contestation, the potential exists for sustained periods of one party control or rotations between the political parties at the office level. While Schlesinger argues that candidates for legislatures do not run for majority party status, majority party status does appear to influence the quality of the candidates, and therefore the level of contestation for legislative majorities. Since minor parties confront difficulties recruiting any candidates for single member districts, the size of a legislative majority reduces the potential for changes in partisan majorities. Furthermore, distinct minority political parties in state legislatures often cannot provide an
effective opposition with enough membership votes to cover committee assignments. In these situations, the magnitude of a majority reduces the ability of the minority party to contest subsequent elections. In the comparative nations literature, large majorities reduce the effective number of political parties, where exact calculations can be made to estimate this number, given the ability of minor parties to compete in elections (Taagepera and Shugart, 1989). The result of this analysis produces relatively dominant one-party politics, in most of the United States over the past one hundred and forty years. Since the Civil War, state election results confirm this stability with many states’ containing effectively 1½ political party for large numbers of elections.

As a general theorem, the existence of two-party competition produces majority outcomes at each point in a sequence of elections or votes. Any reduction in the effective number of parties at two or fewer political parties increases the stability of election outcomes over a history of elections. Conversely, increasing the effective number of political parties above two both introduces and increases the potential for voting paradoxes, and therefore, greater intransitivity and instability of election outcomes.

In a single election, the existence of three or more effective partisan alternatives, usually divides vote shares below a simple majority. In these cases, intransitive election results may occur for branches of government or individual offices. The facts that individual’s may cast separate ballots for separate branches of state government, including for the governor’s office, a state senate district, and a house district, enable voters’ to split their tickets and produce intransitive collective outcomes. While we tend to describe these outcomes in terms of partisan divisions, or separate partisan control of institutional arrangements, the existence of separate branches of government creates the possibility for different majorities and divided government. In the latter
case, concerning individual offices, split ticket voting by constituencies can produce divided representation in legislatures. Unlike a unicameral legislature or some type of parliamentary system (Tsebelis and Money, 1997), there are frequently instances of divided representation with a state senate seat controlled by a different political party from a state house seat.

This section describes some of the fundamental conditions generating these intransitive or unstable outcomes in a single election. First, the literature suggests multiparty or multi-candidate competition can produce vote or seat shares below a pure majority rule outcome. Situations involving single member districts, plurality rule, dominant voting preferences for one party, entry barriers for third and fourth parties or candidates, unique partisan affiliations ruling out independent candidacies, and either fusion candidates or uncontested offices, may all reduce the effective number of political parties to a range between one and two. By May’s theorem, the existence of two alternatives guarantees the existence of a pure majority rule winning alternative. The negation of these conditions, such as multi-member districts, proportional representation, at-large elections, divergent voter preferences for parties, no entry barriers for minor parties, and substantial numbers of independent candidates serve to increase the number of partisan-candidates, and thus, increase the potential for collectively intransitive outcomes. Second, the historical provisions in colonial and state constitutions involving apportionment formulas established a tradition of varying constituencies, reforming representation systems, and changing electoral institutions. The regular manipulations of boundaries, criteria for allocating seats in state legislatures, and reduction in the percentage of state seats elected under at-large, multi-member districts, have all socialized voters’ to divided government. Regardless to whether voters’ prefer divided government, a point debated in recent studies, the long historical precedence for separate
constituencies and electoral districts creates an incentive for voter’s to consider splitting their ticket. Third, while the explanations for vote choice may be complex for individual voters’, the existence of a bicameral legislature and statewide elections for governor provide the opportunity for divided government. With varying levels of two-party competition, this opportunity structure allows for competitive advantages for incumbents’, dominant parties, and statewide versus local majorities. The existence of gubernatorial, senate, and house candidates, voted on in a single election, in pair-wise comparisons, creates the potential for a voting paradox in the form of divided government.

The next section describes the varying conditions shaping transitions from one election to another. These may be considered multiple votes at a single point in time, or a trajectory, path, or sequence of votes. The sequence itself may involve a whole package or agenda of decisions or simply two points in time. The characterization of these sequences can be in thought of as an adjustment process, or more precisely, the properties associated with an adjustment process. The properties of adjustment processes to consider are that the adjustment process involves a dynamic, time-dependent, set of partisan outcomes for each state and that the movement from one election to the next may or may not involve a stable series of partisan changes.

**ON THE STABILITY OF PARTISAN CHANGE**

While partisan control of government involves a static, single election outcome, partisan change involves a series of election outcomes. Most studies separate these phenomena into distinct theories, models, and data analysis. Discussions concerning partisan control examines the division of party control of state government, the decline of unified government (Bibby, 1992, p.
some discussion about voter preferences for candidates, and finally, the policy consequences attributable to having divided control over either the legislature or the legislative and executive branches of government (Fiorina, 1992). These consequences include stalemate’s in bill-making or failures to address certain issues, like budget deficits or redistricting plans, where third reading approval of a bill requires more than a simple majority vote. The complexities for executive and legislative relations have also been examined in the context of vetoes, supra-majority voting rules, appointments, and either interpretations of legislative intent or administrative rule-making.

Theories of partisan change concentrate on changes in the electorate. These theories assess qualitative changes or transformations in electoral variables and outcomes, including changes in the levels of electoral competition. Other party change variables include changes in voter participation, vote shares for the parties, the introduction of new parties or candidates, and changes in seat shares. The basic gist of these party change theories and models is that party change involves either a qualitative transformation or a normal deviation from one election to the next. Non-critical events produce only incremental deviations or regular patterns of change away from an initial outcome. In contrast, critical events produce qualitative changes in the sequence, with emphasis on new or different variables.

To paraphrase William Riker, politics, rather than economics is the dismal science since there is an inherent disequilibrium to politics. Voting in committees’ or electorate’s may produce inconsistent results, with no unique equilibrium selected; specifically, the nonexistence of a unique equilibrium winning alternative has been shown for pure majority rule voting more than three or more alternatives, for general assumptions about individual preferences (McKelvey, 1979). The absence of voters’ located near centrist positions has also been shown for voting on issues,
candidates, or political parties (Hinich, 1977; Boatright, 1999). The fact that pure majority rule winning alternatives, such as a Condorcet outcome or a grand median in n-dimensions, do not generally exist for complex voting decisions suggest that voting in sequences may produce outcomes with little connection to an initial electoral outcome or status quo election results. Unlike a market setting, where prices restore supply and demand conditions over time, voting is not equivalent to a pricing mechanism. Elections do not always restore equilibria, nor can they always produce convergent election sequences.

In a market setting, supply need not always equal demand, or vice-versa. Prices or auctions or bargaining through property rights can all serve to equate supply and demand. The length of time required for this convergence may vary, depending on contextual variations specific to a particular market. Patterns of convergence may also vary, where adjustment processes can involve swift linear trajectories or slow nonlinear patterns. The infamous cobweb model, consisting of spiral loops slowly converging to the status quo is one example of a stable adjustment process (Gately, 1998). Another variant of this dynamic hypothesis, suggested by Dennis Mueller (1989, p. 185), could be termed the sawtooth hypothesis. Under this hypothesis, adjustment in partisan control resembles a saw-edge, with a rotation between each party every election. Successive elections produce changes in party control, but this change represents a regular election cycle for a discrete variable, versus the cyclic rotation described by the cobweb model for a continuous measure of election outcomes. In party politics, the use of a term limit or cooperative norms, such as one party forming a government for one or two elections, produces this stable adjustment process over a sequence of elections, which may appear to involve unstable transitions between any two individual election results. In this process, convergence may not
occur because other external determinants or shocks may further disturb the outcomes away from an initial set of conditions. A model describing this form of disequilibrium is similar to market models positing a random walk from one election to the next (Stokes and Iverson, 1966, p. 187). For this reason, some argue that sequences of election outcomes do not generally restore equilibria, and that these sequences themselves, may not be in equilibrium.

Some models of party change argue there is a period of stability, punctuated by a change, leading to another period of stability. Others argue that neither short-term, single election outcomes, nor the adjustment processes connecting one election to the next are in equilibrium. Still others argue that single election results are inconsistent, but repeated votes and a long series of elections may produce consistent results (Kramer, 1977). In this model, the consistencies of the election outcomes vary with the number of alternatives and elections, but similar preference configurations and a two-party system could produce centrist outcomes for more than twenty or so elections. In contrast to this view, theories exist demonstrating that a sequence of pure majority rule votes do not settle-down into stable paths or trajectories (Schofield, 1978), suggesting that both the outcomes and processes associated with pure majority rule are in disequilibrium (Riker, 1980). Unlike markets, equilibria fail to exist in complex voting situations; when equilibria exist, voting fails to produce a unique outcome; and, even if a pure majority rule voting outcome exists, there are no equilibrium processes to restore or sustain these as an electoral equilibrium. To restate Riker’s disequilibrium thesis, elections can be chaotic in both the short and long-run.

This view contrasts with critical election theories and models showing relatively lengthy periods of stability alternating with brief periods of instability (Bibby, 1992, p. 39). Often the
debate in critical election theory centers on whether a single election qualifies as a critical or transforming election. According to Burnham (1970), a critical election involves a qualitative change in the sequence of elections, a breakpoint with new or different quantitative effects of variables. For example, there may be a change in the level of competition and vote turnout, or in the relationship between vote and seat shares. But the evolutionary natures of two-party competition between the same two political parties, produces a dynamic adjustment process between two parties to contest seats, mobilize voters, and organize constituencies. The evolutionary stability of duopoly competition entails that single election outcomes are dominated by the major parties with two-party competition structuring the outcomes over long periods of time. Critical elections occur when new issues arise, dividing the coalitions supporting the two major parties. This can lead to the replacement of one or both of the major parties, marked changes in candidate recruitment or office contestation, and dramatic changes in voter identification with the parties. Critical elections may produce partisan change in a single election or a brief sequence of elections, for a transition, from one party system to another. To restate this hypothesis, based on Key’s theory of critical elections (1955), elections are stable for both short and long-periods of time, but critical events exist which qualitatively distinguish one period of time from the next with an unstable transition period in-between.

Since both critical election theory and spatial models of elections imply disequilibrium, this would appear to be an area ripe with agreement. However, the discussions concerning disequilibrium have tended to focus on the properties of government institutions (Shepsle, 1986), rather than the mediating effects of having the same two parties compete over a long sequence of elections. The evolutionary versus revolutionary nature of this context are illustrated in market
analysis of bargaining games with two parties, or competition between rational duopolists over the long-run (Rubinstein, 1982). In this bargaining context, the major parties compete with each other, while creating informal and formal rules for reducing potential competition, from third parties or independent candidates. Competition exists between the two major parties for control of government, and party change occurs relatively infrequently or involves stable shifts back and forth between the political parties. This shifting may involve a few or many seats in the legislature, depending on the relative proportion of marginal districts within the legislature (Bibby, 1992, p. 57). In general, rational duopolists attempt to reduce potential competition from third or fourth parties, or from independent candidates. They also attempt to reduce the chances of critical events occurring to change the basic fabric of a two party system, since competition evolves to produce a relatively stable opportunity structure for candidates. The major parties also seek to avoid the resulting uncertainties for the two major parties of electing third party or independent candidates for statewide offices, because the election of Jesse Ventura as Governor of Minnesota on the Reform Party ticket, Alaskan Independent nominees, and independents such as Angus King (Maine)/Lowell Weicker (Connecticut) creates dilemmas for legislatures organized and controlled by majorities affiliated with the national Republican and Democratic parties.

This third view of party change predicts divergent initial election outcomes with convergent sequence of elections. Again, each of the election outcomes involving more than two candidates or political parties, or the votes for separate branches of government, may still produce unstable or intransitive collective rankings. It is quite possible for individual elections to produce voting paradoxes, while still involving stable transitions or minor-incremental changes from one election to the next. In support of this theory of party change, Gerald Kramer (1977)
argued that competitive elections with two alternatives converge to centrist positions over a long sequence of votes. Others have shown that under somewhat restrictive conditions, centrist positions exist in the form of a yolk or a dynamic win-set, where the paths from one point to the next are contained within a relatively narrow-centrally located range out of the total area (Johnson, 1998).

Finally, the evidence from the study of critical elections suggests that most dynamic change occurs in incremental transitions, from one election to the next, for a large number of elections. This may occur because either the relative proportions of partisan identifiers or registrants remains stable. Other reasons for the stability of partisan bases may be the existence of two or fewer effective numbers of political parties. While the relative success of incumbents’ may change over time, the existence of the same two major political parties at both the national and state level’s provides a certain stability in alternatives, regardless to variations in the level of competition, the number of candidates, the organization capacity of the parties, or the complexity of party platforms or candidate agendas (Budge, 1994; Hinich and Munger, 1997). Instead, electoral reforms and laws have generally served to reinforce the major parties and two-party competition. Specifically, the shift to single member districts, drawn by legislatures, guarantees a certain stability for the major parties invoking Duverger’s law (Riker, 1982). By pairing candidates in elections drawn by the major parties, redistricting often produces effectively fewer than two parties (Weber, Tucker, and Brace, 1991). These outcomes may be reinforced by ballot requirements for third parties or independent candidates, or by dominant partisan preferences in regions of states or regions within states. The existence of local majorities diverging from
statewide majorities is a significant, and often neglected, parts of the history and traditions of state politics.

**DYNAMIC MODELS AND HYPOTHESES**

Theories of partisan control and partisan change imply that two party competitions’ exhibits both stable and unstable components. The stabilizing elements may be dis-aggregated into constant and trend components. For example, concepts such as perfect party competition imply a constant fifty-fifty vote and seat share-election outcome, where these constant effects produce stationary time series. Trend effects include vote or seat share drift, or adjustments, over a series of elections. A time series may be considered trend stationary, sans a moving average, if when a trend effect is subtracted from a time series the remaining time series is stationary (Key, 1966, p. 35).

Any remaining variation in party competition can be decomposed into random variation, single election break points, period effects, and nonlinear patterns of adjustment. Among these nonlinear patterns, there may be evidence of either stable cyclical patterns or stable incremental adjustment processes. In the former case, these are some combination of sine and cosine functions in wavelet patterns of adjustment (Niemira and Klein, 1994). In the latter case, disequilibrium adjustments are produced through growth paths, with the stability of paths contingent on the amount and the angle of adjustment from one point to the next. Under this scenario, gradual changes generate stable, if non-stationary, election time series.

**[TABLE 1.0 ABOUT HERE]**
A summary of these hypotheses are elaborated in Table 1. The hypotheses derived from the literature are tested, in the next section, to examine the properties of legislative competition in level and difference form. Competition in legislative seat shares provides a direct test of partisan competition for majority party status or partisan legislative control. In difference form, changes in legislative seat shares provide a direct measure of the stability of electoral adjustment from one election to the next, throughout state electoral histories. The time frame for this study is from 1938 through 2006, employing the percentage Democratic vote share for gubernatorial elections (Congressional Quarterly Reports, various years) and the partisan affiliation of state legislators described in The Book of States (Council of State Governments, various years).

**EVIDENCE REFUTING SOME OF THE HYPOTHESES**

The first set of results pertains to the evenness of the shares of partisan votes for Governor and seats in the State Legislatures. As revealed by averages and difference of means tests, the findings indicate that most state politics is significantly different from a model of perfect duopoly partisan competition for the control of state government. For gubernatorial elections during a sixty-year period, the average vote was a 53-47% division favoring the Democrat candidate. Yet only seven states are insignificantly different from a $\frac{1}{2}$ division indicating that more than four-fifths of the states had varying degrees of competition for the chief executive office in state government.

*TABLE 2.0 ABOUT HERE*

With regard to partisan legislative control, the division of seats in State Legislatures has been generally more competitive overall than gubernatorial elections were on-the-average.
Approximately twenty states could be classified as simple majority rule. Unlike gubernatorial elections, the State Legislature either was minimally winning or had dominant Democrat Party majorities significantly above simple majorities. In gubernatorial politics, over a majority (twenty-seven to be exact) of state wide votes rendered pro-Democratic election mandates, whereas only sixteen states had Republican partisan advantages in statewide elections. Based on these findings, it is somewhat surprising that the combined state legislative results are as competitive as they are, given the normal advantages for one of the two major candidates. If the gubernatorial electoral politics has any effect on legislative majority control, the connection seems to be that competitive or slightly Republican statewide majorities are consistent with even divisions of partisanship in the State Legislatures.

[TABLE 3.0 ABOUT HERE]

The empirical analysis in Table 3 replicates the basic findings established in V.O. Key’s examination of critical elections in a time series (Key, 1966, pp. 28-57), with partisan bases measurable as intercepts and partisan change estimated as slope increments. Unlike the averages presented in Table 2, the estimates in Table 3 correct for trends in the partisan base during the time series. The model in Table 3 estimates both the sequences of partisan change and the stability of these paths from an initial partisan majority. In most instances, the intercept is either safely Democratic or marginally Republican and competitive, indicating where the state’s electoral history began when the New Deal Democrats became the national majority. The directional estimates of the slope increments indicate that all of the states with a dominant majority party are evolving directionally toward a duopoly political party system. Even though only a few states’ gubernatorial elections have seemingly converged to a state of perfect electoral
competition, most of these states exhibit a stable path of partisan change that is consistently moving toward the same outcome at varying rates of acceleration. For the two major political parties, the erosion of the partisan base in the safe Republican Party controlled states seems to have taken place earlier and faster during the history of state elections from the 1930's to the present. By examining five periods (1938-54, 1956-1970, 1972-1980, 1982-1990, and 1992 to 2006), these results suggest that none of partisan changes were linear, because of the variance in the decline of the post-Civil War, state majority’s political parties. As evidence of these significant partisan changes, more than forty of the legislative seat shares are significantly trending, as estimated in Table 3 for legislative vote shares (i.e., the percentage of seats held in the legislature by Democrats) and for the proportion of the vote share Democrat in gubernatorial elections. Further evidence is suggested by comparing the first two columns (adjusted) $R^2$ statistics and an analysis of the significance of the variation and trending estimated by the F-statistics.

With respect to the hypotheses in Table 1, the results confirm the existence of a realignment taking place in a majority of state legislatures: findings consistent with the decline of the Democratic Party in the south and west, and a decline in the Republican Party in New England, the Great Lakes, and Plains states. Because these trends are not exactly offsetting, they explain how dealignment patterns may exist at the national level, even though there are distinct regional realignments taking place at differential rates of adjustment.

All of these results confirm Key’s basic hypothesis that state level competition tends to drift in different directions with the breakup of various national winning coalitions and partisan changes in electoral cleavages. From a methodological perspective, the evidence demonstrates
that vote and seat shares are not always stationary variables making the argument for inclusion of trend variables in any statistical model or de-trending the data: a point worth remembering when creating either an index or explaining variations across states in a panel design. When these variables are, however, stationary or trend stationary, the findings indicate \textit{stability in either the partisan base or rates of partisan change.}

The findings in Table 3 are also consistent with both the random walk and perfect duopoly competition thesis, given the absence of trends in somewhere between fifteen to twenty states. The existence of slight random movements, by gubernatorial and legislative election, confirms the importance of the fifty-percent vote and seat share outcome suggesting that these states had already attained some degree of evenness in party competition. As further evidence of only random deviations from even shares, in many of these states the estimated intercept is within the forty-five to fifty-five percent ranges. The minor trends and stable adjustments in most of the rest of the states simply underscore the fact that competition did not begin to substantially increase until the 1980's.

Currently, the states with increasingly Democratic state legislatures are randomly dispersed throughout the United States (in states like California, Connecticut, Hawaii, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Michigan, New York, North Dakota, Oregon, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Wisconsin). These states represent long run, or at least longer term, examples of a significant shift toward the Democratic Party. While this does not completely account for some of the recent gains by Democrats in New England, the contrast between a recent period versus a longer time series corresponding to the overall decline, suggests that coalition realignments have been taking place throughout the New Deal and post-New Deal period. Data for Hawaii and Alaska includes
territorial election providing additional comparable data for Hawaii (and Alaska) with the other forty-eight states. The transitions from the strongly pro-Union Republican Party, from near one-party dominance to monopoly Democratic control in Hawaii (1954-1962) and a competitive (two and sometimes three) party system in Alaska, suggests the slow, longer term, adjustments from the Republican Party in these states began during the 1930's in the North.

In contrast, the states with recently increasing Republican delegations were almost all located in the South (in state like Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia). Each of these states’ politics began the 1972-1980 time frame with one-hundred to more than ninety percent monopoly control of the state legislatures; the exact base \(B_0\) results are estimated with an intercept (Table 3, column six for the gubernatorial vote shares and column seven for legislative seat shares). Since that time, one-party dominance has diminished too marginal Democratic control. The decline from one-party rule has been precipitously evolving over a series of elections including the earlier 1952, 1964, and 1970 elections, while strongly trending from 1980 to the present. The cumulative effect of this Southern realignment has been to decrease Democratic seat share majorities from ninety-five percent to around sixty-seven percent, although the rate of adjustment has generally been stable and in the range of 1-2% erosion per-election. By the 1998 legislative sessions, Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia had either Republican majorities in one chamber or very close to even partisan shares for the first time since Reconstruction. In other states, such as Georgia and Texas, there were sequentially large increases in the size of the Republican delegations after the 1992 reapportionment. The quick rate of adjustment across the South, and in a few states in the West, is best understood when
comparing what the historical partisan base looked like at the state legislative level before these changes. Prior to this recent acceleration to majority legislative coalitions, among these states only the Tennessee had a Republican legislative majority, prior to the 1990's, even though stable (1/3 to 1/5) Republican factions existed in Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina throughout the post-Civil War histories of these states.

The recent evidence also suggests that legislative competition is evolving more quickly into closer, or more even, seat shares. But with trends in only fourteen states, the comparable results for gubernatorial vote shares confirm that

- Republican candidates for statewide office already had a larger partisan base;
- The trends in gubernatorial elections occurred in the same direction, in the same states;
- Gubernatorial elections have had more competition for changing legislative majority status.

The only states with trends in both gubernatorial vote shares and legislative seat shares were in the South, with the exception of Arizona, Hawaii, Oregon, Vermont, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. In the case of Vermont, this represents a sizeable shift toward the Democratic Party as a distinct case worthy of separate study. The rise of the Republican Party in Arizona also corresponds with the increase in the state population after WWII, with the development of the Phoenix area, the change in apportionment from counties to population, and the decrease in the relative share of seats allocated to both Northern Arizona and the Tucson area. The reduction in the number of so-called “Pinto” Democrats being elected occurred in both Arizona and New Mexico, along with other states in the West, including Utah, Montana, Colorado, Wyoming, Nevada, Alaska, and parts of California. The findings for these states, encompassing the recent increase in Republican
seats share to near two-thirds majorities in some of the Rocky Mountain states, suggest that the decline in the populist, Little Texas, western-Democrats predated the decreasing numbers of boll-weevil and Dixiecrat Democrats in the former states of the Confederacy.

**[TABLE 4.0 ABOUT HERE]**

The next set of findings considers the proportionality of representation in state’s upper and lower chambers. Given the differences in constituency boundaries, population sizes, single versus multi-member districts, terms, and term limits we should expect divergences between partisan seats in state senates’ versus state houses’. The adjusted R²’s are all significantly below one, all of the coefficients estimated for senate seat share effects on house seat shares are positive, and significantly above zero, except for Nevada. The findings that twenty-three states have slope estimates of proportionality equal to a 1:1 ratio imply election rules had little influence on partisan control or change in these legislatures. For the other twenty-six states, there are statistically significant differences in the coefficients below one, suggesting electoral outcomes diverge on a consistent basis between chambers. Evidence which confirms the practical significance of bicameralism, since a bicameral equilibrium in seat shares may diverge from proportionality, rather than converge to a unicameral outcome.

**[TABLE 5.0 ABOUT HERE]**

The last set of results provides information concerning election cycles, critical events, and whether the adjustment process contains a unit root or not. The models are estimated for the pooled sample, consisting of a combined sample to estimate an LSDV model (least squares set of year-to-to variables), period effects (1938-1954 base period, 1956-1970, 1972-1980, 1982-1990, 1992-2006), election cycles (trend and trigonometric components), a gubernatorial coattail effect
(from the inclusion of the statewide partisan vote for Governor, controlled for election cycles), and effects of cyclical voter turnouts (1960-2004).

The findings indicate a strong relationship between the statewide vote for Governor and State Legislative seat shares, controlling for the significant, though marginal effects of national swings, path dependence over periods of time, stable adjustments, or voting and election cycles. The stability of this partisan base, in vote and seat shares, provides a generally stable base to contest statewide elections and to potentially construct a legislative majority coalition. Whether any particular electoral outcome comprises a mandate, depends on the consistency of the results for the specific election, and the contextual effects of dynamic random components that can be analyzed separately. Using partisan change as the basic measurement, the findings indicate vote and seat shares are stationary variables for most states. For those states where they are not, partisan changes in legislative seat shares are trend stationary and significantly related to vote mobilization, indicating a stable linear adjustment in the transfer of partisan control through vote mobilization from one of the majority political party’s to(ward) the other.

The estimates for the LSDV model indicate significant national swings occur from election to election. These results are consistent with those estimated for period effects, although the period variables account for more of the variance than the year-to-year variables over the range of elections. Both models are statistically significant, yet only marginally account for the dynamic variation in the partisan base, in comparison to gubernatorial coattail effects from statewide voting shares. However, this effect is only related to the static determination of outcomes for contemporaneous elections and sessions: an explanation which is adequate for states in a period of stable partisan control. But this represents an inadequate explanation for state’s in some form of
partisan transition, generally from monopoly control and one-party dominance to greater
competition. The findings are that statewide election outcomes for Governor are strongly related
to the size of the majority partisan coalition in the State Legislature, but vote mobilization and not
coattail effects are the determinants of partisan changes in the seat shares.

Given the known cyclical patterns associated with voting cycles, the election cycle model
estimates legislative seat shares as a function of linear trend and trigonometric components. The
latter variables capture significant wavelet patterns for two-year, four-year, and eight-year
election cycles, for sinusoidal measurements of one, two, and four election-year voting cycles.
The significant coefficients for four and eight year election effects confirm a cyclical hypotheses,
arguing that there are ebbs and flows in seat shares, so that once de-trended, there appear to be a
certain proportion of competitive districts within states which regularly swing back-and-forth
between the two major parties.

Rather than chaotic patterns, the panel regression model estimates stable adjustment of
State Legislative seat shares. In this model, the percentage change in seat shares is used to
measure partisan change. For estimation purposes, partisan change in seat shares is posited as a
function of partisan control of seat shares and a linear trend component. The form of this model
is termed a disequilibrium adjustment, which is somewhat a misnomer, since the coefficient
estimated for the influence of the variable in level form on the variable in difference form is
hypothesized to be strongly negative. Strongly negative coefficients arise from time series
without a unit root, indicating a stationary, nonmoving-average series. For the State Legislatures,
the unit root hypothesis may be rejected confirming the existence of a stable partisan base and
linearly convergent model of partisan change.
IMPLICATIONS FOR A MODEL OF PARTY CONTROL AND CHANGE

The findings in this study demonstrate that state politics may be described as a stable and competitive duopoly for seat shares in state legislatures. The nature of this seat share competition is evolutionary, with two party cooperation against minor parties and independent candidates and increasingly strong two-party competition between the parties. The relative evenness of seat shares is increasing, paradoxically, at the same time the proportion of competitive seats are decreasing. More regular and frequent shifts in seat shares, or more regular election cycles in seat shares, produce this cyclical model of partisan change.

The panel findings also confirm a dealignment at the national level. The temporal constancy implied by a stationary panel time series confirms some general random walk interpretation of state “swing” effects. Among the states, specific regional transitions are emergent suggesting offsetting national effects. Some of this may be due to the decreasing importance of the Civil War and New Deal coalitions, but another interpretation may simply be that the greater evenness of seat shares implies greater partisan competition for legislative majorities in all states. Recent anecdotal stories concerning new majorities are consistent with the overall pattern of realignment taking place in New England and the South. These realignments may also reflect longer adjustment processes, further along in Western and Mid-Atlantic to Great Plains states.

Given the preponderance of stable adjustment and trend stationary time series, there is little evidence of a critical election in the 1936 to 2006 study time frame. However, the results do support a random national walk, a competitive duopoly equilibrium approaching fifty-fifty partisan shares, significant regional and periodic trends, and a bicameral divergence effect. Finally,
election cycles explain some long wave patterns in competition, including a general election vote mobilization and coattail effect from Gubernatorial elections, supporting an evolutionary model of duopoly partisan competition.

The evidence for election cycles is compelling since these contrary to a settling down equilibrium process predicted by either selection of a voting equilibrium concept through two-party competition or repeated elections with the same two alternatives. The inclusion of stable cyclical and trend variables account for some of the adjustment instability possible under this form of pure majority rule voting. Yet the evidence for stable components suggests that even if there is a random drift or cyclicity between elections, the major two parties restore some semblance of partisan balance through successive elections. By competing with the same two major parties, the sequence of elections is slowly converging toward greater partisan competition. While partisan change also exhibits path convergent adjustments, episodically temporary minimal winning coalitions in state legislatures only serves too slow convergence. Since few states have actually converged to equal shares, over a long series of elections, competition cannot be considered perfect.

The duration and shape of partisan change resemble some of the more interesting dynamic market and growth rate models. In these models, adjustment involves either slow, circular movements, or regular patterns of cyclical convergence and divergence. The consistency of the results suggests a Presidential versus A Congressional midterm cycles, a Presidential term cycle, and a Presidential administration cycle. Each conforms to variations and trends in voter turnouts generated by these alternations in a contestation for the Presidency.
What explains this stability in individual elections and the sequence of elections? Part of the answer concerns the impact of bicameralism, and a bicameral tradition, on the apportionment, redistricting, and greater use of single member districts. The stability of the divergence between senate and house results implies that partisan competition for bicameral legislatures does not produce exactly proportional representation because the strong correspondence between senate and house seat shares belies the remaining differences in seat percentages. The rest of the answer is simply that by increasing the effective number of political parties closer to two throughout all fifty states, for both gubernatorial vote shares and legislative seat shares, there is greater evolutionary stability toward two-party competition. So that repeated elections produce stationary time series in partisan shares, with only stationary trends in the direction of increasing partisan competition in any state transition of majority status.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theory</th>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Hypothesis</th>
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<td>Seat Share = $\beta_0$</td>
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<td>Seat Share = $\beta_0 + u_t$</td>
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<td>Critical Election (Burnham)</td>
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TABLE 2.0
Average Partisan Division of Vote and Seat Shares
and a t-test for the existence of Perfect Duopoly, circa 1936-2006

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<tr>
<th>STATE</th>
<th>Average Democratic Vote for Governor</th>
<th>Average Democratic Seat Share in State Legislature</th>
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| MS | 90.38 | 17.82 | 76.00 | 4.78 | 88.95 | 15.16 | 90.99 | 19.13 |
| MO | 59.41 | 5.29 | 51.58 | .93 | 60.91 | 5.05 | 59.07 | 5.06 |
| MT | 48.96 | -.67 | 50.03 | .01 | 48.20 | -1.01 | 49.40 | -.33 |
| NE | 44.09 | -2.57 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| NV | 58.69 | 5.90 | 53.34 | 1.19 | 49.96 | -0.1 | 62.30 | 7.69 |
| NH | 36.60 | -12.41 | 47.03 | -1.78 | 36.07 | -7.84 | 36.63 | -12.44 |
| NJ | 44.95 | -1.98 | 49.63 | -.16 | 43.19 | -2.48 | 45.50 | -1.73 |
| NM | 68.89 | 10.38 | 51.94 | 1.77 | 68.98 | 9.09 | 68.98 | 9.65 |
| NY | 48.96 | -.65 | 47.80 | -1.00 | 41.67 | -8.96 | 51.93 | .93 |
| NC | 78.87 | 11.10 | 58.50 | 3.55 | 83.26 | 13.90 | 77.05 | 9.95 |
| ND | 27.39 | -8.44 | 45.09 | -2.08 | 28.05 | -7.89 | 27.05 | -8.31 |
| OH | 43.23 | -2.70 | 48.53 | -.81 | 40.73 | -3.71 | 44.14 | -2.24 |
| OK | 75.37 | 12.38 | 53.47 | 1.32 | 78.86 | 14.26 | 73.86 | 11.27 |
| OR | 45.81 | -1.54 | 45.00 | -2.27 | 49.71 | -.08 | 43.86 | -2.33 |
| PA | 48.59 | -1.07 | 49.08 | -.47 | 44.57 | -4.25 | 49.57 | -.30 |
| RI | 72.83 | 11.24 | 53.74 | 1.90 | 68.77 | 6.19 | 74.62 | 14.46 |
| SC | 82.14 | 9.08 | 69.88 | 3.24 | 84.19 | 10.21 | 81.38 | 8.66 |
| SD | 28.09 | -9.83 | 42.80 | -5.01 | 30.78 | -7.14 | 26.77 | -11.25 |
| TN | 67.84 | 9.16 | 60.91 | 3.45 | 70.04 | 8.72 | 67.10 | 9.08 |
| TX | 81.14 | 8.94 | 68.70 | 4.56 | 81.84 | 8.66 | 80.99 | 8.94 |
| UT | 42.57 | -2.43 | 46.77 | -1.11 | 43.31 | -2.03 | 42.29 | -2.49 |
| VT | 35.82 | -4.32 | 45.69 | -1.95 | 37.33 | -3.69 | 35.64 | -4.35 |
| VA | 74.77 | 7.36 | 55.16 | 1.73 | 77.50 | 8.59 | 73.69 | 6.80 |
| WA | 56.67 | 3.84 | 51.75 | 1.06 | 57.78 | 4.36 | 56.13 | 3.10 |
| WV | 74.73 | 16.92 | 53.76 | 2.55 | 76.26 | 17.09 | 74.20 | 14.92 |
| WI | 43.34 | -2.55 | 42.85 | -2.89 | 40.69 | -3.27 | 44.22 | -2.19 |
| WY | 35.77 | -9.13 | 50.39 | .18 | 36.04 | -10.97 | 35.63 | -7.77 |
### TABLE 3.0
Random Walk or Trend Stationarity? Governor’s Vote and Legislative Seat Share Results

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Source: Congressional Quarterly Reports and The Book of States, 1936-2006.
Note: R-squares reported for percentage Democrat vote share gubernatorial elections and percentage of the state legislature Democrat. P<.001 *.
### TABLE 4.0

**Bicameral Equilibrium (1936-2006): Proportionality of House and Senate Seat Shares**

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TABLE 5.0
Pooled Estimates of Critical Elections and a Spectral Regression Analysis of Election Cycles

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Sample Size: all estimates are for a pooled, time series, cross-sectional sample (n = 1750), excepting the models estimated with Gubernatorial vote shares (n = 978, t = 1938-2006) or voter turnout (n = 1070, t = 1960-2004).

Note 1: the dependent variable is the proportion of Democrats in the State Legislature.
Note 2: the dependent variable is the percentage change in proportion of Democrats in the State Legislature.
Title  MISERY LOVES COMPANIES: A POLITICAL BUSINESS CYCLE MODEL OF STATE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

Topic Area  Sustainable Development
Keywords  Economic Growth and Development, State Policy

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DESCRIPTION OF STUDY

Do American State government’s respond to economic conditions, for the purposes of manipulating the effects of growth on business cycles in state economies? The principal findings are with regard to influences of political business cycles, or misery, in form of inflation and unemployment rates that are generally considered exogenous outcomes from state control. In this study, other economic factors, such as a state’s comparative advantages are controlled for to account for the unbalanced cyclical effects of development and rates of growth. Besides these additional exogenous factors, state expenditures and tax burdens are also included in the specifications to determine how much influence an endogenous state policy decision may have on the incentives to sustain development. By controlling for both the level and type of fiscal policy instrument, this study contains a comprehensive set of control variables to estimate strategies for sub-national management of economic conditions. The primary variable of interest measures variations in the package of incentives offered by each state for local development. The empirical analysis estimates the relative effects of misery, the size of economies, economic growth rates, and fiscal policy on strategies for economic development planning. The model is then re-estimated for each policy decision to dis-aggregate the strategies implemented, into individual choices to enact legislation for promoting state economies.
INTRODUCTION

As the saying goes, “it was the best of times, and it was the worst of times” for the United States economy from the 1960's until the runup of the 1990's. It has been the best of times for general development and growth, but for specific industries and individual states, it has also been the worst of times for employment conditions. For businesses, the states have sometimes been the best friends for those industries because of their instincts to protect both the tax base and future job markets. At the same time, states have never been leaders for national industrial policy, even when those policies might protect the interests of state economies.

Instead, state governments have tried other strategies to provide marginal incentives to relocate new investment and growth. In some cases, this is just to provide an incentive: any type of incentive, to see whether the upshot is a marginal improvement from adding a small amount to the tax base. In other cases, incentives are designed to provide long-run subsidies to slow the loss of a sectoral base, while other sectors are given a chance to expand, in attempting to plan for the general diversification of state’s economy. In still other cases, the intended effects are to, compensate parts of the economy for either rates of taxation or projected shares of development. The compensatory theory of state policy mitigates and reduces the costs of government, without eliminating basic services. Rather than directly subsidize an activity, the incentives provided compensate for burdens on transactions on an increasingly service oriented economy.

Incentive programs may influence some pricing policies of businesses because these programs subsidize costs, encourage additional investment, or shift the burden of taxation. With a competitive pricing policy, the value of goods and resources is equal to a ratio of prices. All incentives represent distortions from this ideal, even though many taxes and government
regulations intentionally correct failures in the marketplace. By reducing location costs, even in a small amount, incentive programs may continue business activity past a time when they are most profitable until transactions only cover the costs of a business. Given price setting in a world economy, different locations experience varying levels of competition, so there are potential reasons for seeking government protections against international competition or whenever past taxation policies were excessive because of the value of investment and real estate property.

From the government perspective there are short and long-run forces limiting government tax expenditures on non-basic services, such as economic development programs. For this reason, most economic development budgets represent very small portions of government expenditures. Even public investment expenditures that are far more substantial may comprise only very amounts because of the limited amount of funds available for capital improvements and other spending on what may be generously termed-investments. It is also the case that when state governments can afford to provide incentives, the government doesn’t want to because they appear unnecessary to assist successful businesses. Conversely, when businesses need incentives, the state government oftentimes cannot afford to provide them because of the severity of the conditions in the state economies. Instead of ruling out ever providing incentives, the logic of tax expenditure policy is to establish some limited form of assistance that may provide some protections against rapid increases in competition, incentives from other locations, or just the practicalities associated with new investment in technology. Because corporate doctrines go far beyond just competitive pricing policies, incentives also refer public information to alter business practices, in order to warn businesses in industries targeted as vulnerable to market conditions including those subject to world prices and quickly increasing costs.
When governments try to alleviate market corrections, there are usually motivations for doing so, such as attempting to minimize what has been called a cyclically additive index of inflation and unemployment rates. When either rate is outside of an efficient range, the adjustments to the economy are considered temporary, so that these are indications of a transition in the markets. At the state level, the variance in inflation and unemployment rates is substantial enough to suggest that there are competitive advantages at some locations versus, because some states persistently have significantly greater unemployment rates or costs of living. Misery is usually a part of the business cycle, greater in some periods than others, and lasts for longer durations under some economic conditions.

Factors that matter over the long-run involve advantages some locations have over others. The persistence of low rates of unemployment and inflation, for example, tends to be associated by location with specific economic conditions. By examining a shift-share analysis, it becomes important to separate those conditions that are location-specific from an analysis of growth rates. Although both factors exhibit a longer period and duration of influence on state economies, measurements are used to distinguish between location effects (i.e., location quotients) from growth effects (i.e., alternative measurements of rates of growth).

Lastly, for enacting state legislation, a distinction should be made between exogenous and endogenous factors. Exogenous factors influence conditions within state boundaries, but the state government has neither the capacity nor the authority to change or manipulate conditions to make them more favorable for local business and labor. Some exogenous factors affect prices and income, so that these conditions may be said to determine the cost of living within state’s. Other factors such as world price setting and cost increases influence the competitiveness of business
and industry production. Because the microeconomic conditions are within state boundaries, the state governments are motivated to assist residents, even though this level of government has no authority to regulate interstate commerce or to implement macroeconomic policies that might be beneficial to local markets. As a consequence, the conditions are local, but the factors determining them are external or exogenous. Outside of the direct constitutional jurisdiction of state government to regulate or implement policy.

What can state’s control? The endogenous factors generally concern the financial capacity of state government: 1) budget and expenditures; 2) tax structure; 3) economic development incentive programs. Most of the budgets are spent on the costs of basic public services: those public goods which are considered primary as necessities for the functioning of society as a whole and local government in particular. Because these items generally involve human resources, most of the cost of provision is for labor, rather than for investments in capital or technology. Although the latter budgets may be more important for some government services than others; furthermore, these portions of the budget have been increasing with the demands for additional government services.

The rest of the budget is spent on local public goods, including development incentives, that are considered non-basic. The secondary goods frequently receive lower priorities during periods of sustained recession. Sometimes in the midst of temporary downturns, budget cutbacks reduce substantially what can be spent on luxury goods, so that these secondary goods oftentimes fend for themselves in the form of relatively small programs. Because of their marginal effects on macroeconomic conditions, it is likely that any cost-benefit analysis of their impact would support the elimination of most state government legislation to support businesses through incentives.
Under these circumstances, how can The States attempt to take control of the economic agenda? This study specifies and tests a combined model of policymaking that includes exogenous and endogenous variables determining the amount of state intervention in economic conditions. The how part, is answered by the enactment of legislation to provide economic development incentives. How many, are measurable in terms of the number of laws enacted; which is, at best, a measure of the scope or dimensionality of what state governments tries to cover of the policy space when enacting individual legislation to provide inducements for business. Because these state conditions and policies evolve differentially over time, it is important to estimate a regression model, in reduced form, for panel data that combines state time series.

**HYPOTHESES**

Beginning with the exogenous factors first, we expect:

- the greater the level of misery the more likely states are to intervene in the economy.
- the larger the economy, the greater the advantages the state will have for government intervention.
- the faster the rate of growth, the less states will intervene in the economy.
- a positive correlation between state level rates of unemployment and incentive provision.
- a positive correlation between regional rates of inflation and state incentive provision.
- a larger correlation between short-run versus long-run factors on incentive provision.

Directionally, inflation and unemployment are likely to have the same effect on the willingness of state government’s to respond to economic conditions. Longer-run outcomes are less likely to
produce a crisis mode of intervention, although the more substantial incentives are factored in over lengthy time horizons.

With regard to the misery index components specifically, the impacts may be differential so it might not always make sense to add the two rates together. However, the availability of data and testing for lagged effects tend to support the hypotheses that additive effects should be ruled out first, before more advanced measurement and statistical techniques are used to further elaborate any relationship between, what is generally, cyclical and temporary indicators of economic performance. The use of Regional CPI data is problematic, but so too are cost of living measures based on metropolitan areas. There is also some non-comparability in the time series, as different items have been introduced and removed from the listing of those in the bundle of purchases consumers are likely to make in a typical year.

The public opinion data also indicates that consumers place a greater emphasis on job security and the threat of unemployment, than any concerns about inflationary pressures. Individuals generally place greater weight on unemployment than inflation, but the salience does not track that consistently with actual macroeconomic rates of either measure. Other measures such those involving job creation, employment growth rates, and wage rates also appear to be poorly correlated with public concerns about the economy. Although concern about the misery index components is related too how much confidence consumers’ have about the economy.

For the states, misery minimization implies that government responds to worsening conditions by doing something. However, most of the misery index results estimated in section four of this study indicate just the opposite that states did not have sufficient capacity to respond when conditions worsen. Rather than misery maximization, this finding suggests an alternative
hypothesis of expected misery minimization: states reduce or eliminate incentives, whenever market conditions worsen because of the severity of the market conditions and the risk associated with the opportunities available for investment. At the very least, states may consider their incentives programs insufficient to offset excessive losses associated with changing world prices, declining advantages, and other industry-specific concerns.

Yet most of these business concerns determinate long-run factors, such as the state’s share of the United States economy and the rate of state economic growth. In the former case, the size of the economy is relative to value of goods and services produced in the United States. The concentration in any state is a location quotient indicating a state’s relative advantages. Larger state economies are just different from small economies, even though the larger states are more similar to the national economy because they comprise a larger share. The largest state economy, California, is however, very different in many ways from the national economy. Besides having unique features, the state has a much larger agricultural and service economy than the composition of the national economy. Other states, like New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Florida, and Illinois also have uniquely differentiated shares of the economy in financial and manufacturing industries. In comparison the small state economies tend to be less differentiated, and somewhat more interdependent in prices and production with national and world markets. The smaller economies are just different from the larger state economies, although global penetration in local markets may have the same effect whether the impact is in a small or large state.

The larger state economies have more resources, but are less likely to intervene in their economies. There is simply less justification for government intervention because of the greater complexity of the problems in these economies, and the fact those state shares of the United
States economy remain very stable in the short-run. The concentration of development in these larger states is indicative of advantages that are not easily transferred by location or comparison to other states. With generally stable resources, changes in shares over time can be substantial as state economies attain paths of prosperity to a “conglomerate” status.

In contrast to state shares’ of the economy, shift analysis examines the flow of rates over time, completing the analysis of differential rates, in percentage changes of state (GSP) levels economic development. Similar to the concept of a location quotient, a rate of growth is a general measure used to compare rates for national, regional, state, and local economies. At the state level, in comparison to other effects, the rates of growth tend to be lower than those at other units for analysis. The larger economies tend to be wealthier, have higher costs of living, and to grow more slowly than smaller states. The smaller states have more variable rates of growth, from very slow to rapidly expanding economies. Along with a few of large state exceptions, the fast growth states tend to remain expansionary for intermediate time horizons (for greater than five years and fewer than twenty to thirty years). Fast growth states are less likely to intervene in their economies to promote even faster, additional development. And when they do, the state may attempt to provide incentives for managing growth: by either increasing the costs of development to slow growth or targeting specific industries (etc.) for additional investment in an attempt to redirect growth. In contrast, small states with fast or slow growth may not be in a position to fully fund incentives, even though the slow growth states are the communities with the greatest interest in development and growth promotion activities.

A shift-share model organizes the analysis of two distinct concepts: 1) a location advantage with 2) a path of growth. Shift-share analysis is adduced from theories of economic
adjustments, because of the persistence of comparative advantages in explaining rates of growth.

The term disequilibrium adjustment is used to describe situations when prices are insufficient to simultaneously clear markets and there are varying rates of convergence in supply and demand.

Rates of growth may be considered adjustments that evolve into distinct patterns that are generally stable, if not equating to other sustaining factors. So far, the logic disequilibrium adjustment hypothesizes differential rates of growth predicated on the size of the state economy:

- Small state economies exhibit a greater variance in rates of economic growth.
- The rates of growth are lower in larger state economies.
- A shift-share analysis of state economies explains differential rates of adjustment.
- A disequilibrium adjustment model predicts (stable) rates of state economic adjustment.

Other macroeconomic theories have more credence for explaining long-run conditions and the consistency of the timing decisions in the marketplace. But time series and regression methods have been developed to estimate disequilibrium adjustment models, with specifications that economies of scale determine rates of growth. The logic of this can easily be extended to shift-share analysis of variance, so that economic development in level form accounts for the rate of growth (or development in difference form).¹

¹ The four factors are: 1) state level unemployment rates, 2) regional rates of inflation, 3) state (percentage) share of the United States economy, 4) (percentage change) in state economic growth. The first two provide indicators of short-run and cyclical (over five years or fewer) economic conditions at the state level. These two measures are added together to compose an index of misery. The second two measures are considered indicators of long-run conditions that require estimation over twenty or more year time horizons. These latter two concepts of shift-share analysis comprise the specification for explaining rates of adjustment in state economies.
In comparison to these four exogenous factors, state governments can manipulate their financial capacity to generate more revenue. Among the endogenous variables, taxation is the primary determinant selected for analyzing the provision of incentives, because

- the absence of a tax structure is the greatest incentive for economic development.
- taxation distorts competitive pricing, so that incentives may ameliorate some of the greater negative effects of taxation on economic growth.
- public tax revenues determine the rate of public spending.

For these reasons, the empirical analysis generally includes state tax, rather than, expenditure decisions. On the taxation side, these represent decisions to enact tax legislation to impose basic taxes, such as state gasoline taxes, personal or business income taxation, sales taxation, and what is sometimes called sin taxes on cigarettes and alcohol. For these six taxes, an index of tax structures was constructed that measures the dimensionality of state taxation. Some states have historically greater diversification of revenue than others, although currently two-thirds of the states have enacted legislation to cover all six of these dimensions. In terms of the dimensionality of taxation, there are economies of scope such that more diversified structures generate more revenue. Because of these economies of scope

- the more diversified the tax structures the more likely the state will provide incentives.
- the greater the amount of taxation, the more likely the state will intervene to reduce the effects of taxation on businesses by providing incentives.

More generally then, tax prices paid for public goods are positively related to the level of state government intervention to mitigate the effects of the tax structure on the economy.
The tax structure index captures the multi-dimensionality of taxation, but does quite
describe the evolution of state tax structures from minimal taxation to the current system where
most states have all the same taxes. Beginning with gasoline taxes, as a luxury tax for automobile
owners, state enacted consumption taxes first, before the economic crises of the 1930's resulted in
legislation and rate setting for income and sales taxation. Inasmuch the experience of the 1930's
created a much larger role for state government in the economy. Related to the economies of
scope in taxation is the constant long-run search for alternative revenue sources, rather than
increasing the rates of existing taxes. Although states’ are more likely to increase the rates of
sales and consumption taxes (for gasoline, cigarettes, and alcohol) instead of increasing rates for
income, business income (or franchise fees), and local property taxation. In the more recent past,
this search for revenue includes enactments of lotteries, gaming licences, local option sales
taxation, user fees for business related spending, and other special user fees or consumption-based
taxation. As the demand for public goods increases the composite tax price paid not only
increases in amounts, but also by the number alternative sources of revenue.

Some of the increases in tax prices are attributable to the increasing rates of the costs of
government. As the key variable, the revenue paid per-capita represents the amount of cost
sharing for the provision of public goods. This tax price also measures the willingness to pay for
public goods, with this study using a logged estimate with regard to revenue to measure tax price
elasticity to substitute incentives for taxation.

The burden of taxation is really twofold. Firstly, an average tax bill paid for some of the
costs of providing public goods and services. Secondly, a tax burden may also be expressed as a
percentage of income. Thus, separating a composite good, like disposable income, from the costs
of a bigger government. As a measure of effective tax rates, the percentage of income paid in
taxation is the standard variable used to compare tax burdens across countries. Yet for most
analyses of U. S. Domestic finance, state and local burdens are measured in a dollar amount, even
though this underestimates the efficiency of the tax structure, may overestimate the tax burden,
and fail to equate tax revenue per-capita with the average costs of public goods. As a
consequence this furnishes a measure in amounts, but eliminates the justification for taxation as
either a tax price or cost sharing mechanisms.²

DATA AND METHOD

In this study, the basic dependent variable is the proportion of incentives enacted by (all
fifty of) The State Legislatures. There are fifty-nine total incentive programs, tracked with some
missing data from 1966 to 1994, with the full time series a twenty-seven-year time horizon.
Enough time to estimate the differential effect for a shift-share analysis and to allow for a
sufficient number of misery index cycles to evolve under control of state political administrations.
The time frame of the study corresponds with a buildup of state capacity to address economic
development and growth issues before the expansionary national economy of the mid-1990's to
the millennium (1994-2000). During the time frame of this study, tax prices increased

² There are two major kinds of tax reform that could occur in the presence of excessive
taxation. First, tax simplification is preferred by many, because this represents a reduction in the
number of taxes. A related reform is too eliminate tax preferences, expenditures, or incentive
programs that require a separate method of revenue collection. Second, tax rates may be changed
so that same set of tax alternatives are revenue neutral. The manipulation of tax rates is
considered an imperfect policy tool for reducing tax burdens because revenue collection may
diminish for other reasons. For budgeting purposes, states’ have preferred stable revenue
sources, such as income and property taxation over sales and consumption taxes. States also
adjust rates gradually to shape expectations about future taxation, too smooth any transition from
over-reliance on some revenue sources.
exponentially for state government services. As estimated in Chart 1.0, the distribution of these incentives is insignificantly different from a normal distribution, with an average equal to almost sixty percent with fifteen percent variance in the risk of states adopting incentives.

The summary statistics for the dependent variable and independent variables are reported in Table 1.0. Again, indicating a normal distribution of the dependent variable, for the purposes of regression analysis. Among the exogenous independent variables, the misery index crests at about fifteen percent, on the average, during the worst periods of inflation in the 1970's. The decline of inflation then reduces this index so that state unemployment rates are by the far the largest component of the index, for most states, in most of these years. Ex hypothesis misery minimization would imply indices somewhere around six to eight percent, within a four percent standard deviation of the mean, yet the almost twelve percent average indicates the length of the troughs of these business cycles in terms unemployment and inflation, before the 1994-2000 period.

The summary statistics reveal the long-run exogenous factors, measuring shift-share analysis, are not normally distributed. The shares of the U. S. Economy are concentrated in a few large state economies, rather than dispersed randomly over the fifty states. A finding that confirms the small group of large states grew at a faster rate than the rest of the smaller state economies. On-the-average, state economic growth rates were close to nine percent a year for this almost thirty-year time horizon. The large amount of variation and concentration of growth in a subset of the states indicates that growth was not evenly distributed across the states.
**TABLE 1.0 DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
<th>Skewness</th>
<th>Kurtosis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL % OF INCENTIVES(^1)</td>
<td>55.97%</td>
<td>14.93%</td>
<td>.087</td>
<td>-.873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MISERY INDEX(^2,3)</td>
<td>11.8502%</td>
<td>3.7285%</td>
<td>.660</td>
<td>-.303</td>
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<tr>
<td>SHARE OF U.S. ECONOMY(^4)</td>
<td>2.0495%</td>
<td>2.3683%</td>
<td>2.481</td>
<td>6.910</td>
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<tr>
<td>STATE GROWTH RATE(^4)</td>
<td>8.8335%</td>
<td>4.8213%</td>
<td>.466</td>
<td>3.186</td>
</tr>
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<td>TAX STRUCTURE INDEX(^5,6)</td>
<td>5.49</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>-1.135</td>
<td>-0.284</td>
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<td>INCOME PER-CAPITA(^7)</td>
<td>$10,199.19</td>
<td>5766.47</td>
<td>.568</td>
<td>-.596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVERAGE COST(^7)</td>
<td>$1,142.29</td>
<td>718.98</td>
<td>.855</td>
<td>.111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 1296

---

3. Note: Misery Index = State Rate of Unemployment + Percentage Change in Regional CPI.
6. Note: The tax structure index ranges from 0-6; in frequency terms, 1/3 of the states regulated 5 or fewer dimensions, two-thirds have regulations for all six of the major areas of state taxation.
The latter three variables provide the information necessary to construct the measures of endogenous variables. The distribution of the tax structure index varies of the time frame of this from a very flat, uniform, distribution to a bimodal distribution with a few states not enacting all of the tax alternatives. The diffusion of the enactments was in long waves of legislation, similar to the conditions present in the exogenous variables. Currently, almost all states have enacted all of the major taxes, so that the abatement theory of incentive provision is consistent with the increasing proportion of incentive legislation enacted until the present during this time frame.

Although tax revenues are used in the regression analysis, the correlation between spending and revenue per-capita is insignificantly different from a perfect correlation. These results indicate the cost of government is normally distributed across the states, averaging more than a thousand dollars with a substantial amount of the variance over states and time. Setting the tax price equal to average cost establishes a framework for understanding how states “control” these endogenous variables. The states control these variables by enacting legislation by either regulating dimensions they have the scope of authority over or setting rates to determine prices.

Tax burdens are measured with two indicators. The average tax price paid for state government services equated to the average cost of public goods provision. The second measure is an effective tax rate, constructed as a ratio of the tax price to income. This latter indicator suggests the effective tax rate of state government is approximately ten percent of personal income. The range within a deviation is from eight to twelve percent, contingent upon the existence of state income taxation, one of the dimensions in the state tax structure index.

Panel regression methods are used to estimate the model specified from the exogenous (short and long run) and endogenous factors analyzed in this study. The basic unit is the state
government that makes legislative decisions concerning taxation and the provision of economic development incentives. The sample is a combined state time series, so that the estimates generalize across the states to explain variation in the willingness of sub-national governments to intervene in their economies. To grow the size of the governments, in order to regulate and in some cases stabilize their macro-economies. Unlike the federal government, the primary policy tools available involve changes in the tax structures and rate setting. Some states have a local policy tradition of over-assessing the valuation of commercial property, whereas others compete in partisan terms of alternative tax and economic development policy goals. Under an abatement or compensatory theory, the enactment of incentives for businesses is generally to mitigate the interaction between a status quo tax policy and what is considered unfavorable market conditions.

RESULTS

The basic study findings are reported in Table 2.1. Additional findings are estimated in Tables 2.2 and 3.0 for comparison purposes. The findings indicate about a half of the variation in state incentive provision is explained by the factors in this study. Each of the factors significantly determines some of the variation in the supply of business incentives. Almost all of the findings are consistent with the hypothesized: 1) directional, 2) magnitudinal, and 3) durational effects.

The states with a greater share of the U. S. Economy were more likely to intervene in their state economies, whereas states with faster economic growth have been far less likely to provide additional development incentives. The results are consistent with an economy of scale interpretation, suggesting the larger states can better afford to further promote their economies with tax expenditures. Conversely, the smaller states with faster growth rates were much less likely to intervene in their economies. Basic shift-share results which indicate the importance of
exogenous factors in shaping divergent choices over the set of tax and economic development policy alternatives.

States with higher taxation are far more likely to provide business incentives. The estimated rate of abatement is approximately equal to the effective rate of taxation: the elasticity of substitution of tax revenue for proportionate rates of incentive provision is sixteen point three percent. States with all six of the major taxes were one point two percent more likely to proffer incentives.

Of course, this form of tax reduction represents a secondary distortion to the initial tax-related distortions. One argument would be that it would be better to grant full incentives to subsidize the full costs of promoting the kind of economic development or growth rates sought. A second argument is simply that it would be better to repeal taxes to provide a full incentive effect, rather than some minor adjustment through rate setting, pricing policy, or incentive provision. Every other reform requires some incremental adjustment, in between tax reform and fully funding tax expenditures with market subsidies.

The finding indicates states adjust taxation to fit economic conditions. The adjustments may be incremental and have only a marginal effect on changing these exogenous conditions. So that this represents a layer of distortions upon distortions, generating a dissipation of incentives and little or no impact on business cycles and declining industry conditions. For what they can control, states offer incentives in the hopes of influencing exogenous factors such as long-run development and growth or cyclical short-run misery. The findings suggest the state response with incentives is a sustained effort to reduce taxation, instead of a direct public investment or subsidy program to regulate economic conditions.
TABLE 2.1 PANEL REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF DEVELOPMENT INCENTIVES BY STATE LEVEL MISERY INDEX, SHARES OF THE U.S. ECONOMY, RATES OF GSP GROWTH, LOG OF TAX REVENUE PER-CAPITA, REVENUES (% OF INCOME), AND TYPE OF TAX STRUCTURE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>t-statistic</th>
<th>p(β) = 0 &lt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
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<td>MISERY INDEX</td>
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<td>-.078</td>
<td>-4.198</td>
<td>.001*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHARE</td>
<td>.006</td>
<td>.097</td>
<td>4.926</td>
<td>.001*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GROWTH RATE</td>
<td>-.025</td>
<td>-.081</td>
<td>-4.113</td>
<td>.001*</td>
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<tr>
<td>LOG(TAX/N)</td>
<td>.163</td>
<td>.754</td>
<td>34.592</td>
<td>.001*</td>
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<tr>
<td>REVENUE/INCOME</td>
<td>-.008</td>
<td>-.153</td>
<td>-6.966</td>
<td>.001*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAX INDEX</td>
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<td>.060</td>
<td>3.245</td>
<td>.001</td>
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**Model Statistics**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>F-statistic</th>
<th>P(F) = 0 &lt;</th>
<th>R²</th>
<th>S_e</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>278.81</td>
<td>.001*</td>
<td>.563</td>
<td>.0987</td>
</tr>
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</table>
There are three findings somewhat to directly contrary to effects hypothesized for the independent variables. The first two involve the estimates of slope coefficients, in the model presented in Table 2.1. The third methodological issue concerns the size of the standard errors estimated for each of the coefficients.

The estimates for the misery index and one of the state tax burden measures run counter to the hypothesized effects. In the first case, the greater the misery indexes, the less likely the states were to provide more incentives to business. Instead of responding to short-run conditions, the states in these worsening economic conditions were less able to respond. Because some of the effects of high inflation and unemployment persisted beyond the timing of short duration business cycles, these states were simply less able to afford to intervene in their economies leaving these interventions to others with either a larger economy or faster sustained growth rate. In the second case, the proportion of income paid in state taxation remains relatively close to a flat rate of taxation. The findings reported in Table 2.1 indicate that as the proportion paid in state taxes increases, there were fewer incentives provided to business. The consistency of this finding is somewhat remarkable given multiple state time series with exponential growth in revenues, from 1950 to the present. Yet the resulting tax burdens indicate something about the cost, and therefore, size of state government regardless to the economy. At the individual level, personal income tax revenues comprised the largest and fastest growing revenue source for the time frame of this study.³

³ In the past decade, alternatives to the major revenue sources have been steadily increasing as a proportion of the total revenue. Additionally there has been a concerted attempt to further diversify tax structures by extending sales and consumption taxes. As a result, these taxes have become more important revenue sources vis-a-vis state income taxation and local property taxation.
### TABLE 2.2 PANEL REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF DEVELOPMENT INCENTIVES BY STATE LEVEL MISERY, SHARES OF THE U.S. ECONOMY, RATES OF GSP GROWTH, LOG OF TAX REVENUE PER-CAPITA, REVENUES (% OF INCOME), TYPE OF TAX STRUCTURE, AND TREND COMPONENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>t-statistic</th>
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<tr>
<td>REVENUE/INCOME</td>
<td>-.005</td>
<td>-.093</td>
<td>-3.06</td>
<td>.002</td>
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<tr>
<td>TAX INDEX</td>
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<td>.059</td>
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<td>.001</td>
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<tr>
<td>TREND</td>
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<td>2.78</td>
<td>.006</td>
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<tr>
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<td>S_e</td>
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The standard errors for the slope coefficients are generally underestimated because of the existence of a trend component. After multiple diagnostic testing of the variables and the residuals, the correct specification is a trend component. Although there are other techniques for including this effect, the use of a trend line provides a test of the arms race hypothesis: incentives increasing at a rate faster than predicted by economic condition or tax policy. In this model, other specifications were tested ruling out an acceleration hypothesis consistent with an arms race. After controlling for the independent variables in this study, we can rule out that the level of state provisions is the result of unstable competition among states. But the inclusion of the trend component increases the size of all of the estimated coefficient standard errors. However, none of the basic results are changed from this re-estimation.

The last sets of results are presented in Table 3. To construct this table, logistic regression models were estimated with the enactment of state legislation as the dependent variable. The independent variables are the same as those presented in Tables 2.1 and 2.2, whereas the dependent variable measures of the risk of adopting business incentive legislation. Because there are significant trends in the probability of enacting legislation, the linear trend variable was included in the model for estimation purposes. Only nonzero correlations at the .05 levels are reported in Table 3. In Table 3, instead of listing the estimated coefficients, standard errors, and equivalent t-tests and beta coefficients for fifty-nine logistic regressions, correlations are reported between independent and dependent variables for each estimated equation. The information contained in this estimated correlation is sufficient to describe any directional and magnitudinal effects. These dis-aggregated findings are generally less statistically significant, but consistent with the results for the distribution of incentives (shown in Chart 1.0).

Among the excluded correlations, almost all of the misery index slope coefficients were positively, but not significantly, related to the adoption of legislation.
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<th>INC. LAW</th>
<th>MISERY INDEX</th>
<th>GSP RATE</th>
<th>SHARE</th>
<th>LTAXN</th>
<th>YREV%</th>
<th>TAX INDEX</th>
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The findings indicate states attempt to alleviate tax burdens by targeting incentives. Like the aggregated results, the individual level choices reveal a tax pricing decision and what the states can afford to provide.

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The findings in Table 3 indicate there is great deal of targeting of incentives. Because some business incentives cost the government more than others, this result suggests there may be an effort to maximize the incentives and minimize costs. Among the variables, the rate of growth in the economy appears to be least significant in targeting incentives. So if the intent is to promote economic growth, this appears least correlated, after multiple testing of the possible timing of the interaction between rates of economic growth and rates of enacting incentive legislation. The effects of the misery index persist along with the incentive legislation, so that neither can be genuinely said to have been produced by short-run business cycles. The fact the trend component is both positively and negatively significant reinforces the hypothesis of endogenous state control over economic development legislation. This control of development

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6 The findings indicate states attempt to alleviate tax burdens by targeting incentives. Like the aggregated results, the individual level choices reveal a tax pricing decision and what the states can afford to provide.
policy may result in a targeting of incentives that is both responsive to economic conditions and the type of circumstances affecting businesses. So much so that based on the mixture of trend coefficients, the findings indicate legislation may be enacted and repealed in an attempt to moderate the business climate over the long-run.

**DISCUSSION**

The basic results are presented in Table 2.1 estimating a model for explaining the level of government intervention in state economies. The findings indicate states are likely to provide incentives whenever they can afford to do so and that they respond with their tax pricing policies to reduce prices. It is unlikely this is the best mechanism for promoting development and growth because both taxation and incentive legislation, in sometimes intentional ways, distort new investment and growth in valuation.

The findings also suggest that misery *does not always* love companies. The usual fable considers misery matters’ in the trough of a business cycle coupled with high unemployment and a declining industry. In this situation, states are expected to “do something” because firms have large numbers of employees and workers in industries which are organized to vote in their own interests. Unfortunately, the fable substantiated in this study is that misery persists for longer than what would be defined as a short-term business cycle. At the same time, there is contemporaneous evidence state legislation did runup the level of business incentives (Table 2.2), although the states may have been strategic in their selection among the alternatives (Table 3.0).

Another story of development is also quashed by the consistency of the results. In the shift-share analysis the findings are strongly consistent in revealing the importance of the location quotient and not the rate of growth. For analysis based on anecdotes, the big story is that state
advantages persist over the long-run. Larger state economies have lots of problems, but they also have resources from which to commit for continually promoting development. Unlike the story of a growth machine, organized around the interests of maximizing economic growth rates, development promotion is far more likely to involve a reinvestment in a state’s advantage. Back into the basic industries, and for any other advantages a state might have, rather than for the pursuit of growth. The states with the fastest growth ironically do the least, so it appears their incentive is to *not do something* which might slow the growth machine of the economy.

The results suggest there is very little support for the arms race hypothesis, Wagner’s law of the growth in government, or many of the other size of government models that imply an extension of spending or regulatory authority into the economy. Instead, *the rate of incentive provision is directly related to taxation*, with this consequence *derived from the endogenous attempt to reduce the burden of taxation on businesses, not individuals, during periods of unfavorable long or short-run exogenous conditions*. Because personal income tax revenues affect individuals, the results strongly suggest that these programs are intended as business incentives and not a reduction in general taxation. Incentive provision does, however, contribute to the growth of government in the economy because tax prices are related to the cost of state government, the regulatory authority too set rates, and most important, the legislative authority to establish and organize a tax structure. Yet there is little evidence suggesting the states are trying to do anything more than reduce any distorting effects on business from taxation.

In times of duress, the states have enough of a struggle to collect sufficient revenues to fund basic services, without managing adjustments, expectations, or other investments *for* the market. If the states have a growth management policy for long time horizons, it is likely this
 favors planning over maximizing growth rates, shares of the U. S. Economy, or misery rate minimization. In the states with stronger economic development organizations, the priorities are still not there to fully fund incentive programs. For many states these development and growth promoting activities are just considered a luxury add-on, and not a commitment for something required to attain long-run development and future growth in a state economy.
The Precaution Principle: a Strategic Tool for Redesigning (Sub)-Politics

The precaution, its principle and its framework seem to appear from nowhere like a sort of spontaneous « socio-political » generation we find necessary to define, to precise and to understand. Concerning the precaution principle, this exercise of delimitation is all the more indispensable that the concept largely overtakes the scientific sphere. Indeed, public authorities, citizens, economic and social actors are all directly concerned by its concrete applications or its translations. Following the historical perspective proposed by François Ewald, and helped by the concept of modern risk developed by Ulrich Beck, we present the precaution as a strategic tool, a political response to the emergence of a new flow of societal uncertainty, mainly directed towards the hesitations of the scientific world. Starting from the concept of “technonature” of Philippe Roqueplo, we inscribe the precaution approach in a framework we call “politico-natural”, which redefines the way of managing uncertainty in a society characterized by the disappearance of the borders between the political and sub-political actors. With the application of the precaution principle becomes visible a line of fracture which reduces the decisional capacities of some sub-political entities and/or urges other on acting more. Nevertheless, for most (sub-)political actors, modern risks are paradoxically an opportunity of expansion that also has to be taken into consideration from the active citizen’s point of view, mobilized to defend the cause of a world we might said to early it was disenchanted.

b) Topic area: Political Science

c) Format: Paper sessions

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Child Care Choices and Job Retention Rates of TANF Mothers

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Child Care Choices and Job Retention Rates of TANF Mothers

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My study proposes to investigate the link between the job-retention rate of TANF (Temporary Assistance for Needy Families) mothers and the type of child care they use. I plan to divide child care providers into three categories: unpaid informal care, paid informal care, and formal care. I classify informal child care as care that is exempt from state licensing and monitoring, and formal care as licensed care. I hypothesize that mothers who utilize unpaid informal care will have a lower job-retention rate than mothers using formal or paid informal care.

The logic behind my hypothesis is that unpaid informal care is a voluntary service provided to the TANF mother by a relative or friend and is therefore less reliable. For unpaid informal caregivers, the cost of denying promised care is only the negative social cost to the relationship between the caregiver and the TANF recipient. If the caregiver could receive a higher utility from abandoning child care responsibilities, then they will refuse on that occasion and the TANF recipient will miss work to care for her child. In Holzer, Stoll and Wissoker (2004), 27% of all employers surveyed reported that one problem encountered in hiring welfare recipients was child care-related absenteeism. Absenteeism could also serve as significant ground for job dismissal. Paid child care, whether formal or informal, might offer more reliability to TANF mothers. If reliability of child care is correlated with job-retention, then the variation between the reliability of care should manifest itself in the job-retention rate of the mothers.

Previous Literature:

Current literature on TANF employment looks separately at the effect of child care subsidies on employment rates or job-retention rates of TANF participants. Studies have shown positive effects of child care subsidies on increasing the employment rate of TANF mothers, up to 32 percent (Berger and Black 1992; Blau and Tekin 2003; Gelbach 2002; Meyers, Heintze, and Wolf 2002). The availability of child care plays an important role in whether a TANF mother will earn or retain employment. Differences in criteria for measuring child care between existing studies and the difference in reliability between the take up of types of child care may explain some of the variation of results between studies.

The job-retention rate of TANF participants is critical to moving them permanently off of assistance. Low income families with low job-retention rates typically work fewer weeks per year, which negatively affects their future employment possibilities through gaps in employment, skill depreciation (Long and Martini 1991), and lower training (Royalty 1996). Hershey and Pavetti (1997) report average job durations of 9 months, and Holzer and Lalonde (2000) find median job durations of 6 months of TANF participants. High turnover poses costs to the employer, government, and individual. My research will help explain one facet of turnover rates.

Data Sources:

I will use the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY) and the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP) as data sources for my study. Because TANF is a state block grant and states have wide flexibility on how they implement TANF, my goal is to exploit state
variations in child care policy. There is significant variation between the states and within the states over time. Between 2001-2005, the U.S. Government Accountability Office reports that 22 states changed their child care policies. The National Women’s Law Center has a database chronicling these changes.

**Conclusion:**
My proposal fills an important space in the current literature by specifically looking at how the choice of child care might affect absenteeism and thereby affect job-retention rates. This study can help resolve policy questions about the most effective type of child care subsidies in relation to improving employment levels. It will also add to our knowledge about the job-retention rate of TANF participants and circumstances behind termination of employment. Moving families out of cyclical unemployment to permanent employment is a primary challenge of welfare reform.

**References:**


Title
“The distance between real and imagined space” Eight decades of Canberra and the construction of Australian national identity.

Topic Area:
Cross-disciplinary – history, politics, urban planning and social health

Presentation format:
Paper (Abstract attached)

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Abstract

The development of Canberra was about defining the moral and political ‘fabric’ of Australia, articulating its sense of self. The physical form of the city is inextricably linked with issues concerning democracy, social values, sense of community, civic engagement, economic life and the terms in which people conceive their (national) identities. While Canberra’s design illustrates the relationship between thought and environment, architecture and democracy, it is also a product of tensions between two specific town-planning movements, the Garden City and City Beautiful. It has thus encapsulated the tensions between the various projections and understandings of Australia as democracy and nation, and between the participatory democratic ideal and the (liberal individualistic) pastoral idea of withdrawal.

By examining the connection between the development of Canberra as an idea, a physical plan and the construction of political identity we can gain valuable insights into the essential democratic principles upon which Australian society is based. The city was intended to shape and reflect the national, political and cultural identity of Australia. With the exception of the last decade, there has always been a bi-partisan federal political commitment to a vigorous national public sector. This was reflected in high proportions of Canberra civil servants able to give action to this sentiment.

The city now has a generation who, born in the early decades of the twentieth century, has begun to die there. A major longitudinal cancer study conducted in the 1990’s in Canberra confirmed some unique socio-demographic characteristics reflecting employment patterns. Remarkably high numbers reported good psychological health in their final months and years. This paper explores how the drama of the evolution of Canberra translates into a life well lived as expressed by this data.
Protecting Rural Communities: Good Neighbor Agreements and Concentrated Animal Feeding Operations

Cross-Disciplinary Topic
Paper or Poster Presentation
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Protecting Rural Communities: Good Neighbor Agreements and Concentrated Animal Feeding Operations

Katelyn Bush
Alma College
Abstract Submission, Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences
January 24, 2007

Good Neighbor Agreements (GNAs) represent a promising approach to addressing the oftentimes conflictual relationship between Concentrated Animal Feeding Operations (CAFOs) and surrounding rural communities, offering a powerful tool for both parties to foster sustainable and environmentally responsible economic growth. CAFOs, agricultural operations that raise thousands of animals in a confined space, are proving to be a significant environmental, economic and social burden for surrounding communities in the state of Michigan. GNAs are an understanding between industry and neighboring communities, and can include such provisions as commitments to local hiring, proper waste management, and regular inspection of industrial facilities by local officials. Examining GNAs within the mining, electric and petroleum industries, interviewing CAFO owners, city officials and agricultural scholars, and investigating alternative negotiation strategies demonstrate both the possibilities and obstacles of implementing GNAs within the agricultural arena.
Problem Children or Children with Problems?

by

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Paper presentation

Sixth Annual Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences

May 2007
Abstract

This paper explores the core constructs of basic needs, mental health, substance abuse, health and education services as they relate to homeless youth. Researchers connect research and recommendations in the field with a local homeless youth program initiative.

Researchers conducted an analysis of a collaborative social service delivery program which provides services to urban homeless youth in the Northeastern United States (n=211). Demographic data of the youth involved in the program suggest that 47 percent are engaged in advancing their education and 37 percent are employed. Data also suggests that 82 percent of homeless youth are homeless for less than 6 months. This paper confirms that youth problems with homelessness can be temporary and with the right supports and access to services youth can have positive changes in their lives. The data also suggests the right combination of evidenced based services will attract and engage youth in a positive and supportive manner.
Introduction

Homeless children tend to garner more compassion and public will to solve their problems than their older counterparts. However, compassion and will often fade rapidly in the face of defining homeless, child and the myriad of individual, societal and familial risks and barriers that precipitate and perpetuate a young person stepping into the world without the skills, comforts and resources that most adults in the United States consider essential. How do we begin to study, address or solve a problem when we struggle for common definitions?

Greenblatt and Robertson (1993) describe adolescent homelessness as a process rather than an end. That may be the heart of the problem and the core challenge to designing appropriate, effective programs and interventions. While researchers strain to identify the population and compare studies, we should not be surprised that agencies and providers face even bigger obstacles. The homeless youth continuum encompasses youngsters shuttled between relatives because a parent is unavailable (e.g. incarcerated, in the military, working out of state, in treatment, etc.), adolescents moving between friends’ homes where an adult is present, young children staying at a homeless shelter with their parents, teenagers couch surfing in the apartments of emancipated youths and young adults in treatment programs, group homes, motel rooms, shelters and sleeping on the streets. At what point is an individual homeless? Many young people identify themselves as homeless while they are in Department of Health and Human Services custody, have a home but are afraid to go there, are in treatment programs or are incarcerated. Clearly the presence of a bed and walls does not equal a home. Jails,
treatment institutions and abusive families provide housing but they should not be mistaken for homes.

This research project is focused on unaccompanied youth who identify themselves as homeless or at risk of homelessness. The National Coalition for the Homeless cites homeless children as the fastest growing segment of the homeless population (2001). The National Alliance to End Homelessness estimates that one out of eight homeless persons is an unaccompanied youth aged 16 to 24 (2005). In 2002, the Family and Youth Services Bureau, Administration on Children and Families estimated that there were between 500,000 and 1.3 million homeless and runaway youth. The Center for Adolescent Health and the Law estimates that there are one to two million homeless youth (2007). Another study calculates that 7.6% of adolescents in the United States (1.5 million young people) were homeless at some time during the previous year (Ringwalt et al, 1998).

The range in estimates has several possible explanations. The most obvious may be differences in defining the youth age group: under 18, under 21, under 24 or 14-24. Some studies are point in time surveys and others ask individuals if they have been homeless at any time during the previous year or years. Research that was completed in New Hampshire and Maine illustrates the importance of clearly defining the targeted problem. Two surveys were conducted using two distinct definitions of homeless. When high school teenagers were asked if they had been homeless during the past year, 5% indicated that they had been. However, when the definition was broadened, 20% of the teens reported that they had regularly stayed with others during the past year. Those authors recommend that social service agencies target housing distress rather than
homelessness to avoid under reporting and under serving vulnerable youth (Vissing & Diament, 1995). This approach increases the number of identified youth and allows for earlier and potentially more effective interventions.

Each homeless individual has a unique story but there are often common threads. The Center for Adolescent Health & the Law identifies three causes for youth homelessness: 1. Abused or neglected 2. Forced out or thrown away 3. Exit from state custody (2007). Many homeless youth experience all three as stages in the homeless process and carry with them the accumulated trauma of those experiences.

The research literature on homeless youth includes numerous surveys of youth and social service providers. These are consistent in identifying family dysfunction as a primary factor in youth homelessness. The studies cite; neglect, physical and sexual abuse, parental substance abuse and mental illness as contributing factors experienced by many, perhaps most, homeless youth during their childhoods (Cauce, Paradise, Ginzler, Embry, et al., 2000; Broadhead-Fearn & White, 2006; Halcon & Lifson, 2004). In Washington 364 homeless adolescents were surveyed. A majority reported that their mothers (55%) and fathers (52%) had a substance use problem. The youth reported that 84% of their mothers and 70% of their fathers had legal problems. A majority (51%) reported being physically abused and 60% of the girls and 23% of the boys reported being sexually abused prior to leaving home (Cauce, et al., 2000). A Chicago study interviewed 400 youth and 80% stated that a bad relationship with family or disagreement with family was a significant factor in their homelessness (Levin, Bax, McKean & Schoggen, 2005).
Forced out, thrown away or runaway, it is hard to ascertain who made the decision that precipitated the youth’s homelessness. In the Washington study, when asked: *Whose decision was it to leave home?* 44% of girls and 30% of boys said they made the choice. Given the high rates of abuse reported in the same study, the descriptors: *forced out* and *runaway* merge meanings. Other responses included 34% who said their parents asked them to leave, 9% stated it was a mutual decision and 18% reported being removed from their parents by a public official (Cauce, et al., 2000).

The childhoods that these studies describe warrant the intervention of state Child Protective Services and that is what often happens. Unfortunately, “Removal from the home by state authorities was, in fact, a pathway into street life for a significant number of youth,” (Cauce, et al., 2000, p.236). Nationally within two to four years of exiting foster care 25% of youth will experience homelessness (United Community Services of Johnson County, 2005). In Washington, a third of the homeless youth surveyed had been in foster care and had experienced an average of 3.3 placements (Cauce, et al., 2000). The National Alliance to End Homelessness studied the relationship between foster care and homelessness and concluded that there is an over-representation of individuals who were in foster care in the homeless population. Multiple placements increased the risk of becoming homeless later in life. Additionally those who were in foster care tend to become homeless at younger ages and remain homeless longer. They conclude that, “Children who are moved from home to home over an extended period of time learn to deal with problems by leaving them behind” (Roman & Wolfe, 1995, 58).

Unfortunately those problems travel with the young person into the streets where a homeless lifestyle contributes to and/or intensifies mental and physical health risks. As
a result of often traumatic childhoods, homeless youth have a high rate of psychiatric disorders. Additional trauma occurs once they are homeless with 26% reporting being the victim of a burglary, 13% reported being robbed, 43% of boys and 29% of girls reported being assaulted and 15% of girls reported being raped (Cauce, et al., 2000). A Canadian survey of homeless youth concluded that 81.9% had been victims of a crime in the previous year with 79.4% reporting multiple incidents. Additionally, 31.9% of the young people reported being victims of a sexual assault (Gaetz, 2004). Given this pattern of repeated trauma it is not surprising that two-thirds of homeless adolescents meet the criteria for a mental health diagnosis. These included post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), conduct disorder, oppositional defiant disorder, attention deficit disorder, mood disorders and schizophrenia (Cauce, et al., 2000).

Psychiatric disorders and substance abuse often co-occur at high rates. Adults in substance abuse treatment whom also had PTSD ranged from 20 to 59% (Triffleman, Carroll& Kellogg, 1999). In a Minneapolis study 51.7% of homeless youth reported having five or more drinks per week, 37.2% had 15 or more drinks per week and two thirds reported using illegal drugs (Halcon & Lifson, 2004). Similar results were found in the Washington study with 35% of the youth reporting drinking ten or more times in the previous three months. Twenty-seven percent used marijuana and 10% used hard drugs as frequently (Cauce, et al., 2000). For many, substance abuse often leads to unsafe sex and for others survival sex leads to substance abuse. In the Minneapolis study 58.7% of the males reported recent sexual intercourse with 1/3 of the men stating that they had not used a barrier method. For the females the statistics were bleaker. More than three-fourths reported recent sexual intercourse and half of those females did not use
a barrier method. Over 20% of the youth reported exchanging sex for money, drugs, clothing, food or shelter (Halcon & Lifson, 2004). This exchange of sex for a commodity is referred to as survival sex. This high rate of unprotected sexual intercourse increases the youths’ risks of contracting sexually transmitted diseases and becoming pregnant. Substance abuse, mental and physical health problems complicate the challenge for homeless youth struggling to find and maintain housing.

Educational deficits, unemployment and the time consuming struggle of daily subsistence living are interrelated and contribute to a lack of social collateral necessary to move from crisis to stability. Homeless youth under the age of 18 are often not enrolled in school or attending. In one study 71% of this homeless age group identified themselves as high school dropouts (Cauce, et al., 2000). A study in California found 52% of this population to be out of school. More than a third of these students reported that they were not in school because they had to work. While close to another third stated they did not want to be in school and 4% had been suspended or expelled. However, more than a third reported wanting to graduate from high school and another third had educational aspirations beyond high school (Monterey County Homeless Census and Homeless Youth/Foster Teen Survey, 1999).

With limited education it is hard to get a job. In a California survey of homeless youth a little over half reported that they had jobs and a majority of those youth reported working more than 30 hours per week. However a quarter of the youth earned less than minimum wage. Their median income was less than $7.00 per hour and only 11% received any medical benefits (Monterey County Homeless Census and Homeless Youth/Foster teen Survey, 1999). “... most homeless youth are not avoiding work...
When they do find work it is often in short term, dead-end jobs or in unregulated work on the margins of the economy” (Gaetz, 2004, p.428). Subsistence living in an unsafe environment forces youth to be present-centered. (Thompson, McManus & Voss, 2006). The lack of an education, address, phone number, mentors and references excludes many homeless youth from the formal economy. Instead they often meet their immediate financial needs through prostitution, panhandling, drug dealing and other risky quasi-legal and illegal activities (Gaetz, 2004).

How can the social service sector effectively address the problems of homeless youth with extensive trauma histories, physical and mental health needs, educational deficits, limited job possibilities, criminal records and few, if any social supports? Coordination of care, continuity, accessibility, partnerships, and collaboration are the recurring themes in research based best practice (Kidd & Davidson, 2006; Van Leeuwen, 2004; Levin, et al, 2005; English, 2007). Homeless youth have multiple, interrelated needs and limited means for locating and traveling between service providers. A wide variety of services need to be available at one accessible location (Levin, et al, 2005). These should be presented as a continuum of care that includes: outreach, food, clothing, emergency shelter, medical care, family planning and reproductive health care, family reunification services, substance abuse assessment, counseling and treatment, mental health services, education and employment assistance, transitional housing and case management (Van Leeuwen, 2004; English, 2007). The immediate short term needs of the youth (food, clothing, shelter) may draw them to the service provider and serve as a gateway to other supports and resources (educational, substance abuse counseling, job
training) that they may not have known were available or been ready to access (Levin, et al, 2005).

Given the extent and complexity of these young people’s problems it is important that program evaluation have more dimensions than simply counting the number of youth who are housed each year (Kidd & Davidson, 2006). For each young person there will be a different measure of success. It might be accessing substance abuse treatment, using contraception, wearing clean clothes, ending a destructive relationship, preparing a resume, developing a trusting relationship with an appropriate adult or finding a safe place to sleep each night. An effective program for homeless youth must be prepared to meet this myriad of needs while tracking multiple, often subtle, measures of program success.
Methodology

The questions which we chose to investigate for this study are positively correlated with the robust literature in the field which identifies social, systemic and interpersonal problems related to addressing the issue of youth homelessness. As such we were interested the overarching issue of social supports and the confounding nature of the “problem” of youth homelessness. As we have titled our paper, is it “problem children or children with problems?”

Through our exploration of the research in this area we identified four questions. Our first question which we investigated was the demographic of the youth who access services at the community partnership center.

Second, we were interested in the effectiveness of housing supports and its impact on the ancillary and danger issues associated with homelessness. Specifically, within the demographic of youth who access services at the center, what percentage of the population have mental illness, substance abuse, education and legal issues.

Third, we questioned if the issue of homelessness for youth is chronic and long term or a short, temporary issue.

Our fourth question is are there any differences between different subgroupings of age and gender.

As suggested in our introduction, there are several difficult factors which need to be operationalized in order to assess effectiveness of homeless youth programming. For our research we used concepts from Cauce, et. al., 2000, Ginzler and Embry, 2000 and Gaetz, 2004 and Halcon & Lifson, 2004.
A large, well staffed, homeless youth resource center located in an urban center in the Northeastern United States was the population used for this study. The center includes social service providers from five different social service agencies which are connected to a larger social service delivery structure through an intricate and effective partnership of services.

Services provided directly at the center include basic supports such as food, clothing, job coaching and employment services, mental health services, a health and wellness clinic, substance abuse treatment, housing assistance and education assistance including on site classes and GED preparation. As part of the resource center concept, all five organizations use a similar screening and record keeping system. The center is essentially set up as a low barrier drop in location that provides a noontime meal and access to services as the youth chooses. While staff encourages youth to take advantage of the services provided, there is no expectation that they engage. As such, some of the youth can frequent the center for a noontime meal and participate in none of the other services offered.

Data collection

Data was collected from intake records, progress notes and record updates from the five community social service organizations operating in partnership at the center. The data collection tool was developed and identified 62 different variables. The following constructs were linked to the existing literature and data in the field: mental health, substance abuse, education and physical health Ginxler and Embry, 2000 and

The second author trained two graduate social work students in the use and procedures for using the tool to gather the data from the records. A total of 84 records were included in the training and testing of inter-rater reliability during two sessions spaced a week apart. Inter-rater reliability for the two graduate students was calculated at .91 and .94 respectively. Data was collected on 211 youth who accessed services over the course of 24 months between 2004 and 2006. Data was analyzed using SPSS software.

Results

The mean age of youth who participate in the center programming is 17 with a range of 14 to 21. As table 1 suggests and consistent with Cauce, et. al. 2000 and other’s findings that basic needs are the most important for homeless youth. As the table illustrates basic needs such as food, employment and housing ranked the highest in terms of reasons for attending the center.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Services Needed</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>91.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>61.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinic</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>72.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>82.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>77.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitional Housing</td>
<td>39.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substance Abuse</td>
<td>20.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental Health</td>
<td>47.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal</td>
<td>22.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>66.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crisis Intervention</td>
<td>48.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supportive Counseling</td>
<td>39.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case management</td>
<td>70.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ninety one percent of the youth who come to the teen center report that food is the most important factor, seventy eight percent report housing is the main concern, forty one percent report the clinic is the most important, seventy two percent come for educational services and eighty two percent report employment.

Data suggests that over the course of the 24-month data gathering period, youth place greater emphasis on the use of the clinic and employment services. In fact the requests for these services by the youth have doubled since the first year that data collection began. This new trend is consistent with Greenblat and Robertson, 1993, findings which suggest that homelessness is a process, or temporary moments in time and thus needs will constantly change and develop as issues in their lives stabilize and relevant supports are in place.

Sources of income

As table 2 highlights, nearly 38 percent of youth who access services are employed and another 10 percent receive some type of income assistance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2: Current Income Sources</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>37.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>51.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSI</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TANF</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As suggested in the literature, youth homelessness is not only a temporary issue and more an issue relating to social problems and associated connections to those problems. As such, employment provides youth with a certain amount of power to change their current situation. This combined with other pro-social factors such as positive relationships with others presents some compelling strengths for the youth who are engaged in services.

**Homeless demographics**

As Vissing and Diament, 1995 and Greenblat and Robertson, 1993 suggest, youth homelessness is not a chronic condition which is generally seen in the adult homeless population. Our data, presented here in table 3, confirms that a majority of homeless youth are homeless for less than 6 months.

**Table 3: Current housing situation and length of time homeless**
### Reason for homelessness

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kicked out of family house</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kicked out of friend’s house</td>
<td>29.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No stable housing</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Released from jail</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moved from another state</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Eighty-four percent of youth have been homeless for less than 6 months. As for the reasons for homelessness, 62 percent report that they were kicked out of a family or friends house. This is consistent with Cauce, 2000, and McKean and Schoggen, 2005, data that suggest that bad family relationships or problems with social supports are factors in youth homelessness.

**Mental illness**

Mental health data is consistent with the construct that suggests many of the issues faced by homeless youth are the product of their environment or family issues rather than organic issues or problems which they themselves created.

As table 4 shows, PTSD is one of the most frequent diagnoses. As Ginzler and Embry, 2000, highlighted, and is evident within this data, family trauma contributes to the reason for homelessness but also creates a context for other issues, such as mental health related problems which have the potential to exacerbate other issues relating to employment, education, substance use and overall wellbeing.

### Table 4: Mental Health Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Axis I Diagnoses</th>
<th>Total N</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not on Form</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not diagnosed yet</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depressive Disorder</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Depressive</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dysthymic Disorder</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bipolar Disorder</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15.1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mood Disorder</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panic Disorder</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anxiety Disorder</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTSD</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>19.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obsessive Compulsive</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol Abuse/Dependence</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannabis Abuse/Dependence.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polysubstance Abuse/Dependence</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown Substance Abuse/Dependence</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schizophrenia</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADD/ADHD</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trichotilomania</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjustment Disorder</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oppositional Defiant</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender Identity</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eating Disorder</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Axis II Diagnoses</strong></td>
<td><strong>N=73</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>80.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not on form</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependant Personality</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoidant Personality</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borderline Intellectual Functioning</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Currently on Medication</strong></td>
<td><strong>N=69</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>39.1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>60.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>On Medication in the Past</strong></td>
<td><strong>N=68</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>73.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>26.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table also suggests that psychotropic medication can provide a level of stability and support for youth who suffer from mental illness. As the table suggests seventy-three percent of youth report being on psychotropic medication at some point during their lifetime. Thirty-nine percent are currently on medication. Stability in addressing mental health issues provides the youth with the option of accessing other programming and services such as education and employment.
Substance abuse

Table 5 highlights the fact that youth who have substance abuse issues also identify positive points in their social networks which can provide support for a reduction or a clear break from substances. While 92 percent reported that they had friends who did use substances, 92 percent also reported that they had friends who did not use substances. As such, this connection to peers who do not use substances can provide a link for development of an intervention with youth who are ready which focuses on pro-social bonding and healthy peer relationships.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5: Demographics of Youth who access substance abuse services</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Type of Service</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Do your friends use substances?</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Do you have friends who do NOT use?</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Do you use ONLY BEFORE school and/or work?</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Do you use AT school and/or work?</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As table 6 highlights, the median age of first use of tobacco is 13, for alcohol its 14, for marijuana its 14 and for cocaine its 15.
### Table 6: Age of onset for substance use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age at 1st Use</th>
<th>Tobacco</th>
<th>Alcohol</th>
<th>Marijuana</th>
<th>Cocaine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>30.8%</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>23.1%</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>38.5%</td>
<td>41.7%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total N</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Median age at first use**: 13, 14, 14, 15

### Education

Table 7 continues to identify the trend that homelessness and youth are a brief moment in time and that with appropriate supports, they may continue to invest in themselves. As the table illustrates, 37 percent of youth are currently enrolled in some educational program. Additionally, 20 percent of the respondents reported completing their GED. While the mean grade completed is 10th grade, this suggests that there is some evidence of a foundation of educational preparation which can be built upon if the youth continues to pursue higher education.
### Table 7: Pursuing education

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>35.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>64.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Current School Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enrolled in high school</td>
<td>17.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrolled in an alternative program</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrolled in college</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not enrolled</td>
<td>55.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Educational History – Last grade completed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GED</td>
<td>21.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>19.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Service engagement*

The data suggests that there is a clear matching which is occurring between what is articulated by the youth as services they need and have actually engaged in. That is, youth who come to the center are actually provided with the services which they request.

This construct is divergent from Mowbray, Holter, Stark, Pfeffer, and Bybee, 2000, who found that fidelity to the service model had greater importance than meeting the needs of the client.

### Table 8: Collaborative Agencies Initiated by Youth

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agency</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Housing and Basic Support</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental Health</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinic</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substance Abuse</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Retention rates for the youth who are engaged in services were high. Seventy-two percent of the youth who were referred for services were in fact engaged in services within the partnership within 3 months and sixty-two percent were involved in services at the six month mark. Fifty-nine percent remain in services at the one-year mark.

This suggests two important points evident in the process of providing services in a collaborative manner. First, the process of low barrier engagement and development of services that are relevant and meet the needs of the client is compelling (Thompson, 2006). Secondly, as tables 8 and 9 suggest, a clear link between the types of service offered and the high level of access to these services is consistent with Cauce, 2000 and Gaetz, 2004 findings. Thus, creating programming based on evidence and data has a greater ability to meet youth needs.

Table 9: Services and percent of youth engaged in those services

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Percent of youth engaged</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mental health</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substance abuse</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational services</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical/wellness</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have legal issues</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gender and age trends

Youth who are most successful in programming are youth who have been homeless less than 6 months. These youth tended to report being employed, pursuing an education and engaging in other services offered at the center. The data suggests that mental health services and supportive counseling are areas of greatest difference between the males and females.
The length of time being homeless seems to be a factor in program engagement. Youth who have been homeless for longer than six months tend to be engaged in less than two services provided by the partnership. In contrast, of the youth who are homeless more than 6 months 12 percent of them are engaged in pursuing a higher education, 15 percent use the clinic and 16 percent access mental health services.

Older youth, those between the ages of 17 and 20 reported their highest need in the areas of education and employment. Youth under the age of 16 reported their highest needs as food, clothing and housing.

Conclusions

The literature posits that adolescence is a difficult stage of development with significant pressure to succeed, self doubt, feelings of stress and confusion (Clough, 2001). With all of these internal and external stressors, the need for adequate and appropriate support and resources is critical to healthy development and overall success. This is even more important for homeless youth who, we have discussed, have trauma histories or are faced with issues of unstable housing and social supports.

The literature suggests that pro-social supports and connection to relevant services can create significant opportunities for youth to develop protective factors for homeless youth including positive social orientation, pro-social bonding, and clear and positive standards of behavior (Howell, 1995, Catalano and Hawkins, 1995).

The data presented here strongly suggests that the strengths such as clean and sober friends, a track record of employment and education, access to basic needs, mental health and physical health services is aligned with the identification of the prevalent
issues facing adolescents as well as predictors of programming and overall success for these youth. The data also suggests that the partnership program works to strengthen the protective factors highlighted in the literature. The literature and our findings also suggests that youth who participate in homeless youth programs gain from the experience personally and have access to the resources necessary to truly make homelessness and the associated issues relating to it a temporary, short term problem.
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Presentation format (choose from above list)
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Wall’s finishing materials as media for cultural expressions in Taiwanese traditional temples

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Fu Chao-Ching
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Keyword
Taiwanese traditional temples · Wall finishing · cultural expression

Abstract

Taiwanese traditional temples have been built by Chinese immigrants from Southern China and constructional materials and techniques are similar to temples in Chinese hometown. The main structure of a temple was a combination of a wooden frame and weight-supporting walls which share weight of temple’s roof and separate inside from outside in a temple.

Walls were piled up with bricks, cobs or both of them. Craftsmen brush lime mortar as finishing material to look well and prevent walls from rain. They also pasted wall with earthen tile to be a protection at some cases. During Japanese Period (1895-1945), lime mortar was replaced with cement and tile that were popular architectural materials at that time in Taiwan. Some new forms of wall’s finishing were devised, Such as “Water Washing aggregated stone” · ”Terrazzo” · ”Colored Tiles” and ”Mosaic Tiles” which were placed together on walls in Taiwanese traditional temples. Some of the finishings were decorated with religion themes which became media for temples to show new cultural characteristics.

The “Culture Heritage Preservation Law” was enacted in 1982 in Taiwan. Some traditional temples were preserved as the ”monument” and become National heritage. But how to preserve the original characteristics of traditional walls became a serious question. This article will discuss the changing of materials and form of wall in Taiwanese traditional temples, and argue the valuable and historical parts on the wall should be preserved.
1. Introduction

Taiwanese traditional temples have been built by Chinese immigrants, as they moved from the Chinese Mainland, the folk religion and folk belief followed and settled down about 400 years ago.

The building of traditional temple link up the Taiwanese immigrants of the Hans and melts in the society, and gradually become a part of the cultural fields of the Hans culture for over 400 years. Traditional temples became a belief center in city centers and villages. They are most common and unique architectural elements in both cities and villages. And they are also the witness to the living, history and culture. It would become the best subject matter to study the traditional space and cultural property in Taiwan.

The “Culture Heritage Preservation Law” was enacted in 1982 in Taiwan. Some traditional temples were preserved as the”monument” and become National heritage. The latest statistical data show that there are 610 monuments in Taiwan, and among them 167 (about 27.4%) are temples. It pointed to the importance of traditional temples on culture heritage in Taiwan.

The wall’s constructions of traditional temple were not unalterable for over 400 years. Some traditional temples heritage were quite various in construction and materials over the past 20 years. We can observe that there were a corresponding form the development of history and society. When Ming and Ching Dynasty (1662~1895), constructional materials and techniques are similar to temples in Chinese hometown. People used local materials to build temples with the form of residence in the former township. The main construction was weight-supporting walls at those times. During Japanese Period (1895-1945), craftsmen
from Southern China were introduced and they adopted magnificent wooden frame systems in temple buildings.

In both weight-supporting walls system and wooden frame system, walls shared weight of temple’s roof and separate inside from outside in a temple. Some constructional materials such as the earthen blocks, stone and brickwork continue to be use for over 100 years. Generally speaking, wall construction could be regarded as the heritage of the temple building culture of the Han People, and shows the diversity of cultural expressions in temple building.

When we observe wall’s finishing of these old temples in the historic site, lime mortar and tiles were still fitted up on walls in a small number of monuments. Most old temples had been changed or replace their wall’s finishing materials with new materials such as water washing aggregated stone, terrazzo, color tiles and mosaic tiles etc. in Japanese Period (1895-1945) and Post-War (1945-) Period. With these new materials, these temples have new appearances.

The main reason for old temple to change their wall’s finishing materials is in order to easy to maintain, strengthen protection, improve damp proof condition, fire prevention and clean issue of hygiene etc. But the new-old mixed appearance of old temples was attacked by some defenders of traditional building form and had become the focus of arguments.

In the past 400 years of Taiwan, the Hans immigrants have brought different cultural form and then changed with the modern society. This text presents the viewpoint of that plural culture should be respect and whole history should be preserve. The reason why
materials changed in terms of the function and form of wall’s finishing will be discussed and its value for cultural preservation will be explored.

2. Form and development of traditional wall’s finishing

2.1 function and form

So called ‘finishing’ can be regarded as the surface of the building, or regarded as a “medium” contacted between people's life and building structure. This medium itself protects the structure body, and offer the cordial interface that human body contacted. Different finishing of building contains various constructional methods and materials, and also fulfills abundant cultural symbols. Therefore, some characteristics will be point out emphatically, such as protect and cover performance, beautiful look and follow-up maintained. Any construction work should have fit up “finishing” then will be really “finished”.

![Traditional Wall and Wall’s finishing in Taiwan](image)

Walls, whether regarded as the spatial compartments or as weight-supporting structures, should play an important role in the building. They are the focal points of finishing to fit up, called ‘wall’s finishing’ or ‘fitted up wall’. Wall’ finishing, because of its locations, can be categorized as “inside wall’s finishing” and “outside wall’s finishing”.

As regards historical development of the structural materials of the building, most traditional walls were piled up with earthen blocks, bricks, stones, etc. Earthen blocks are extremely easy to be collided to damage. Brickworks and stonework are too coarse to level.
Besides, there exist external living beings, the aqueous vapor of environment, temperature, gas and collision of artificial article, etc. They will also cause damages with dissimilar degrees. Some finishing had been conduct to protect, isolate wall to keep from damages for a long time. Therefore, wall’s finishing materials themselves need to be firm, durable; also it can defend worms and protect buildings from damp. Some finishing should consider their artist outlooks and ornamental functions.

Generally speaking, wall’s finishing can offer two valuable functions.

(1) Protection properties: prevent wall against external weathering damages and people’s collide, and improve durability of wall bodies’ construction.

(2) Decorating properties: Use different materials, colors, patterns to beautify the wall, express the visual art and in order to establish spatial attributes.

Following will discuss the characteristic and development of wall’s finishing and focuses on temple’s demands and finishing’s positions and functions, and the characters of different wall’s finishing in Taiwanese temple.

2.2 Various wall’s finishing in Taiwanese temple

Lime mortar

The traditional lime mortar of wall’s finishing was used most frequently for a long time, Lime is a kind of traditional and old material, and it was commonly used by the Han’s immigrants person in Taiwan. Eventually, this lime mortar finishing had become the main form of the traditional temple’s wall in Taiwan in the past.

The material comes from the limestone or coastal shell; those should be burned and grounded into the powdered condition. Its cohesiveness is strong, can be the best material of finishing on the surface of wall. To increase the stability of construction and prevent cracks,
‘the straw’, ‘the rice husk’ and ‘hemp fiber’ will frequently be added.

Lime mortar finishing in Daxin temple (Tainan county)

Sticking tiles wall

Paste tiles up the wall as to protect the wall. It is another traditional wall’s finishing which used most frequently in Taiwanese old building. The general method is to stick pottery, earthen tile to wall with the lime mortar, then nail into with the wooden bamboo to cohere with the wall closely. The appearance looks like the wall wears the clothes. Generally called “wearing tile shirt” in Taiwan. The position to stick tiles is generally outdoors, and to defending wall from the external rainwater, reduce the degree of the degradation day by day. Because of the material’s characteristics and red color, it increases artistic feelings of the wall.

The wall’s finishing outside the of Longshan temple
Cement

Cement was introduced in Taiwan during the Japanese Period (1895-1945). Oriental architecture has adopted lime as the glued material and finishing materials for a long time. When cement started to be used in Japan, it also regarded and use as lime mortar. But cement is easy to dry up, fire-resistant and waterproof. Because of its damp-proof efficiency and termite-proof, it was used to replace traditional lime material gradually and become the modern finishing materials.

Water washing aggregated stone and Terrazzo

Water washing aggregated stone and Terrazzo started to be used as wall’s finishing materials during the Japanese Period (1895-1945) in Taiwan. The basic constructional method of Water washing aggregated stone is firstly to mix modern cement mortar with small stones, then spray water to wash surface of cement, make small stone to appear and keep the coarse texture of the surface. Terrazzo (also called Rubbing stones) has the same procedure as the Water washing aggregated stone in the first place. However, is polished after cement mortar becomes solid, making the surface smooth.

Water washing aggregated stone and Terrazzo could also be called ‘artificial stone’ or ‘the artificial stone brush’. They are materials developed after the cement was invented. Similar
to the authentic stones, they can provide buildings with beautiful look and protection wall’s structure. They were used after the World War II (1945) in Taiwan. However, their use decreased gradually in recent years because of environmental pollution during the process. When using on traditional temple’s wall it is difficult to be acknowledged and accepted on cultural aspects by some people. So when the temple of monument was repaired, they were tended to be eliminated or replaced.

Mosaic and Color Tiles

Mosaic and Color tiles as wall’s finishing prevailed in 1970s. Mosaic is suitable for sticking covering it on the surface of various kinds of walls, and utilize the way of piecing together will shape different form and pictures. Color tiles, imported by Japan in the past. And invite Taiwanese craftsman to draw article pattern on it, and piece together on wall, it also called ‘tile paint’ in folk people. Advantages of Mosaic and Color Tiles finishing are waterproof, smooth and easy to clear up and maintain. When piece together and arrange differently arranges, they are easy to form special ornament themes and produce artistic appearance.
3. Conclusion

As to the history wall’s finishing, we can easily find that single wall’s finishing can not completely meet the needs of various types of walls. Different social and cultural demands have different materials and workers. By doing varied replacements and additions in different material development in different eras, sorts of wall’s finishing were appeared in difference forms.

The traditional patterns of old Taiwanese temples have changed through the development of nearly 400 years. The abundant appearances of wall’s finishing can be observed. Some still adopt old material as “the lime mortar” and repeat the constructional process because of constant damages. Some temples were finished with new materials to achieve a new appearance.

3.1 ‘historic addition’ as an ‘evidence’ of history

In Taiwan, nearly all traditional temples’ original wall’s finishing were replaced or altered. There are also no relevant documents and drawings preserved. The original mark has
been erased and no longer existed. The original wall structure is now covered with new finishing materials, or added different old material in different era. They could be considered as ‘the historic addition’. By these additions, we can differentiate the priority order and judge their qualities from different eras.

So, these different wall’s finishing has become the entity ‘evidence’ to differentiate and judge, the more these evidences are left, the more we can know intact the past clearly. If ‘evidence’ is lost, we will lose parts of history in spatial cultural form. History and culture rupturing will bring us a non-oriented state of life. Reduce intervention of or stop changing these ‘evidence’ will be the first step for cultural preservation.

3.2 Cultural expressions and preservation

As a communication bridge between building construction and people's body, consciousness, wall’s finishing can be an ‘interface’ or ‘media’. People create these media intent to protect and pack buildings by fitting up some finishing, then keep the buildings alive. On the other hand, buildings declare there role through the media too. Some old buildings through the” media “of finishing transmit a lot of message and idea of how to be built in the past to next generation. This is the best annotation and explanatory of culture.

People create all kinds of culture because of needs of life, to become communication interface between People, God, Earth, and then these cultural forms become cultural development foundations of future generations. We can say that “media” of finishing is one of the total cultural expressions. No matter what kinds of the finishing materials and expressions, they could be regarded as the media of cultural expressions. These are so precious that all of us should respect and preserve them, in order to be the foundation as the next stage development.
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• Introduction

Schizophrenia patient, accounting for all about 50-60% of acute, chronic sick beds of psychiatric department clinically. Becoming chronic or relapsing, or degradation of organs' function would make a schizophrenic patient to visit the hospital repeatedly or even to get long stay. Become the chronic ward and take the supreme diagnosis ethnicity of the bed rate. This issue costs not only a lot in medical expenditure but also in consuming public resources.

Some patients unnecessary taking up the psychiatric beds in hospital for a long time causes the sick bed unable to use, and some patients can not to be admission, The income of the hospital is also influenced. Law of mental hygiene Patient's condition is stabilized or recovered, there are no ones that continue treating in hospital in case of necessity, Deserve to handle and leave hospital, can't leave and put patients without reason. The patient is in hospital for a long time, It is unable to enjoy the warm care of living with family, Cause family's function to disintegrate, The relation among the patient and relative is estranged day by day, The patient's daily life function may degradate, Produce the ' institutional phenomenon '

The majority is in hospital the patient, ' when can I leave hospital the question paid attention to most is? ' Often unable to achieve one's goal to leave hospital, and the unstable situation of mood appears, And then
influence a patient and receive treatment and reply the will that is strong in.

Objectives

The purpose of this study was to discover the factors that would influence the leaving or staying hospital of schizophrenic patients.

Methods

The data for this study were based on a sampling survey of 401 patients from a psychiatric hospital in central Taiwan who were diagnosed as “disease 295.xx” in the time span of 2004-Jan-1 through 2004-Dec-31. A binary logistic regression was performed by using the assigned conditions by the doctors for the acute patients (leaving hospital or move to chronic ward) as the dependent, and gender, marital, age, frequency of hospitalization, tendency of violence, sleeping problem as covariates.

Results

The result shows that the patients with older age, single, earlier onset of the disease, less ability of self-care, and the key care persons of the patient were not parents or spouse were more likely to be assigned to stay at hospital for further therapy. There is no significant evidence to show that patient’s gender, economic status, compliance the medical order, frequency of hospitalization, tendency of violence, family history of schizophrenic, are related to stay at hospital for further therapy.

Conclusion:

The study shows that marital status, age of being hospitalized, time of onset of disease, ability of self-care, and recent job condition of patient are
related to if patient should continue the treatment at recovery sickroom or not. It is recommended that the hospital improves the facilities of recovery sickrooms and enhances the training to concerned staffs in taking care of the patients with older age and lacking of self-care ability. It is also recommendable that the hospital provides proper work training environment and sufficient trainers specifically for patients with diverse working ability.
Beyond Literacy Ability: 
Another Way to Explore the Impacts of 
Media Literacy Education

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Abstract

Different from most studies which investigated the effect of media literacy education by examining subject’s changes in media literacy ability, this study intended to explore the impact on viewers’ emotion since it was suggested by the limited capacity model of media processing that emotion could influence information processing like encode, decode and memory storage. By using pretest posttest quasi-experimental design, the current study examined how media literacy education influenced viewers’ emotion toward music television (MTV) with high sexual content.

Based on two dimensional emotion theory, subjects’ emotional responses were measured in two categories (appeal & arousal) with nine variables (music appeal, visual appeal, happiness, anger, sadness, terror, anxiety, sexuality, and aggression). Data indicated that media literacy education did not have a strong impact on subject’s emotional responses when they confronted the MTV with high sexual imagery. Among the nine variables, a significant difference appeared on the assessment of visual appeal and anger between the experimental group which accepted the treatment of media literacy education and the control group without treatment, but no difference on the assessment of the other seven variables.

Key words
Media literacy education.media literacy.MTV.media effect.popular culture.emotional theory.experimental design.quantitative research
INTRODUCTION

Background

In the 19th century, many sociologists such as Tönnies and Durkheim pointed out that industrialization and specialized division of labor would lead to isolation and individuality. “Close and intimate ties between individuals are reduced, hence restricting influences from interpersonal communication, leaving the individual vulnerable to influences from other sources.” (Merskin, 1999) Today, the main source of social influence on people was the media. Media saturated our lives so heavily that we relied on them for providing information, making daily decisions as well as learning social values, norms and ethics. Media did not just influence our culture, but formed our culture as had been proved by studies on media culture, media effects and learning theory (Bennet, 1982; De Fleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989; Schramm, 1971) However, most media messages were constructed with certain ideology for commercial or political sake. Therefore, it was not surprising “what being literate in the 21st century will mean is capturing the imagination of those outside the traditional literacy community as well” (Alvermann & Hagood, 2000). It implied the importance of “media literacy”.

Media literacy education was to “empower” and “liberate” students from media impacts in order to become democratic citizens in the future. “The fundamental objective of media literacy is critical autonomy in relationship to all media.” (Aufderheide, 1993, p.9)

Rock music television (MTV), a new format of television programming, started in the early 1980s. Currently, there are three types of music video network – rock, country, and contemporary Christian. MTV has grown especially fast and become one of the most popular television programs for college students (Sherman & Etling, 1991). MTV has also been the target of
public criticism ever since it started because of extensive uses of sexual and violent content. The National Coalition on Television Violence as well as the American Academy of Pediatrics referred to MTV as “unwholesome viewing for young people” (Hansen & Hansen, 1990). Many studies have concluded that there were significant sexual and violent images in MTV (Brown & Campbell, 1986; Hansen & Hansen, 1989; Pardun & McKee, 1996; Sherman & Dominick, 1986; Sommers-Flanagan & Davis, 1993; Waite & Paludi, 1987). Two empirical studies have also indicated that rock music videos with higher level of sexual content were more favored by youngsters (Hansen & Hansen, 1990; Zillmann & Mundorf, 1987).

The present study was grounded on the limited capacity model of media processing which was a theoretical approach rooted from many traditional information-processing models over the past 30 years (Lang, 1995; Lang, 2000; Lang & Basil, 1998). This model had two major assumptions. First, people were information processors who perceived stimuli and allocated capacity to decode, process, encode and store messages. Second, the ability (resource) to process information was limited. This model has been broadly applied to investigate how people process mediated messages (Lang, 1990; Lang, Geiger, Strickwerda, & Sumner, 1993; Thorson & Lang, 1992; Lang, Dhillon, & Dong, 1995; Lang, Newhagen, & Reeves, 1996; Newhagen & Reeves, 1992). Additional studies further combined the limited capacity model and emotion theory to investigate how emotional contents or viewers’ emotional responses influenced the information processing because of the limited capacity (Heurer & Reisberg, 1992; Newhagen & Reeves, 1992; Lang, Dhillon, & Dong, 1995).

**Purpose and Research Questions**

Since MTV involved highly emotional content to attract audiences and
emotion had influences on the processing of information, the purpose of this research was to explore whether there was a difference in viewers’ emotional responses to MTV with sexual content between those who were exposed to media literacy education and those who were not.

Here, emotion was defined based on the two dimensional theory which conceptualized emotion as having two primary dimensions: valence and arousal (Lang 1985; 1984; Lang, Bradley, & Cuthbert, 1997; Bradley, 1994). “The valence dimension is conceptualized as a continuous affective response ranging from pleasant (or positive) to unpleasant (or negative). The arousal dimension is defined as a continuous response ranging from ‘energized, excited, and alert’ to ‘calm, drowsy, or peaceful’.” (Lang, Dhillon, & Dong, 1995, p.314) Within such a framework, the purpose of this study was further inducted into two specific research questions:

Q1: Was there a difference in subject’s appeal to MTV with sexual content between those who were exposed to media literacy education and those who were not?

Q2: was there a difference in subject’s arousal by MTV with sexual content between those who were exposed to media literacy education and those who were not?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Media Literacy Education

The consensus definition of media literacy education was developed in 1992 when the Aspen Institute assembled leaders working in this field at the National Leadership Conference on Media Literacy to discuss directions and strategies for the emerging field with diverse approaches. The conference finally decided to conceptualize media literacy as the ability to challenge and question media – but not to be passive and vulnerable. (Thoman, 1999) Based
on the concept, Renee Hobbs (cited in Thoman, 1999) proposed five questions that media literate students should be able to answer:

1. Who creates this message and why?
2. What techniques are being used to attract my attention?
3. What lifestyles, values, and points of view are represented?
4. How might different people understand this message differently?
5. What is omitted from this message?

The majority of research on media literacy education concentrated on epistemology or instructional strategies (Alvermann et al., 1999; Hart, 1997; Michie, 1999). Research was limited that evaluated the impact of media literacy education on the cognitive or critical thinking skill of young people. Dorr et al. (1980) conducted a study and concluded that children’s ability to distinguish between the real and fictional element of a program improved after accepting media literacy training. Similarly, Anderson’s study (1983) indicated the influences on students’ identification of genre and syntactical structure.

Health researchers were interested in knowing the effects of media literacy instruction on students’ interpretation of alcohol advertisements and their decision to consume alcohol (Austin & Johnson, 1997). Two studies focused on commercials found that children had a better and critical comprehension about advertisements (Chen, 2003; Verkaik & Gathercoal, 2001). However, both studies also pointed out the concern that students’ attitude toward the product was unclear or unchanged even though their literacy ability of the commercial became critical.

Music Television (MTV)

Music television (MTV), developed out of radio formatting, started in the United States in 1981. It was a new format of television program by playing music videos 24 hours a day. Some data indicated that MTV did successfully
reach its targeted audience, with 83% of the viewers being between 12 and 34 years of age (Gardner, 1983), and MTV also turned out to be the most watched cable channel by college students (Sherman & Etling, 1991).

As rock videos became a popular form of entertainment for adolescent and young people, MTV’s extensive use of sexual and violent images became the subject of much criticism (Gore, 1987). Many studies done by content analysis confirmed the presence of significant sexual and violent content. Shermon and Dominick (1986) found that more than 75% of music videos sampled contained sexual behavior. By using a more stringent coding system, Baxer et al (1985) reported 60% of videos had sexual imagery. Based on the same coding procedure, Pardun and Mckee (1995) found 63% of music videos with sexual imagery, which remained as high as the rate in Baxer et al’s study done ten years earlier, even though much public criticism had strongly protested against this phenomenon. Researchers have also reported that between 15% and 50% of videos sampled contained violence (Baxer et al., 1985; Brown & Campbell, 1986; Greeson & Williams, 1986; Gow, 1990; Sherman & Dominick, 1986). Even though various coding definitions or sampling procedures were applied among studies, the results concluded that the presence of sex and violence or combined imagery in rock videos was significant.

Increasing concern about MTV noted the enculturation or socialization effects on young viewers due to the highly sexual content as well as the ambiguity in meaning, (Bennett & Ferrell, 1987; Sherman & Etling, 1991). Many studies have confirmed MTV effects on adolescent’s attitude toward sexuality. Greeson and Williams (1986) found that high school students had more liberal sexual attitudes and accepted premarital sex as a socially normative behavior after viewing randomly selected music videos when
compared with a control group. Calfin, Carroll and Schmidt (1993) surveyed
college subjects and yielded similar results. On the other hand, some studies
suggested that family communication pattern was also a significant predictor of
adolescent’s sexual attitude besides MTV exposure (Strouse,
Buerkel-Rothfuss, & Long, 1995; Thompson, Pingree, Hawkins & Draves,

People might assume that the over dose of sexual behavior in MTV was
simply because of the common sense “sex sells”. Some researchers have
focused on how sexual content in MTV influenced the appeal of
undergraduates. Hansen and Hansen (1990) found that visual sexual
depictions in MTV increased the viewer’s appeal and positive mood, but
violence decreased viewer’s appeal. A similar finding was also concluded in
the research by Zillmann and Mundorf (1987).

**Limited Capacity Model**

This model defined massage recipients as information processors. In
order to make sense of a message, recipients constantly engaged in the
information processing which involved the parallel cognitive subprocesses of
encoding, storage, and retrieval. People’s mental resources for operating
these continuous and simultaneous subprocesses were limited. Information
processing also involved the allocation of limited resources to the cognitive
processes. In general, the message recipient controlled the overall allocation
of processing resources based on his or her own interest and characteristics.
Involuntary or automatic allocation of processing resources happened when
the recipient’s “orienting response” (ORs) were elicited. Taking television as an
example, structural feature like cuts, editing, or flashes of light could elicit ORs
(Lang, 1990, Lang et al., 2000). Form this viewpoint, the limited capacity model
also unveiled an answer to the long-term argument of passive audience or
active audience.

A great majority of research concerning media effect has been conducted based on the limited capacity model. One branch of the research especially inspired the current study utilized a combination of the limited capacity model and emotion theory to investigate the relationship between information processing and emotion elicitation (Heurer & Reisberg, 1992; Newhagen & Reeves, 1992; Lang, Dhillon, & Dong, 1995). It was concluded that emotion-eliciting messages were recalled better but the specific information contained in a message was remembered less. This implied that “if the emotion-eliciting content results in additional resources being allocated to storage, this would result in fewer resources being available to be allocated to encoding.” (Lang, 2000, p. 62) How exactly emotion elicitation influenced information processing was not the concern of current study, but these studies illuminated a logical new way to inspect the effect of media literacy education.

METHOD

Samples and Procedures

Samples were undergraduates enrolled in the” Elementary Science Education” course offered at two campuses Coeur d’Alene and Moscow of the University of Idaho but instructed by the same professor. Because randomized assignment to treatment groups was impossible due to location and class schedule, students at the Coeur d’Alene campus were randomly assigned as the control group and students at the Moscow campus were the experimental group.

This research used a pretest-posttest quasi-experimental design. Subjects of the control group were exposed to a rock music video with a low level of sexual content and then asked to complete a questionnaire in their class. Following a two week interval, students watched another video with a
high level of sexual content and completed a questionnaire. Before watching
the music video, subjects were informed by videotaped instructions explaining
that the study they were about to take part in concerned the enjoyment of rock
music videos. The videotaped instructions also informed subjects about sexual
imagery before they were shown the MTV with a high level of sexual content
and told them free to leave if they felt uncomfortable.

Subjects of the experimental group watched the same two music videos.
Meanwhile, they were also treated with three fifty-minute-long tapes focusing
on the literacy aspects of MTV. The experimental group was also given the
videotaped instructions before watching the music video and afterwards was
asked to complete the questionnaire.

Music videos were randomly taped in multi-hour blocks during two days
in late August 2004 from broadcasts of MTV or MTV2 channel. This procedure
produced a 9-hour taping with nineteen videos. Many of the videos appeared
more than once, so eleven videos were actually coded by the author alone.
Sexual acts in each video were coded according to the listing by Baxter et al.
(1985): “provocative clothing; embrace or other physical contact; dance
movements of sexually suggestive nature; non-dance movements of sexually
suggestive nature; date or courtship (male-female); kissing; male chasing
female or vice versa; use of musical instrument in sexually suggestive manner;
sadomasochism; date or courtship (homosexual or lesbian); sexual bondage.”
(p. 338) Other types of programming, such as a reality show or a special report,
were not included in the coding.

In controlling the effects of violent imagery, violence in each video was
coded based on the Incident Classification and Analysis Form (ICAF) – a
system designed for analyzing the content of TV programs. According to ICAF,
vio
result in harm to life or to valued objects. Violence involves harmful or anti-social consequences. Violence involves behavior which violates, damages, or abuses another person, animal, or valued object(s).” (Wurtzel & Lometti, 1984, p.92)

After coding, two videos were selected for pretest and posttest: one was the video with the lowest level of sexual content as well as violence, and the other one with the highest level of sexual imagery and lowest violence. In order to reduce variances, both videos featured a female singer.

**Treatment**

The treatment used for the experimental group included the viewing of three media educational video tapes which totaled three hours. The three tapes were professionally produced by the Media Education Foundation. Media Education Foundation (MEF) was founded in 1991 and had produced approximate 50 videos for educational resources that critically examined the media. One of the tapes used as the treatment was *Dreamworld II* which “critically examines MTV, the music industry, and music video representations of women and their sexuality” (MEF, n.d., Study guide section of *Dreamworld II*, ¶ 1). Another tape was *Money for Nothing: Behind the business of POP Music* which “traces a high-regulated musical culture in which sensation has replaced talent, marketing has replaced aesthetics, and the historical power of music to change the way people look at the world has been harnessed to turn people into more efficient consumers.” (MEF, n.d., Study guide section of *Money for Nothing*, ¶ 1) The last tape *Representation and the Media*, a lecture by media scholar Stuart Hall, focused on the concept of “representation”—specifically, on understanding how media does not portray but represent reality. (MEF, n.d., Video section of *Representation and the Media*)

These three tapes were deemed appropriate for teaching young
adults about MTV programs because they addressed all the five relevant media literacy questions defined by Renee Hobbs (1998). *Dreamworld II*, for example, fully addressed the following questions:

1. Who creates this message and why?
2. What techniques are being used to attract my attention?
3. What lifestyles, values, and points of view are represented?
4. How might different people understand this message differently?
5. What is omitted from this message?

*Money for Nothing: Behind the business of POP Music* shed light on the questions:

1. Who creates this message and why?
2. What techniques are being used to attract my attention?
3. What lifestyles, values, and points of view are represented?
4. How might different people understand this message differently?
5. What is omitted from this message?

As for the last tape *Representation and the Media*, it provided detailed explanation for the question:

Instrument

The instrument was a four-part questionnaire. The first part assessed subjects’ gender, consumption of MTV, and whether the signer in the music video was one of their favorites. The second part contained questions which required subjects to rate the visual content on a 7-point bipolar scale, and each subject’s ratings were summed and averaged to yield a composite visual appeal. The third part asked subjects to rate the music and lyrics on the same scale, and each subject’s ratings were summed and averaged to yield a composite music appeal. The final (fourth) part assessed subjects’ arousal in the categories of happiness, anger, sadness, terror, anxiety, sexuality, and aggression after watching the music video on a 5-point Liker scale. A pilot study assessing the reliability of the questionnaire was done with twenty-four subjects. Results indicated a highly satisfactory reliability as measured by Cronbach’s alpha which was .91 for both visual and music appeal (the second and third part), and above .76 for the arousal questions (the fourth part).
Data Analysis

The statistical method for analyzing the research questions was ANCOVA if the pretest was not different between groups. Otherwise, ANOVA on gain scores was applied. Data analyses were conducted by using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, Version 11.0 (SPSS 11.0, 2004), and the alpha level was set at .05.

RESULTS

Demographics

The experimental group totaled 24 students. Two of them were male and the other twenty two students (91.67%) were female. Ages varied mostly between 20-24 (91.67%). One student was under 20, and one student aged between 25-29. Twenty students (83.34%) were single and four students were married. Ten students (41.67%) did not watch MTV, and seven students (29.12%) watched MTV for less than one hour and 1-2 hours each week.

The control group had 32 students. Seven of them were male and the other twenty five students (78.13%) were female. Twelve of them (37.50%) were between 20-24 years of age. Four students (12.50%) were between 25-29, six students (18.75%) between 30-34, and ten students (31.25%) were 35 or above. Eighteen of them (56.24%) were single and thirteen students were married. Seventeen of them (53.13%) reported that they did not watch MTV, twelve students (37.50%) spent less than one hour, one student (3.13%) watched MTV for one to two hours, and 2 students (6.25%) watched MTV for more than two hours each week. Table 1 summarized this information.

Dependent Measurements

The result of music appeal was not significant, \( F(1,50) = .46, \ MSE = 1.87, \ p = .50, \) partial \( \eta^2 = .01. \) There was significance for visual appeal, \( F(1,50) = 8.47, \ MSE = 1.91, \ p = .01, \) partial \( \eta^2 = .15. \) It indicated the experimental
group was less likely in favor of the visual content of MTV with high level of sex
than the control group. As for arousal, a significant difference appeared only on
the assessment of anger, but not on the other variables like happiness,
sadness, terror, anxiety, sexuality, and aggression. Table 2 summarized the
information of dependent measurement.

Table 1

Demographic Summary of Subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Experimental Group</th>
<th>Control Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sample Size</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2 (8.33%)</td>
<td>7 (21.88%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>22(91.67%)</td>
<td>25 (78.13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 20</td>
<td>1 (4.17%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>22 (91.67%)</td>
<td>12 (37.50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>1 (4.17%)</td>
<td>4 (12.50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6 (18.75%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 or above</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10 (31.25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>20 (83.34%)</td>
<td>13 (40.63%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>4 (16.67%)</td>
<td>18 (56.25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time for Watching MTV/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Week</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>10 (41.67%)</td>
<td>17 (53.13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 1 hour</td>
<td>7 (29.12%)</td>
<td>12 (37.50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2 hours</td>
<td>7 (29.12%)</td>
<td>1 (3.13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 2 hours</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (6.25%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2

*Result Summary of Group Source on the Post-test of Variables*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>Partial $\eta^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Music Appeal</td>
<td>(1, 50)</td>
<td>.46</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visual Appeal</td>
<td>(1,50)</td>
<td>8.47</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Experimental Group (M=.94) < Control Group (M=1.16)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>Partial $\eta^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Happiness</td>
<td>(1, 50)</td>
<td>.38</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anger</td>
<td>(1, 50)</td>
<td>5.01</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Experimental Group (M=3.00) > Control Group (M=4.25)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>Partial $\eta^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sadness (t-test)</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>-.26</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terror</td>
<td>(1, 50)</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anxiety</td>
<td>(1, 50)</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexuality</td>
<td>(1, 50)</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggression</td>
<td>(1, 50)</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**DISCUSSION**

**Conclusion**

The findings of this study revealed that:

1. Subjects’ appeal to the music itself was almost the same between the two groups. However, subjects of the experimental group were less likely in favor of the sexual video content than the control group.

2. Among the seven items of arousal evaluated, six items indicated no differences between the two groups. That is, subjects’ arousal of happiness, sadness, terror, anxiety, sexuality and aggression were reportedly equal between the groups. On the other hand, subjects of the experimental group
had more arousal of anger after watching the MTV with high sexual content than the control group.

With such evidences, it was concluded that media literacy education had a slight impact on viewers’ emotion toward MTV with high level of sexual content, but not strongly. Especially for the arousal of aggression which had been one of the most serious concerns about media effect, the data showed no difference between the experimental group and the control group.

Limitations

Limitations of this study were concluded into the following four points:

1. Because of the constraints of class schedule, the subjects came from two intact groups which were different in sample size and demographic categories. Therefore, external validity was threatened.

2. The experimental group was treated by watching professionally produced instructional tapes regarding MTV. One study proved that instructions by two fifteen-minute films induced a significant effect between groups of elementary students (Robert, Christenson, & Gibson, 1980), while another study concluded that the curriculum using role-playing effectively taught kids critical viewing of commercials (Desmond & Jeffries-Fox, 1983). Therefore, the current results had to be interpreted with the premise of the particular treatment employed in the study.

3. Arousal was measured by heart rate or skin conductance in some designs (Bradley, 1994; Hopkin & Fletcher, 1994). The current data obtained from only subjects’ self-report might have potential bias due to the individual difference in feelings.

4. Considering the result might be influenced by subjects’ admiration of the singer in MTV, one question in the questionnaire asked subjects if the singer was one of their favorite. The number of “No” was dramatically larger
than “Yes”, so analyzing the difference between the “Yes” and “No” groups was not feasible.

**Suggestion for Future Research**

This result might offer a clue to the question proposed by previous research that subjects’ interpretation of commercials became critical but attitude toward the products seemed unchanged. However, the direct relationship between viewers’ emotional responses and attitude was not proved in the current study. Future research might focus on mapping out the relationship among media literacy education, viewers’ emotional responses, and related attitude. Such research would be especially helpful for some health instruction which, for example, intended to improve youngsters’ interpretation of alcohol advertisements and their attitude toward alcohol consuming.

**References**


Newhagen, J. E., & Reeves, B. (1992). The evening's bad news: Effects of


Hybridity—an end of the journey
Exploring the course of cultural identity-shifting

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Hybridity—an end of the journey

Exploring the course of cultural identity-shifting

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Abstract
By systemizing the former academic scholars’ thoughts on cultural identity in the fields of communication and psychology; this research discovered the cultural identity-shifting process that occurs when people speak two different kinds of language. To further examine the depth of this topic, three factors that could have a significant impact on foreigners’ second language acquisition process are determined: 1) discrimination; 2) the proficiency in their first language; 3) and the level of affinity with the heritage group. When a newcomer struggling between cultural values and logics, there is no need to make choice among different cultures; instead, a hybridity will emerge in the end of cultural identity-shifting process; and this mixed identity will be composed by advantages of both cultures.

Language is the source of misunderstandings.
Imagine that there are two rivers, two fountainheads, one is in the Eastside, and the other is the Westside of the earth. With different geographical routes, they separately provide the life of the earth in a silent but powerful way. There are totally different landscapes in each riverside. The river in the Eastside grows plum blossom trees, cherry blossom trees, and bamboo trees on the riverside. The river on the Westside grows cedar trees, Douglas fir trees, and helianthus along the riverline. As time goes by, these two rivers flow into a low-lying land somewhere deep in the mountain, every drop embraces each other and thus creates a huge lake. The whole changing process goes in a secret, gentle, and slow way everywhere. Suddenly, a new land is formed by the mighty power of water and the landscape is no longer the same as before. This is a land that people call “hybridity.”

The idea of hybridity (Gloria Anzaldúa, as cited in Littlejohn and Foss, 2004, p.332) is not only true when applied to indicate the cultural borderland that exists in the global village, but is also true when we use it to describe the ending stage of a bilingual speaker’s inner psychological transformation when struggling between two varied cultural value systems. Usually, the identity-shifting process is secretive but not necessarily slow and gentle; it could be fast and harsh as well. As the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis explains, people from different cultures would form different kind of logics to understand the world (Mandelbaum, 1951, p.591). For instance, there is no tense in the Chinese grammar system, thus, English speakers can not understand why Asians constantly make mistakes when they
describe time. Based upon this notion, foreigners must struggle to adapt to a new culture, not because of their language skills, but because of the misunderstanding that could be evoked by various cultural values and logics. By systemizing the former academic scholars’ thoughts on cultural identity in the fields of communication and psychology; this research would discover the cultural identity-shifting process that occurs when people speak two different kinds of language. In order to understand these concepts, it is necessary to explore the idea of globalization.

**Globalization**

*Whether people fear globalization or not, they cannot escape it.*

Alexander Downer, Australian Foreign Minister (2004)

The 21st century is an epoch of Western domination, and a historical period when non-native speakers will largely exceed native speakers. The reason for this phenomenon is globalization. According to Marshall McLuhan (1962), “The new electronic interdependence recreates the world in the image of a global village” (The quotation page, retrieved November 26, 2006). The rapid growth of the Internet and Hollywood movies, which originated in the United States, is considered as two crucial factors that constantly push Western hegemony and brainwash people from the other parts of the world to accept Western ideologies. The following quote is an observation concerning the ongoing
Cultural identity-shifting 6

phenomenon of Western domination from the book *Postcolonial Studies and Beyond*:

Until the destruction of the World Trade Center changed the U.S. priorities, Western dominance over the global economy was affected largely through trade and technological imbalance, with international financial and banking systems, including the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, adding to and enforcing structural disparities put into place during the long years of imperial rule (Loomba et al., 2005, p. 15).

Therefore, it is natural that the majority of people from third world countries believe that English is an imperial imposer of cultural values that can only benefit Western countries (Kayman, 2004, p.13). To defend for English speaking countries, Kayman (2004) argues that “the success of English is presented as the result of the world’s desire for a language in which to communicate, not just with Anglophone nations, but with each other” (Kayman, 2004, p.4). However, regardless of the positive and negative perspectives regarding English, it is an undeniable truth that people from Eastern countries, such as China, Japan, Taiwan, and Korea, are deeply influenced by Western ideologies because of the Internet and Hollywood movies. Further, most Asians view the fluency of speaking English as an essential asset to take advantage of in job hunting. Based on the above description, the beginning quote of this section could be paraphrased as: “Whether people from the East fear English or not, they cannot escape it.” In general, English education would start before fifteen years of age and mainly take place in junior or senior high school in Asian countries. Some countries like Japan and Taiwan even start earlier; in private
institutions, children learn how to speak basic English starting at age nine.

Nonetheless, Lindemann conducted a study in 2005 to discover how native English speakers construct social categories for foreigners. The result of this study indicates that among various non-native speakers groups (including Mexico, China, India, Russia, Germany, France, and Italy), Mexico and China were the most negatively evaluated groups. To concentrate on the Asian group, Lindemann reports comments regarding how native speakers view the way that Asians speak English, an excerpt of these comments is listed as follows:

1) This country speaks very fast; I don’t know how they understand each other; the only way you know if these people are cursing you is if their voice rises.

2) Asians tend to speak choppy, high toned English and often leave out predicates in sentences; they speak English, but sometimes leave out some words.

3) Difficult to understand, hard time pronouncing many words w/r and l, many times forget to put plural “-s” on ends of words.

(Lindemann, 2005, pp.199-200)

Where have these comments come from? Why do Asians spend so many years learning English but still fail to be understood by native speakers? As Jensen (2003) indicates, “One’s cultural identity subsumes a broad range of beliefs and behaviors that one shares with members of one’s community” (p.190). An identity-shifting process would be initiated because of the misunderstandings that are evoked by different cultural logics. Imagine that you are participating in a language correction program. The main object of this program is
to help you remove all “-s” (the plural) in the end of every noun when you speak and write English. How many days, months, or even years do you think you can fully adapt to this kind of speaking style without making any spoken or written mistakes? If you are a native English speaker, extra effort is absolutely needed because you have already used to specify plural and singular when you use nouns in the sentences. How long does it take to change your speaking habit after you’ve already use it for twenty, thirty, or even more than forty years? The process of language learning is not about improving your speaking skills, but about adapting to the values of the host cultures. You have to immerse in a given culture and then you can be able to speak its language naturally; you can use its logic to view the world. Mead (1934) explains his idea on this perspective:

A person learns a new language and, as we say, gets a new soul. He puts himself into the attitude of those that make use of that language. He cannot read its literature, cannot converse with those that belong to that community, without taking on its peculiar attitudes. He becomes in that sense a different individual. You cannot convey a language as a pure abstraction; you inevitably in some degree convey also the life that lies behind it (p.254).

Further, corresponding to the notion of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, Christophersen (1973) claims that “nobody can know a language perfectly without associating himself to a large extent with the people who speak it” (as cited in Lamy, 1979, p.24). To further explain his idea, Christopersen states that language influences the minds of those who speak it; consequently, people using different language logic to classify their experiences and have
different world pictures (p.24). In addition, he asserts that “vocabulary of a language is a good indicator of the culture of its speakers, their interests and beliefs and scale of values” (Christophersen, 1973, p.25). In a sense, by speaking different kinds of language; people set the racial boundaries among nations to stress the uniqueness of their own identity. Marx Weber’s (1964) believes that “it is only with the emergence of a consciousness of difference from third persons who speak a different language that the fact that two persons speak the same language, and in that respect share a common situation, can lead them to a feeling of community” (pp. 138-139). To know how people from different geographical areas form different kind of logics to explain the world and how a bilingual speaker gets a new soul when adapt to another culture; the identity formation process during socialization is a vital perspective to understand when answering these questions.

Language and Identity

“Belladonna, n.: In Italian a beautiful lady; in English a deadly poison. A striking example of the essential identity of the two tongues.”

Ambrose Bierce, American Writer, Journalist and Editor, 1842-1914

In the first few years, the process of how a newcomer understands people in the host culture is comparable to completing a jigsaw puzzle. By collecting information piece by piece, eliminating misunderstanding, and trying to explain meaning clearly during
conversation, it might take several years to totally understand the host culture’s members talking and conveying their own thoughts in response to conversations. According to Peirce (1995), “It is through language that a person negotiates a sense of self within and across different sites at different points in time” (as cited in Miller, 1999, p.151). Based on this view, language constructs not only a person’s cognitive schema but also his/her social identity. Moreover, identity can be considered as a mutable process, as says by Ruth Wodak et al. (1999), “It is largely constructed through discourse practices which are continually redefined and negotiated within and outside the communities” (as cited in Carli et al., 2003).

The process of acquiring new linguistic, social and cultural practices has been described by Pavlenko (1998) as “self-translation.” When entering a new culture, a stage of self-transformation would emerge, this is “through discourse necessary for discursive assimilation, in which one is heard and read by others” (as cited in Miller, 1991, p. 151). To further explain how a foreigner adapts to the new environment, Miller continues, “For non-English speaking background speakers, the link between audibility and identity should be understood in the context of the multiple disruptions and discontinuities that have occurred in their lives, and also in relation to ethnicity” (p. 151). Partington and McCudden’s (1992) idea illustrates the difficulties a non-English speaker might go through when they encounter culture shock, they claims: “The great physical distance from the home country, linguistic change, often a change in social status, a disruption in social and family ties, cultural upheaval, and of course new educational, political and social systems”
(as cited in Miller, 1999, p. 152). Nevertheless, sometimes things go worse, as asserts by Farrell (1996), “Language variation has been shown to be potent means of discrimination within institutions” (as cited in Miller, 1999, p. 152). Discrimination that is formed by stereotype and prejudice could bring stress and anxiety to a foreigner, discourage them to speak the second language, and eventually impede the language improvement during the culture adaptation process. Under these kinds of situations, newcomers might briefly show symptoms of communication apprehension. That is, they might lose their confidence to speak the new language and fear conversation with host culture members.

Crabtree (2006) asserts that language competency “implies something about how useful a speaker’s skills are in a given language” (p.44). Symptoms that are caused by language incompetence include five categories: 1) Language problems (i.e., understanding of only the beginning or ending of a message.); 2) Hearing problems (i.e., partial understanding of messages); 3) Problem with speech clarity (i.e., speech being difficult to understand); 4) Fluency disruption (i.e., speech may sound “cluttered” or “jumbled.”); and 5) Voice disorders (i.e., feeling fatigued easily when he or she speaks.) (pp. 45-47). It is until some fluency is achieved that a foreigner can clearly convey his/her inner voice and eliminate the possible misinterpretations. Before this can happen, discrimination poses difficulties for an out-group member of a given culture. Based on the definition that is provided by Klinvex et al. (1999), discrimination is “making distinctions among people; unfavorable or unfair treatment of a person or class of persons” (pp. 16-17). What’s more, they also claimes that “while discrimination is usually viewed as deliberate, it does not
necessarily require malicious intent” (p. 17). Generally speaking, discrimination is often being exhibited in a subtle way. The one who possess prejudices or stereotypes towards foreigners does not usually realize that they are performing an act of discrimination. Dyer (1997) points out a common phenomenon that is usual in the United States today, he states, “Whereas Whites may speak of the race of their friends and colleagues in a friendly and accepting manner, they do not mention the Whiteness of the White people to which they refer…Whites are people, whereas other colours are something else” (as cited in Bahk & Jandt, 2004, p. 59). Following the above notion, McIntosh (1994) labels this phenomenon as “white privilege” (as cited in Bahk & Jandt, 2004, p. 59). Under white privilege, Bahk and Jandt states, “Non-Whites may be much more conscious of White privilege than Whites” (p. 59).

Furthermore, when the time comes, host culture members need to speak to a new arrival, they do not know when they make negative comments regarding his/her language speaking ability or accents; due to the diversity of cultural logics and speaking habits, such problems can not be solved in a short period of time. This is not a problem that a newcomer can solve immediately, because all they need is just more time to practice in order to express a different cultural logic. However, if the newcomer was discouraged in the beginning of cultural adaptation process, he/she might loss the motivation to improve the language skills and this will likely turn an extroverted person to an introverted one.

Similarly, a newcomer’s plight could also occur to a competent bilingual speaker. The mistakes of grammar and pronunciation would be amplified even if there are no
misunderstandings that take place at all. One story involves the way that people misunderstand each other even when the two parties of the conversation are both native English speakers. This story was provided by Striphias (2006); before the story, he asked the readers to consider the actual meaning of “on the up and up.” He indicated that these four words could signify two meanings: “on the level” and “on the increase.” What happened when a couple brings this phrase into their morning conversation? The story goes as follows:

But when [my colleague] asked his wife about it, she said that for her, that was the only thing it could mean. She didn’t know it could mean “one the level.” And what made it odder still was that they’d been married for twenty years, and both grew up in southern California. I had this image of the two of them sitting at the breakfast table. He asks, “Is your brother’s new business on the up and up?” And she says, “No, but he’s making do.” And they go on like that, with neither of them ever realizing that they’re talking at cross purposes (p.237).

In this sense, a stranger has no choice but to accept the negative comments due to a lack of language fluency and proficiency, but only because of his/her nationality. Regarding the strategy that can be applied to cope with discrimination, Peters’ (1997) insists that we do not have to worry too much about discrimination and just get ahead with the job. Most importantly, he encourages the new arrivals to look at the bright side of human beings, suggests that “when you do run into discrimination, it is often unconscious discrimination by someone who would be willing to change if you ask him” (p. 288). Therefore, a
foreigner should not put all the blame on the members of the host culture regarding the delay of his/her language acquisition process. Despite the negative judgment regarding a foreigner’s frequent speaking style; it is also possible that a newcomer would distort the host culture members’ attitudes toward him/her as an act of discrimination. To illustrate, an international student may believe that his/her classmates do not want to talk to him/her because of discrimination. However, as a matter of fact, these classmates may not possess enough experiences and knowledge of how to interact with a foreigner; they are not performing an act of discrimination, they are just simply worrying about being impolite to this international student, because they do not understand his/her culture.

How do foreigners deal with the double misunderstanding of circumstance and finding their voices in a new culture? Is it possible that the newcomers’ voices would gradually fade away when they fail to fit in the host culture? To provide the answers for these questions, the identity-shifting process that is evoked by the course of cultural adaptation should be considered as a critical angle to look at.

*The course of cultural identity-shifting*

*Language learners both lose and reconstruct their identity in the second language.*

James P. Lantolf, professor of the Pennsylvania State University (2000)
In order to develop a well-defined theory regarding the topic of cultural identity study, Gee (1996) devised a model to illustrate three elements that can have impact on cultural identity-shifting process; the original figure of this model is listed as follows:

Identity, Gee argues, is enacted through a three-way simultaneous interaction between: 1) language use, which refers as a particular social language or mixture of them; 2) contexts, which refers to a particular context; and 3) social memberships, which refers to the social or cultural group members that around a newcomer. Based on this model, identity is equal to the notion of “who we are and what we are doing” (as cited in Miller, 1999, p. 152). Any change to one aspect of this model will flow to the other aspects. In other words, each new context will have consequences in terms of social practices, memberships and language acquisition and use.

Moreover, Gardner and Smythe (1975) provide a clearer picture to the same topic.
Their model emphasizes four classes of variables, which are: 1) social milieu, which reflects the cultural beliefs concerning the importance, relevance, assumed determinants of success, and expected results of second language learning; 2) individual differences, which are represented by intelligence, language aptitude, motivation, and situational anxiety; 3) second language acquisition contexts, including both of the formal language training situations, like the language classroom and any other informal language experiences; and 4) outcomes, this variable can be divided into two categories: linguistic and non-linguistic. For instance, linguistic outcomes involve any aspect of achievement in the language, such as the development of some particular linguistic skill, the acquisition of some linguistic knowledge, improved fluency, etc. Meanwhile, the other one is the so-called “nonlinguistic outcomes,” could be referred to any other consequences of the language learning experience, including an interest in using the language, an open appreciation of the other language community and/or other group in general, increased motivation to learn more, etc. (as cited in Reynolds, 1990, pp. 48-49).

Further, from the point of the first language’s impact on the process of second language acquisition in academia, scholars such as Bankston and Zhou (1995) believes that a person who possesses “proficiency in a heritage provides the cognitive benefit of transferring language skills” (as cited in Maloof et al., 2006, p. 258). However, proficiency in the first language is one thing, speaking it overly in a given new cultural environment is another; Krashen (1981) asserts that “the use of the first language has been considered to interfere with the acquisition of the second language“ (as cited in Kim, 1988, p.122). To
clarify this idea, Krashen further explains: “The first-language users are likely to ‘fall back’ on old knowledge when they have not yet acquired enough of the second language” (P. 122). Hitherto, research concerning the topic of the first language’s impact on the second language acquisition is still barren in the field of communication and psychology, because the trend of cultural identity study turned into a focus on the ethnic group affinity at the end of 1970s.

Those who researched the topic of ethnic group affinity believes that the heritage group can help a newcomer in the very beginning; however, if this newcomer spends too much time with his/her heritage group fellows, these members would impede his/her adaptation process in the long run. Milroy (1982) provides an observation regarding the beginning stage of a international student’s need for psychological support, he points out that “a close-knit network structure was an important mechanism of language maintenance, in that speakers were able to form a cohesive group capable of resisting pressure, linguistic and social, from outside the group” (as cited in Kim, 1988, p. 122). To further explain the following stages of cultural confrontation, scholars such as Maloof et al. (2006) argues that the more a stranger emerges into his/her heritage group, the harder it will be for him/her to immerse in the environment of the host culture (p. 258).

Regarding the idea of ethnic group affinity, Kim (1988) made her comments based on her own experiences as an international student in her early years in the U.S. and currently as an international instructor in an academic institution; she claims:

Even though ethnic interpersonal relationships are helpful to new arrivals by giving
them access to information, emotional support, and other tangible material assistance, they may discourage strangers’ direct participation in the host communication processes, and, accordingly, slow down the process of adaptation to the host society (p. 123).

Ideally, it is good for a stranger to have a deep relationship with both groups. However, as a matter of fact, this might not happen. As claims by Gardner and Lambert (1972), a skilled bilingual speaker might feel somehow a loss of belonging to both groups because “bilingualism could be accompanied by deep-seated and vague feelings of no longer fully belonging to one’s own social group nor to the new one he has come to know” (as cited in Lamy, 1979, p. 26). In this sense, Schutz (1964) states that those who internalized another cultural schema of interpretation and expression to the point of being able to use it as the scheme of their own expression would, if one of the other were not opted for, become a cultural hybrid on the verge of two different patterns of group life, now knowing to which of them he belongs (as cited in Lamy, 1979, p. 24). To settle the feeling of uncertain identity, Clark and Gieve (2006) suggests that a foreigner’s new identity is better “shaped by what will be of relevance to new community, which lies in a third place between the cultural practices of home and abroad” (p. 67). As mentioned by Kim (1988), gradually, strangers’ habitual patterns of cognitive, affective, and behavioral responses undergo adaptive transformations. It is through the processes of deculturation and acculturation that some of the “old” cultural habits are replaced by new cultural habits. To further illustrate, she says, “Strangers acquire increasing proficiency in the host communication system, becoming
better able to express themselves and more effectively engage in spontaneous social transactions” (p. 138).

In summation, LaFromboise et al. (1993) believe that there are six skills needed for bicultural competence, which are: 1) knowledge of cultural beliefs and values, including an understanding of the basic perspectives of a given culture; 2) positive attitude toward both groups, in which the individual recognizes bicultural competence as a desirable goal in its own right; 3) bicultural efficacy, it is the belief, or confidence that one can live effectively, and in a satisfying manner, within two groups without compromising his/her sense of cultural identity; 4) communication competency, refers to an individual’s effectiveness in communicating ideas and feelings to members of a given culture, both verbally and nonverbally; 5) role repertoire, could be considered as the range of culturally or situationally appropriate behaviors or roles an individual has developed; the greater the range of behaviors or roles, the higher the level of cultural competence; and 6) groundedness, a person who is successful at managing a bicultural existence has established some form of stable social networks in both cultures (pp. 403-407). By using these six skills, a new identity can thus be shaped in a bicultural (or even multicultural) sphere. There is no need to choose values or logics between the heritage culture and the host culture. A mixed identity will emerge at the end of a cultural confrontation journey; and this new identity would be composed by advantages of both sides.

*Hybridity—an end of the journey*
Life is like an ever-shifting kaleidoscope - a slight change, and all patterns alter.

Sharon Salzberg

Here is the hybridity: A land that signifies an end of the journey. We all live in the 21st century global village. It is inevitable that we have to face the dilemma that is evoked by cultural diversity. To cope with this dilemma, the only rule a foreigner should follow is to embrace the differences. The whole process could be peaceful or restless, depending on various variables that were previously proposed in this research. Gradually, a stranger’s cognitive schema would change; and the way he/she views the world would also be entirely different. For future research direction, two subjects are suggested: 1) the first language’s impact on the second language’s acquisition; 2) how the foreigner’s personality influences the acquisition of the second language. The topic of cultural identity-shifting in the field of communication and psychology is a fertile land for exploration; it holds promise for qualitative researchers because of its nature; but for the lack of significant quantitative studies available limit the credibility of this field, that is, the beauty of hybridity should be represented not only by words, but also in numbers.

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Figure source

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RE: Proceedings submissions

Date: March 14, 2007

1. Title of the submission

Screening for the Co-occurring Disorders of Mental Health and Substance Abuse: What a Difference 5 Minutes can Make

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Screening for the co-occurring disorders of mental health and substance abuse has been recognized as a best practice (SAMHSA, 2005). Universal screening, however, is far from being a reality. This presentation will be the first public report on the analysis of a newly developed rapid-response screen designed to identify the co-existing disorders of mental health and substance abuse (the AC/OK Screen for Co-Occurring Disorders). The findings are based on the responses of 3,608 people who were screened between June and December of 2006. The participants were seeking treatment from one of four mental health centers, one of three substance abuse treatment providers, or one of two programs that treat people with a co-occurring disorder. The analysis of the data paints a disturbing picture of the treatment experiences for the 1,250 people who presented with the symptoms associated with a co-occurring disorder of mental health and substance abuse. The findings also illustrate the difference 5 minutes can make when it is used to screen for a co-occurring disorder.

The need for better treatment options for people with a co-occurring disorder received critical support when the 2002 National Survey on Drug Use and Health in the United States reported that over 22% of adults with a serious mental illness and those who abuse alcohol or other drugs have a co-occurring problem of mental health and substance abuse. A recent study of 23,000 people, admitted to a mental health or a substance abuse treatment program in Oklahoma, found that some 35% could be diagnosed with a co-existing mental health and substance abuse disorder (See OK-COSIG Year-End Report, 2006 at: http://faculty-staff.ou.edu/C/Andrew.L.Cherry-1.Jr/okcosig_project.htm).

The interest in developing a better infrastructure for treating people with a co-occurring disorder reached a critical mass politically with the report to Congress on Co-occurring Disorders (SAMHSA, 2002). Using the momentum generated by the report to Congress SAMHSA has been able to acquire the money to fund Co-occurring State Incentive Grant (COSIG) projects in 17 states. Hawaii has a COSIG state grant (See: http://coce.samhsa.gov/about/index_right.aspx?obj=7).
To provide increased and upgraded treatment options for people with a co-occurring disorder, one of the first steps is to identify people at risk. Screening is defined as a brief process that collects only enough detailed information to determine if the person needs a full, more sophisticated assessment. The screening process can also provide important information to potential consumers that can assist them in clarifying their own position regarding treatment (Health-Canada, 2002).

One of the major barriers to identifying people with a co-existing disorder has been the cost involved in assessment. This process has typically required two assessments. One assessment focused on mental health disorders. The second focused on substance abuse disorders. To eliminate part of this burden, a rapid-response screen was developed. The AC/OK Screen for Co-Occurring Disorders (Mental Health, Trauma & Substance Abuse) is intended to help determine if the person requesting help needs to be clinically assessed for a co-existing mental health and substance abuse problem.

The process used to determine the psychometric properties of this screen was first to verify that the questions in each of the subscales (mental health and substance abuse items) were conceptually related and if they could be reduced in number. The Factor Analysis Extraction procedure helped answer these questions. The Varimax rotated two factor solution indicates that there are two clearly separate conceptual dimensions and the number of items in the two scales could not be reduced. The factor solution also accounted for 57.25% of the variance among those being screened. Second, Cronbach Alpha coefficients were used as a statistical measure of the internal consistency of each of the two subscales. The Cronbach Alpha for the Mental Health screen was very good ($\alpha = .79$). The Cronbach Alpha for the Substance Abuse Screen was excellent ($\alpha = .89$).

Sensitivity and specificity were examined against the Client Assessment Record (CAR) assessment, the Addiction Severity Index (ASI) assessments, and the Axis I primary and secondary diagnoses (see Table 1). In this population, the AC/OK Screen (which takes five minutes to administer) agreed with the CAR Substance abuse scale in 90.5% of cases that the individual needed to be fully assessed for a co-occurring disorder. The AC/OK Screen agreement with the ASI Psychiatric scale was even more impressive. The AC/OK Screen agreed with the ASI Psychiatric scale in 96% of the cases that the individual needed a full assessment for a co-occurring disorder. Finally, the AC/OK Screen (which takes five minutes to administer) agreed with the DSM-IV diagnosis of a co-occurring disorder in 91% of the cases.

The AC/OK Screen also has a high level of sensitivity. As a result, the subscales produce a fair number of false positives. However, because the intent of the screen was to miss very few people who presented with symptomology associated with a co-occurring disorder, a higher number of false positives are considered acceptable. It is far more costly to miss a person needing treatment than it is to assess a few extra people. In practice, the AC/OK Screen will identify about twice as many people that will need a full assessment than will later be found to have a co-occurring disorder. If the AC/OK Screen becomes part of an intake protocol, 70% of those seeking services will need to be fully assessed for a co-existing disorder.

<table>
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<th>Specificity and Sensitivity</th>
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<td><strong>Specificity:</strong> AC/OK Screen Agreement with the</td>
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<td>CAR_sa, the ASI-psy, and the DSM-IV DX</td>
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The AC/OK Screen identified approximately 72% of all people screened as needing a full assessment to determine if the person has a co-occurring disorder. This is estimated to be twice the number of people who will be diagnosed with a co-occurring disorder after a full clinical assessment for both a mental health and substance abuse problem.

Although many of the barriers to universal screening for a co-occurring disorder are still intact (training, time involved, cost, and an infrastructure where everyone seeking mental health or substance abuse services is screened), the lack of a rapid response, co-occurring screen that is accurate, takes little training, and is easy to administer—has been eliminated. The statistical analysis of the AC/OK Screen has shown that this screen is highly reliable, valid, very sensitive, and has high levels of specificity.

What difference can 5 minutes make to a person who is seeking help for a co-existing disorder? Determining that a person has a co-existing disorder when he or she first asks for help can save an average of four and a half years of that person’s life. There is over a four year (4.4 yrs) difference in the average age of people in this study seeking treatment in a substance abuse treatment program (32.87 yrs) and those seeking help from a program providing treatment for a co-existing disorder (37.31 yrs). This could be the most valuable 5 minutes in the clinical experience of a person seeking help, considering the costs to the individual and the cost to society when a co-existing disorder goes unrecognized. Qualitative and quantitative findings from this study will be used to illustrate these assertions.

* A paper copy of the AC/OK Screen for Co-Occurring Disorders (Mental Health, Trauma & Substance Abuse) will be provided with Instructions to all participants. A website where an electronic copy of the Screen can be obtained will also be provided.
Individually-tailored health intervention messages have been shown to be more effective in inducing behavior change than "one-size fits all" persuasion and intervention messages. This has been shown in several health-related domains, including smoking cessation, increasing fruit and vegetable consumption, and mammography screening. Also, the degree of tailoring seems to matter as well, i.e., highly-tailored messages were found to be more effective in producing behavior changes than low-tailored messages. The present study examines whether or not the brain responds differentially to various types of health intervention messages, using functional magnetic resonance imaging technique. 24 smokers were scanned in a 3-Tesla fMRI scanner while listening to high vs. low tailored smoking cessation messages. We found that smokers receiving high-tailored smoking cessation messages (compared to low-tailored cessation messages) showed greater medial prefrontal cortex (MPFC) activation, consistent with the role of MPFC in processing self-relevant material. The results of these studies will begin to identify specific pathways for optimal message tailoring to make the largest impact on health behavior change.
Music, a Universal Language: Case of Playing a Classical Thai Song in Jazz Band

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Title Music, a Universal Language: Case of Playing a Classical Thai Song in Jazz Band

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Music is accepted as a universal language by being a universal communication leading to the mutual understanding. It transcends time and any country’s imaginary border. The music of certain region has its own uniqueness since its musical instruments and its style are harmoniously rhymed. Such music can traverse the other side of the globe such as from the Southeast Asia to the West or vice versa. However, when one tries to play a western song with Southeast Asian musical instruments such song may not be truly realized. For example, the bamboo xylophone is invented for playing Thai songs. To use the bamboo xylophone to play a western music style requires a lot of effort to infuse one culture to the other.

Since the world is getting smaller, musicians from different cultures can perform together to create a masterpiece. It will be a challenge for them if they use their own local musical instruments. The bamboo xylophone can be included in a Jazz band and can transfer the eastern spirit to the western music perfectly.

When used to play a eastern music with western style, an eastern musical instrument has to be adjusted in terms of 1) pitch and frequency and 2) ensemble and teamwork. These two characteristics distinguish the eastern musical instruments from the western ones.

Though they are different, since music is a universal language, the eastern musical instruments have to adopt the spirit of the western music completely. This thesis proposes the use of the bamboo xylophone in a Jazz band. The reason why the Jazz band is chosen because it features the drum kit, the electric bass and the electric guitar. It represents modern music.
The following changes are made to the soprano bamboo xylophone so that it can be used to play “Khang Kao Kin Kluay”.

1. The score for each musical instrument is written.
2. The Jazz band is assigned as accompaniment.
3. The soprano bamboo xylophone plays the major part.
4. The pitch and frequency of each instrument is adjusted.
5. The improvisation part of each instrument is assigned.

When the aforementioned process has been carried out, a musician can perfectly translate a classical Thai song into the western style through Thai and western musical instruments. This is considered a true definition of music, a universal language.
January 24, 2007

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b.) Topic: Psychology

c.) Presentation format: Poster session

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College Students’ Evaluations of the Current and Future Effects of Heavy Drinking: The Influence of Drinker and Rater Characteristics

Abstract

Episodic heavy drinking is a highly prevalent and persistent problem for U.S. college campuses; associated negative consequences for college drinkers, non-drinkers, and campus climate have been well-documented. Despite the considerable personal and institutional negative impact of college student heavy drinking, research has shown that most college students do not view heavy drinking, by themselves or their peers, as problematic. This study was designed to investigate factors that influence college students’ perceptions of the positive and negative effects of heavy drinking. Undergraduate students evaluate fictitious persons’ drinking behavior and its effects as described in standardized vignettes. Drinker age, gender, and role (student versus employee) are manipulated using a randomized 2 x 2 x 2 (gender by age by role) between-subjects factorial design. Other than these manipulated aspects of the vignettes, identical wording is used to describe the nature of drinking behavior and negative effects. After reading one of 8 vignettes, study participants generate open-ended responses to queries of what they perceive to be the important: a) positive effects of the person’s drinking now; b) negative effects of the person’s drinking now; c) positive effects of the person’s drinking in the future; and d) negative effects of the person’s drinking in the future. Open-ended responses will be content-coded, and then analyzed to test for potential differences in perceived current and future effects based on the drinker’s characteristics. We hypothesize that study participants will generate fewer current/future negative effects and more current/future positive effects for drinkers depicted as college students than for drinkers depicted as employees, and that a parallel pattern of differences will emerge for drinkers depicted as younger versus drinkers depicted as older in the vignettes. Secondary analyses will then test whether rater characteristics (college student age, gender, current alcohol use, and lifetime alcohol consequences) influence student perceptions of drinking effects. We hypothesize that younger students, heavier drinkers, and those with more lifetime negative consequences of drinking will view the drinking described in the vignette, regardless of vignette type, as having more positive and fewer negative effects. We do not have directional hypotheses about gender but will explore gender effects of both drinker and rater characteristics. Planned study enrollment of 200 students (current N=40; 47.5% male; 90% Caucasian) is scheduled to be completed this semester, with final data analyses available for the conference presentation.
a.) Title: College Students’ Evaluations of Problem Drinking Behavior: A Test of the Theory of Reasoned Action

b.) Topic: Psychology

c.) Presentation format: Paper session (preferred) or poster session

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Abstract

Heavy drinking and related consequences present a persistent challenge to college administrators. Prior research has shown that most college students accept much higher drinking levels than experts do when defining a drinking problem. This study was designed to investigate factors that influence college students’ judgments about heavy drinking. Undergraduate students (N=40; 47.5% male; 90% Caucasian) evaluated fictitious persons’ behaviors described in standardized vignettes. Students read one of eight vignettes that described either a male or a female, either 20 years old or 35 years old, who was either employed full-time or enrolled as a full-time college student. Each vignette represented one cell of a 2 x 2 x 2 (gender by age by role) between-subjects factorial design. Other than these manipulated aspects of the vignettes, identical wording was used to describe the nature of drinking behavior and negative effects. By holding these factors constant, responses to the vignettes determine the extent to which college students were influenced by individual and contextual factors when evaluating whether drinking is problematic. Analyses showed that contextual factors, more than demographic factors, accounted for how students evaluated the drinking behavior. Specifically, respondents rated drinking as significantly more problematic when an “employee” was doing the drinking compared with a “student” engaged in the same pattern of drinking, regardless of the age or the gender of the drinker (p<.05). College students rated the employee’s drinking as more in need of intervention, as having more negative effects, and as portending worse outcome in the future (all p’s < .05). Attributions about the employee’s drinking behavior were also rated as more internal and global compared with the student’s drinking (p’s < .05). Implications for future research and practical suggestions for college administrators are outlined. Data on the full sample of 200 students will be included in the conference presentation.
January 24, 2007

College Students’ Evaluations of Problem Drinking Behavior:  
A Test of the Theory of Reasoned Action

Drinking alcohol to excess is common for many college students. Heavy drinking is associated with academic underachievement and negative social and physical consequences (Hingson, Heeren, Winter & Weschler, 2005). College officials and others often express concern about the impact of heavy drinking on those students who drink to excess and their peers who are not alcohol abusers (Task Force on College Drinking, 2002). Notwithstanding the concern of officials and the fact that heavy drinking college students experience and report negative consequences of their excessive drinking, those college students do not, by-and-large, express concerns about their drinking or drinking’s consequences. Nor do they negatively evaluate their excessive drinking (Colby, Colby, LaChance, Raymond, & Bosack, 2002).

College student evaluations of others’ excessive drinking is not as benign. Indeed, research by us and others indicates that college students are quite critical of parents and professionals who drink excessively after college (Colby et al., 2002). College students may be relatively uncritical of their heavy drinking because of the perceived benefits of drinking while in college: Students report that drinking is an important social facilitator, especially in new social situations. When college students are asked to talk about the benefits and negative consequences of heavy drinking after college they continue to promote alcohol use as a social facilitator. However, as they talk about the prospect of a career and parenting, the potential for excessive alcohol use to cause problems in their lives emerges as a worrisome theme.

Several researchers have reported that the transition out of heavy drinking is likely to be driven by cognitive processes including student’s perceptions of real world exigencies (Schulenberg, O’Malley, Bachman, Wadsworth, & Johnston, 1996). Our recent work corroborates those expectations. Our work also suggests that student’s beliefs about a person’s self-worth can be an important cognitive determinant of drinking patterns. As our prior college cohort noted, it is permissible, even normative, for college students to drink excessively and maintain personal integrity. However, for persons who are parents or career professionals, drinking heavily is a reason for disdain (Colby et al., 2002; Colby, Colby, & Raymond, 2004).

The belief and expectation that drinking will facilitate social relationships in college leads, it would seem, to the decision to drink heavily in college. Expectations about roles and responsibilities after college and the consequences of not fulfilling role responsibilities because of heavy drinking tips the balance toward a decision to drink more moderately after college. This analysis points to a rational (if flawed) cognitive basis for college students to drink heavily or not, and is consistent with the predictions of the Theory of Reasoned Action (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975).
January 24, 2007

In this study, after we obtained informed consent for participation, we measured student’s assessments of fictitious persons’ behaviors described in standardized vignettes (cf., Alexander & Becker, 1978). A random sample of undergraduate college students read one of eight vignettes that described either a male or a female, either 20 years old or 35 years old, who was either employed full-time or enrolled as a full-time college student. Thus each vignette represented one cell of a completely crossed 2 x 2 x 2 (gender by age by role) between-subjects factorial design. Other than these manipulated aspects of the vignettes, identical wording was used in all vignettes in order to hold constant the nature of: drinking patterns (“about three nights per week, usually four or more drinks per night, sometimes quite a bit more than four”); negative physical effects (“sometimes has trouble remembering things he/she said or did the night before”); negative social effects (“occasionally has arguments with friends after drinking”); and negative effects on role functioning (“too hung over to make it to [classes/work] the next day”). By holding constant the amount of alcohol consumption described and the specific effects experienced, use of these vignettes can determine the extent to which college students are influenced by individual factors (age and gender) and contextual factors (employed versus in college) when evaluating whether drinking is problematic.

Based on recent studies of college students, including our own work, we predicted that the respondents would have more negative attitudes and more negative expectations about the consequences of the heavy drinking when the individual described in the vignette was older, working, and/or female. We further predicted that students’ negative evaluations of drinking behavior would be mediated by the extent to which behavior described within the vignette was perceived to be non-normative compared with “typical” members of the vignette individual’s referent group.

Results

Participants. Planned enrollment for this study is 200 undergraduate students, with an expected completion date of April, 2007. Preliminary data are presented for the first 40 participants. Participants to date include 19 male (47.5%) and 21 female undergraduate students enrolled full-time at a private Catholic college in the northeastern United States. Students were randomly selected from the Registrar’s list using a random numbers table to ensure representativeness of the sample. They range in age from 18 to 22 years old. All participants reported being non-Hispanic, 1 is Native American/Alaskan Native, 2 are Asian/Pacific Islander, 1 is Black/African American, and the rest are White/Caucasian, representative of the college population as a whole. Fifty percent of respondents reported engaging in no paid work during school; on average, students reported working 9 hours per week for pay. Asked to report on alcohol consumption in a typical week, 3 students (7.5%) reported no alcohol use; overall, students reported consuming 0 to 57 standard drinks per week (M = 13.7, SD = 11.5).

Hypothesis Testing. Based on limited power in this preliminary sample, analyses focused on testing main effects of the three independent variables related to the individual described in the vignette: gender, age, and role. Two-tailed alpha of 0.05 was selected a priori to determine significance of effects.
Gender. Independent t-tests were conducted to test whether student respondents evaluated drinking and consequences differently based on whether the vignette described a male or female. No significant effects were found for any of the dependent variables.

Age. Independent t-tests were conducted to test whether student respondents evaluated drinking and consequences differently based on whether the vignette described a 20 year old or a 35 year old. Students judged the 35-year-old’s drinking to be significantly more non-normative compared to his/her referent group (“typical” 35 year olds of the same gender and role as described in the vignette) than the 20-year-old’s drinking behavior, \( t(37) = -2.42, p < .05 \). Students estimated the 35-year old in the vignette to exceed his/her referent group by 10.7 drinks per week (SD = 8.7) on average, while the 20-year-old was estimated to exceed his/her referent group by 4.6 drinks per week (SD = 6.8) on average.

Role. Independent t-tests were conducted to test whether student respondents evaluated drinking and consequences differently based on whether the vignette described a full-time employee or a full-time student. Numerous significant effects were identified, with students judging the employee’s drinking more harshly than the student’s (identical) drinking.

Compared to the student’s drinking, the employee’s drinking was seen as more problematic, \( t(38) = -2.30, p < .05 \), as more in need of intervention, \( t(38) = -2.67, p < .05 \), and as having more negative effects now, \( t(38) = -3.42, p < .01 \). Regarding expectations for the future, respondents expected the employee’s drinking to lead to more negative effects in the future than the student’s drinking, \( t(37) = -2.49, p < .05 \), and believed it would be more difficult for the employee to change his/her drinking in the future compared with the student, \( t(38) = -3.73, p < .01 \).

In making attributions as to the cause of the drinking behavior, respondents rated the student’s drinking as being the result of more external (environmental) factors compared with the employee, whose drinking was more likely to be attributed to internal (personal) factors, \( t(38) = 3.38, p < .01 \). Respondents also rated the employee’s drinking as having more global effects (i.e., affecting all areas of his/her life) than the student’s drinking, \( t(38) = -2.23, p < .05 \).

Discussion

This study used standardized vignettes to test the hypothesis that college students evaluate drinking behavior and related consequences based, in part, on characteristics of the drinker and the context of the drinking behavior, independent of the amount of alcohol being consumed or the specific consequences being experienced. Two individual characteristics of the drinker (gender, age) and life context (employee vs. student) were manipulated while drinking patterns and consequences were held constant. Preliminary analyses found that contextual factors accounted for how respondents evaluated the drinking of an individual more than demographic factors. Specifically, respondents rated drinking and consequences as significantly more problematic when an employee was
doing the drinking compared with a student engaged in the same pattern of drinking, regardless of the age or the gender of the drinker. College students rated the employee’s drinking as more in need of intervention, as having more negative effects, and as portending worse outcome in the future. Attributions about the employee’s drinking behavior were also rated as more internal and global compared with the student’s drinking.

These findings enhance our understanding of prior research that has consistently shown that acknowledged pervasive heavy drinking and serious negative consequences among college students do not lead to problem identification or treatment-seeking for college students or their peers. College students have been shown to accept much higher drinking levels than experts do when defining a drinking problem in a peer, and a substantial minority resist labeling even very dangerous behaviors as indicative of a drinking problem (Posavac, 1993). The current study is the first to demonstrate that the potential reason for the discrepancy between expert and student ratings is the contextual factors that students are taking into account when making judgments. While experts focus on alcohol use patterns and number and severity of consequences experienced when making clinical, diagnostic judgments, students appear to weigh these criteria in the context of an individual’s life circumstance. College student drinking is seen as environmentally driven, having less pervasive effects, and being easier to change in the future. The quantitative findings from this randomized experiment are consonant with our prior qualitative findings that college students view college years as a “time out” from real-world responsibilities. Within that context, behavior and consequences that would ordinarily be judged as unacceptable are considered acceptable. Our focus group findings suggested that this evaluation was not specific to drinking but rather extended to risk-taking generally (Colby, Colby, & Raymond, manuscript in preparation). Students contended that one could take risks during college that would be unacceptable afterward because in college effects of risk-taking would only affect the individual, whereas after college effects would potentially impact a broader network of people (spouse/partner, children) and/or present a serious threat to career success. Indeed, students articulated rather elaborate decision rules for when behavior and consequences (including alcohol-related behavior and consequences) “mattered” or didn’t; all of these centered around the extent to which one’s transition to adulthood and the “real world” of career and family had been completed.

The current findings advance the field of college student drinking in providing additional insight into student resistance to changing drinking despite negative consequences. The methodology used also provides a paradigm that could be used to evaluate college student decision making and judgments related to other aspects of alcohol use and other risk-taking behaviors. For example, future studies could establish which specific types of consequences, and at what level of severity, greater levels of concern are elicited from college students related to college student drinking.

In terms of what these findings mean for college administrators, several conclusions can be made. First, it is essential for college administrators to understand that many college students perceive their college years to be a time out from the real world. Students see
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college drinking as a right of passage, and heavy drinking to be developmentally
appropriate and the norm on campus. Our current findings showed that it does not appear
to be the students’ age so much as the context of college life that accounts for
permissiveness toward heavy drinking. This is consistent with epidemiological data that
show college students tend to be heavier drinkers than same-age peers not attending
college (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2005).

Logically, one might reasonably argue that making college more similar to the real world
may lead students to change how they evaluate drinking and other risk behaviors that
occur in college. If so, this is the challenge to college administrators: How can we
fundamentally change student perceptions of college? We propose the following
suggestions and hope to evoke a discussion of others:

Students defend engaging in risk behaviors, including heavy drinking, during college
when they are responsible only to themselves. Students are less accepting of heavy
drinking after college if that drinking will impact negatively on one’s family or employer.
Thus, increasing students’ responsibility to others may reduce risk taking. One way to
accomplish this is through meaningful volunteerism in the community outside campus
boundaries. In fact, college campuses with higher rates of volunteerism have lower rates
of binge drinking than colleges with lower rates of volunteerism (Weitzman & Kawachi,
2000). Interestingly, this is not a finding at the individual level (e.g., # hours volunteered
by an individual student is not closely linked to how much that student drinks). Rather, it
is a finding at the campus level, suggesting that campuses with large numbers of
volunteering students may have a campus culture that is inconsistent with maintaining a
norm of heavy student drinking.

Students consider consequences on class performance as less important than
consequences on work performance; moreover, they perceive little connection between
classroom learning and future career applications (Colby, Colby & Raymond, 2004).
One strategy that could be employed by instructors is to make classroom learning
conditions more similar to “real-world” work conditions. For example, students suffering
from a prior night’s drinking can get by in class when inactivity in class is
inconsequential. The use of active learning strategies better approximates work
conditions by requiring consistent student participation for achievement. Similarly,
career-related internships build skills that students perceive as relevant to future career
success.

Finally, adults may unintentionally contribute to perceptions about college being
students’ last opportunity to have a good time before transitioning to the stressors and
responsibilities of the real world. Students in our focus group study quoted comments
from parents and classroom instructors that legitimized heavy drinking in college (Colby,
Colby, & Raymond, 2004). Thus, a relatively simple strategy would be to inform faculty
and parents about the impact of comments that promote widespread heavy drinking.
Raising consciousness about such comments may serve to limit them, so as not to
reinforce the perception that heavy drinking among college students is acceptable, even
expected.
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Limitations. Conclusions based on this study must be considered within the context of several limitations. First, the data collected for this study were drawn from a representative sample of undergraduate recruited from a private Catholic college in the Northeastern U.S. with a largely Caucasian student body. Findings will not necessarily generalize to all college campuses. Second, the current sample size (N=40) is small. While large enough to detect numerous significant main effects, the current sample is insufficient to conduct formal mediation analyses or to test interaction effects. The planned sample size is 200 which we anticipate obtaining by April 2007. Another consideration is our decision to use standardized vignettes. The use of vignettes is widespread in social sciences research and, as this study demonstrates, has the advantage of enabling the researcher to manipulate certain variables while holding others constant. They can be particularly useful for determining factors that influence attitudes and decision making. However, how students respond to a written vignette does not necessarily reflect how they would respond to a real-life situation. In the case of the current study, convergence between our findings and prior research using other methodologies supports the validity of the current methodology.

References


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1. Preparation for Change - the Automation of *Under Construction*, a Program to Enrich Individual Self-Esteem

2. Topic Area: Cross-disciplinary areas of Psychology and Computer Science

3. Paper Session

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Preparation for Change - the Automation of Under Construction, a Program to Enrich Individual Self-Esteem

Topic Area: Cross-disciplinary areas of Psychology and Computer Science

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Abstract: For the past several years the Department of Psychology at Texas Christian University (TCU) has been experimenting with a variety of motivational activities that could be used for the treatment of probationers receiving substance abuse treatment. These experiments, conducted as part of the CETOP project (Cognitive Enhancements for the Treatment of Probationers) [1] have involved the design and development of a variety of motivational games and activities used to improve early treatment engagement for probationers and an examination of each treatment’s corresponding differential effects on males and females.

To date, upper-division computer science students from the TCU Department of Computer Science have automated two of these activities. One such activity, “Downward Spiral” [2] (a board game similar to the game of Life®, but with the squares laid out as a spiral) is shown in Figure 1. A second, “Under Construction” (a four-part series of activities designed to motivate participants to effect changes in their lives) will be the focus of this paper.

Key words: psychology, self-esteem, computer science, substance abuse, probationers.

I. INTRODUCTION

Motivating people to initiate and sustain personal change is an exceedingly difficult undertaking [3,4]. “Although people have a vast capacity for personal change, they often do not do
it, even when well aware of the benefits.” [5] Motivational interviewing is one way to facilitate and foster personal change in an individual [6]. A second, promising approach has involved the use of motivational games and activities. To this end, the TCU Department of Psychology has worked to develop a variety of strength exploration activities for the purpose of motivating individuals (substance abusers) to undertake personal changes through self-exploration and self-regulation [7,8]. The purpose of these activities is to allow participants to better understand their strengths and weaknesses and to see how their strengths can be used to accomplish positive personal changes in their individual lives.

Many individuals have undertaken behavior changes only to suffer relapses – frequently after only very brief periods of time. To be truly successful, behavior change requires continual commitment and requires considerable time and energy. Behavior change is typically regarded primarily in terms of getting started — having long been recognized that meaningful changes must “come from within.”

As already mentioned, many individuals have the capacity to effect changes in their personal lives, yet fail to do it — even knowing the benefits. Research has shown that successful change requires:

1. Awareness of a need (or benefit) of changing,
2. Thinking about what one needs to do to make it happen,
3. Engaging in behavior directed toward the intended change (or goal), and
4. Maintaining this change over time [9].

Effective use of self-exploration and self-regulation plays a large role in an individual’s success in each of these areas. “Since both inappropriately high self-esteem and poor self-esteem have been shown to be problematic” [9], the TCU Psychology Department has worked to create a variety of engaging, mood enhancing, and self-esteem "calibrating" activities. One such activity,
“Downward Spiral” (see Figure 1), was designed to address the inappropriately high self-esteem problem by illustrating the downward spiral that an individual’s life can take when poor choices are made. A second activity, “Under Construction”, was designed to address the problem of low, or inappropriately high, self-esteem by allowing a participant to modify their self-esteem by making an assessment of personal resources and then by selecting areas of desired improvements [10].

II. UNDER CONSTRUCTION

“Under Construction” [11,12] was designed as a series of four interconnected activities/components (“The Tower of Strengths”, “Parts of You”, “Building Block Quotes”, and “Putting It Together”). The overall activity was designed to facilitate the development of a personal inventory of strengths while maintaining a perceived need for change. As mentioned earlier, it has been used primarily as a part of a set of activities to motivate clients in a mandated substance abuse treatment facility. However, the tool has utility in any setting where it is necessary to calibrate self-esteem and encourage people to use their strengths to make positive personal changes. This includes a wide diversity of treatment areas and includes both academic and business settings (such as career counseling and team building). Although it was designed as an adjunct to substance abuse treatment, “Under Construction” would also be useful in other clinical areas such as the treatment of eating disorders, alcohol abuse, compulsive behavior, and avoidance of unsafe sexual practices.

In particular, “Under Construction” includes activities that have been designed to:

1. Facilitate self-exploration into personal resources that individuals have (e.g. strengths, skills) or resources they can work on developing.

2. Facilitate self-regulation so that individuals can determine where they are now, where they want to be, and to develop personal goals for personal change.

3. Bring about an increased awareness of personal resources and/or strengths of individuals in an attempt to increase motivation and enhance self-efficacy.

As a stand-alone exercise, “Under Construction” is a four-part pen, paper, and board game activity that includes the “Tower of Strengths” (a self evaluation task in which individuals select strengths they have and strengths they desire), ”Parts of You” (another strengths assessment tool),
“Building Blocks” (selection and generation of motivational quotes that will help individuals focus on desired strengths), and a “Putting It Together” map (which clients can use to see how to apply their strengths and quotes to resolve a personal problem).

During the past several semesters, the TCU Department of Computer Science has collaborated with the Psychology Department and the TCU Institute of Behavioral Research (IBR) to create computerized versions of both “Downward Spiral” [13] and “Under Construction”. The purpose was to produce computerized versions that would be easier to distribute since all of the content for the games and their forms would be packaged as separate computer applications recorded to a compact disc (as opposed to their original physical form). The second advantage to having both activities in computer format is the greater maintainability and storage of data garnered from their use in rehabilitation centers. Rather than having to keep track of a large amount of paperwork and game pieces, all information needed for playing either game, completing the forms and processing the results is contained in an attractive virtual format that greatly mitigates the burden placed on rehabilitation administrators. Finally, it is important that various activities in each game be performed in a specified order. The computerized version of both games ensures that the “rules of the games” are followed; whereas previously a councilor/monitor was required to prevent cheating. Figure 2 shows the first window that an “Under Construction” user sees on “startup”.

A. The Tower of Strengths

“The Tower of Strengths” provides a method to take inventory of existing personal strengths and those that are desired. The activity involves identifying existing strengths from six different dimensions of self (Social, Thinking, Health/Performance, Emotional, Motivational, and Life View), as well as selecting strengths that the individuals would like to gain or develop. It is a self-evaluation task that asks an individual to select 10 strengths (from a list of 60) of which the person already possesses (existing strengths) and 5 desired (yet to be achieved) strengths. Based on these choices the individual fills
out the “Tower” map, and processes the chosen strengths more fully by considering what “Parts of You” the strengths came from and when in the past the strengths were useful. Figure 3 shows a sample of a filled-in “Tower of Strengths” map (which may be printed by the participant in order to allow discussion with a counselor).

B. Parts of You

In this activity (see Figure 4), participants choose what they believe to be the category of strengths in which they are strongest and weakest. Once this is completed, participants are then shown which categories they are truly the strongest and weakest in based on their responses to the Tower of Strengths form. Following this, the participant moves on to Building Block Quotes.

C. Building Block Quotes

In this activity, clients are instructed to make selections from a list of Building Block Quotes (each of which is intended to be pro-social and potentially useful both during and following treatment). Clients are instructed to choose quotes that will remind them to use their existing strengths or gain ideal strengths. They are encouraged to choose motivational quotes as a memory technique to allow them to focus on positive changes they would like to make (i.e., either gaining new strengths or setting new goals). The computerized version displays 100 quotes and allows the participant to pick four of them (a mechanism is also provided allowing the participant to insert his or her own quote). At the conclusion, the four selected quotes are displayed on the screen (or alternatively printed out). This interaction is illustrated in Figure 5.
D. Putting It Together

The overall “Under Construction” activity concludes with a Putting it Together worksheet used to help clients visualize how to apply their strengths and quotes to solve problems. In this module, participants choose a problem (or goal) to accomplish from different categories of problems/goals.

The client is then directed to choose one of their previously defined strengths (as specified in the Tower of Strength activity) and describe, in their own words, how the strength could be used to solve the problem or to achieve the goal just selected. The participant is asked to picture how that strength could help solve the problem or help reach the goal, and is then instructed to write about what he or she has pictured. Additionally, participants select which quote chosen in the Building Blocks module would help in the selected problem/goal and describe how this could be accomplished. As with the preceding activities in “Under Construction”, participants are guided through the process of filling out the forms in a prescribed order. In addition, as with other components, a mechanism is provided to print out the final form in order to facilitate discussion with a counselor. Figure 6 illustrates the final Putting It Together process.

Figure 5. “Building Block Quotes”

Figure 6. “Putting It Together”

III. SUMMARY

Although “Under Construction” was designed as a set of activities, the four components can be used separately. Members of the TCU Psychology Department believe that “The Tower of
Strengths” along with “Parts of You” would be appropriate mood enhancing and self-esteem boosters. The “Building Blocks Quotes” are also an enjoyable activity that blends nicely with the idea of positive affirmations, and “Putting It Together” gives participants the opportunity to practice using strengths and quotes on problems or goals. It can be used separately from the other activities, if participants have done some other type of strength and quote-based activity. Because of this requirement, it is the most difficult to implement by itself.

While the computerized version of “Under Construction” appears to have 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 version will maintain its effectiveness while facilitating transfer, distribution, and actual use of the intervention in treatment programs targeted to increasing a person’s self-esteem. Experimentation on the computerized version is expected to be initiated with college students in a coming semester. We believe that the computerized version will be rated as very engaging, and similar to earlier research with the pen and paper version, and that it will lead to increased internal motivation for change of clients receiving substance abuse treatment.

Many of the anticipated benefits of having a computerized version of “Under Construction” 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. With the automated version a potential user could easily download a free version of the software from a server. Additionally, updates, such as new quotations, sounds, and images, can be handled in a similar fashion.

References


Title: Examining the impact of racism on Asian and Pacific Islander Americans using racial identity theory

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Abstract

The present study examined the psychological effects of racism on Asian and Pacific Islander Americans (APIs). Racial identity theory was used to examine how members of various API ethnic groups may be differentially impacted by racism and racism-related stress. Results from this study indicated that the generalized, stereotypical notion that all APIs are free of racism and devoid of mental health risks may not always hold true. Some APIs appear to experience racism in ways indicative of higher distress levels and decreased psychological functioning. The findings of this study may offer clues on how racism and racial discrimination differentially impact APIs and provide implications concerning mental health services, research, and institutions catering to the API community.
AFRICANS IN AMERICA: TESTING THE APPLICABILITY OF THREE MIGRATION THEORIES *

Topic Area: Sociology

Presentation Format: Paper Session.

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AFRICANS IN AMERICA: TESTING THE APPLICABILITY OF THREE MIGRATION THEORIES

ABSTRACT

Data from the 2000 population census is used to assess how well three theoretical arguments account for differences in earnings among self-identified Black and White Male and Female “persons of African Origins” (African-Americans, African and Caribbean immigrants) in the United States. Findings of the study suggest that selectivity and cultural explanations are weak, and, insofar as the findings pertain to demand side arguments, the two immigrant groups appear to reap no advantage as they should according to theory. By contrast, the evidence indicate that race and gender, net of other variables such as education and nativity, are powerful predictors of earnings. Implications of the findings on the current debate on the continuing significance of race and gender for socioeconomic attainment in contemporary U.S. society are discussed.
AFRICANS IN AMERICA: TESTING THE APPLICABILITY OF THREE MIGRATION THEORIES

While the enduring significance of race and gender for socioeconomic attainment in the United States continues to be debated (Farley 1984; Wilson 1989; 1980; Jacobs 1989; Roos 1990; Tomaskovic-Devey 1993; Cancio, Evans, and Maume 1996), recent studies on the migration experience of black immigrants in the United States appear to suggest that both remain important variables for success in contemporary U.S. society (Butcher 1994; Corra under review; Dodoo 1991a-d, 1997; Kalmijn 1996; Model 1991, 1995). For example, in exploring “race differences in earnings between black and white Africans in America,” Dodoo and Takyi (2002) report “sizeable differences among immigrants who have relatively similar human capital.” (P. 913). They find that “Whites have annual earnings 80 per cent higher than their black counterparts, and the gap in hourly wage is almost 48 percent.” Notably, they report that “more than half (53 per cent) of the race difference in wages remains unexplained by earnings-related attributes such as education, occupation, and hours worked.” (Dodoo and Takyi 2002: 913). More recently, Corra and Kimuna (under review) found sizeable earnings difference between Black Males and Females (both immigrant and native-born) with similar levels of human capital.

By focusing on black immigrants in the United States, that research further highlights the added significance of immigrant status to the effects of race and gender on socioeconomic attainment in the U.S. and suggests that African immigrants fare worse than other immigrant groups in the United States. Dodoo’s (1997) study of the earnings attainment of male African-Americans, African and Caribbean immigrants in the U.S. labor market, for example, revealed
Africans initially indicating average hourly earnings that were higher than both Caribbean immigrants and native-born blacks. Controlling for “relevant earnings-related endowments,” however, revealed that “the African earnings advantage is erased and the Caribbean earnings is elevated above those of the African immigrants and the native-born blacks” (p. 527). Notably, Dodoo finds “a substantial African (but not Caribbean) disadvantage, wherein university degree holders … receive little, if any, reward for their degrees” (1997: 527).

Surprisingly, however, after more than a decade of research, much of the literature on black immigrants in the United States remains limited in scope. This is so because previous studies have either exclusively focused on one of the three noted main explanatory variables (immigrant status, race or gender) or only included a second as a proxy measure (See Corra under review; and Model 1991 for exceptions). In fact, relatively little research has treated gender as a main explanatory variable. And, for those that focus on immigrant status and/or race as main explanatory variables, analyses have frequently been limited to the experience of males (See Model 1995 for an exception): The attainment of African and/or Caribbean male immigrants, for example, compared to those of native-born blacks (Butcher 1994; KALMIJN 1996; Dodoo 1997); or immigrant black males compared to their white counterparts (Dodoo and Takyi 2002).

It follows that, while the effects of race, gender, and immigrant status on the earnings attainment of black immigrants in the United States (as compared to their native-born counterparts) have been previously studied, relatively little research has investigated the influence of the three jointly. Here I bring the three together by investigating the earnings attainment of self-identified black and white Male and Female African immigrants in the United States, their Caribbean counterparts, and native-born African-Americans.
Because migration theories suggest an immigrant advantage for the two immigrant
groups (Glazer & Moynihan 1963; Lewis 1983; Sowell 1978, 1981; Butcher 1994; Chiswick
1979; Foner 1985; Hossfeld 1994; Waters 1994a), I begin with a review of theoretical
explanations of the basis of such immigrant advantage in the section to follow. I then describe
the study and report its results. I conclude with theoretical and practical implications of the
findings and suggestions for future research.

THE IMMIGRANT ADVANTAGE: SOME THEORETICAL EXPLANATIONS

Traditional functionalist and human capital theories propose that familial and individual
resources are major determinants of individual skills, occupational attainment and labor market
earnings. Yet, despite the substantial evidence in support of this proposition, once relevant
human capital variables are controlled, immigrants and natives still typically exhibit differences
in earnings and related measures of socioeconomic attainment. The residual effect of group
membership as such has generally been attributed to one of three phenomena: The selectivity of
migration, premigration cultural legacies of country of origin, or differential treatment in the host
country (hereafter, demand-side). As discussed below, each of these three perspectives has some
relevance in delineating the attainment of “persons of African origins” in the United States (as
defined above). In the three subsections to follow, I review, albeit briefly, each of these three
theoretical perspectives.

Selectivity of Migration

Proponents of “Migration selectivity” argue that persons who migrate have markedly different
qualities from those who do not. The initial assumption was that migrants (especially economic
migrants) were more ambitious, diligent, and motivated than their non-migrant counterparts. It
follows that if traits are evenly distributed, then, on the average, persons who migrate ought to
exhibit more positive traits than those at the point of origin and at the point of destination.

More specifically, the selectivity perspective attributes immigrant success to a human capital advantage, which is said to be traceable to “migration selectivity” (Chiswick 1979; Butcher 1994). Migration selectivity is the proposition that migrants generally constitute a highly selected group, with positively valued traits that make them highly marketable in a competitive labor market. In turn, these favorable attributes are said to translate (after a period of adjustments) into post-migration success (Chiswick 1979).

In the case of black migrants in the United States, the most frequent comparison has been that between Caribbean immigrants and native-born blacks (Butcher 1994). Drawing on the selectivity thesis, for example, both Harrison’s (1992) and Waters’ (1994a) statistical analyses show a relative advantage in attainment for Caribbean immigrants over their native-born African-American counterparts.

Extending the selectivity thesis as such to African immigrants, one testable hypothesis is that Africans who immigrate to the United States are an even more selective group than Caribbean immigrants (Dodoo 1997). Given the duration and cost of their migration, both of which point to a greater likelihood of selectivity, African immigrants should exhibit greater levels of selectivity than their Caribbean counterparts.

Yet, as indicated above, some researchers have found, at least for males, an African immigrant disadvantage in earnings relative to Caribbean immigrants (Dodoo 1997). Since much of that research has almost exclusively focused on males, however, the place of gender as a main explanatory variable remains unclear.

Furthermore, some scholars have argued that recent immigrant flows from developing countries to the United States are of a poorer stock than their earlier counterparts (Borjas 1985);
and, consequently, have a reduced chance of success in a competitive labor market like that of the United States. Proponents of the “poorer stock” of recent immigrants from developing country argument point to the 1965 “family reunification and refugee act: The U.S. immigration law that encouraged family and refugee-based migrations; which, it is argued, give way to less positively selected migrants with reduced chances of success in the U.S. labor market (Borjas 1985). Borjas, for example, points to the lower “duration of stay effects” of more recent immigrant groups as an indicator of waning immigrant quality as such.

Dodoo (1997), however, argues that the case of African immigrants might be particularly different in this respect. He notes that “Although much of the African immigration to the United States has occurred since the passage of the 1965”“family reunification and refugee” law, it has spawned one of the highest educated of all migrant streams to America.” And that “immigrant” quality” has remained high despite increasing refugee activity on the African continent.” (P. 528).

Not withstanding Dodoo’s observations, however, his own research (1997) has found an African male immigrant disadvantage in earnings as compared to male Caribbean immigrants. Again, a question for the current study is the place of gender in this respect; and how each of race, gender, and immigrant status independently influence the process of attainment among the three groups of African origins as identified above.

**The Cultural Argument**

Proponents of the cultural perspective pose that migrating groups differ markedly in their cultural value-orientations. Some cultures nurture individualism, industriousness, commercialism, and the like, while others foster collectivism, familism, etc. These differing cultural value-orientations are said to manifest themselves into differing attitudes toward family,
education, work, and relocation itself (Sowell 1994).

From the cultural perspective, therefore, differing pre-migration cultural value-orientations among groups as such are said to be crucial determinants of post-migration group outcomes. Individuals with pre-migration cultural values that emphasize commercially useful traits, the argument goes, succeed more than those that do not. Hence, group post-migration outcomes are said to be attributable to pre-migration cultural legacies.

Some scholars, for example, note that some nations with a predominantly catholic orientation discourage business and commercialism (Sowell 1994). By contrast, some have praised the value-orientation of Catholicism (Greeley 1976).

Extending the foregoing to the labor market experiences of Blacks in the United States, some have argued that differences between black immigrants and their native-born counterparts are due to cultural factors, both historical and contemporary, which favor immigrant success (Glazer & Moynihan 1963; Sowell 1978, 1981; Lewis 1983). Such scholars attribute the relative success of Caribbean immigrants in the U.S. labor market, for example, to a purported greater achievement-orientation and work ethic; both of which are ascribed to their socialization in a favorable cultural environment--one in which they were the racial majority.

Again, a central question for the current study is whether or not the cultural argument holds true for African immigrants. In light of the reasons given for the professed success of Caribbean immigrants (socialization in a society where they were the racial minority and one free of the legacies of a U.S. style slavery), African immigrants should equally (if not more) exhibit the psyche of achievement orientation purported to be present among Caribbean immigrants. In comparison to Caribbean immigrants, African immigrants are from a cultural environment with greater racial homogeneity than Caribbean immigrants.
**Demand-Side Arguments**

Demand-side arguments attribute group differences in attainment to differential treatment in the host country. Some groups are desirable by members of the host country and others are not. Hence it is the differential treatment of members of groups as such that determine group outcomes.

Queuing theory, for example, conceives the labor market as an imaginary line of potential workers, arranged in such a way that members of the most desirable group are at the beginning of the queue and members of the least desirable are at the end (Hodge 1973; Lieberson 1980). Desirability may be a function of a number of social attributes, including race, nativity, and national origin. Gender is not a factor in the queue because men and women are assumed to occupy separate queues.

- “Queuing, or the relative position a group holds in the eyes of employers, comes to the fore when otherwise similar workers compete for the same reward. Employers are expected to give first preference to members of the group they esteem the most, moving down the queue as the supply of more favored groups dwindles … In a single labor market at a single moment in time, queuing is simply a way of describing the amount of discrimination or favoritism particular groups encounter.” (Model 1997:540).

From the discrimination/demand-side perspective, then, the so called “success” of Caribbean immigrants in the U.S. labor market is said to be due to a purported favorable perception that whites and employers have of immigrants as persons with “good” work ethics (Foner 1985; Hossfeld 1994; Waters 1994a).

Do Africans also benefit from this purported favorable impression of immigrants? Or are there other stereotypes of African immigrants that out-weigh such so called “favorable employer
impressions” of immigrants over native-born workers? Indeed, there is some evidence that suggests that African immigrants believe they face substantial discrimination (Scroggins 1989; Takougang 1995; Apraku 1996). While the extent of such discrimination is yet to be known, “It is not inconceivable that Africans may be received differently, and perhaps less favorably, than both Caribbean and American blacks.” (Dodoo 1997:530). Likewise, given the history of race relations in the United States, it is equally conceivable that black immigrants will be received less favorably than their white counterparts from the same region of origin. In fact, as noted above, at least one study found a race disadvantage for black immigrant males (Dodoo and Takyi 2002) and a second found that to be true for both Males and Females (Corra under review).

**HYPOTHESES**

Several hypotheses can be drawn from the foregoing discussion, including the four tested below:

Hypothesis 1: The earnings of the two immigrant groups will be significantly higher than those of their native-born counterparts.

Hypothesis 2: The earnings of African immigrants will be significantly higher than those of their Caribbean counterparts.

Hypothesis 3: The earnings of males will be significantly higher than those of their female counterparts.

Hypothesis 4: The earnings of whites will be significantly higher than those of their black counterparts.

**DATA AND METHODS**

This section describes the data and measures used for the analysis to follow. The data are taken from the 2000 census of the U.S. population: With the sample consisting of self-identified black/white African immigrants, their Caribbean-born counterparts, and native-born African
Americans included in the five-percent Integrated Public Use Microsamples (Hereafter, IPUMS), who were employed in 1999, were within the age range of 25-64 years, were not enrolled in school, and who reported positive annual earnings.

The selection of the two immigrant groups (African and Caribbean) for the study included self-identified black/white respondents who noted their birthplace in any of the African and Caribbean countries, respectively, stipulated by the census. The African American component of the sample includes those who identified themselves as black or white, were born within the United States to American parents, who do not report a specific country other than the United States as their ancestry. Following Dodoo (1997), the African-American sample was further restricted to a ten-percent sample, randomly drawn from the five-percent IPUMS (In contrast to Dodoo’s analysis, however, this restriction was only limited to the descriptive statistics presented in Tables 1&2; the multivariate analysis included the entire African-American sample in the 5% IPUMS). The resulting reduction of the number of African-Americans in the sample brings that number closer to per with those of the other two groups.

With the foregoing restrictions, the study sample includes 48,187 African Americans, 32,352 African immigrants, and 31,361 Caribbean immigrants. Of these, 5,494 indicated that they were white, 106,406 indicated that they were black, 53,128 were males, and 58,772 were females.

Variables

The study uses multivariate analysis to assess variations in logged hourly earnings, with three main explanatory variables: Following Dodoo (1997), a three-category “group-origin” variable

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1 Much of the analysis below follows Dodoo’s (1997) and Dodoo and Takyi’s (2002) analyses, which examine the earnings attainment of black males and black and white males in the United States, respectively. The current study endeavors to somewhat replicate these two studies with the addition of black and white females. Hence, much of the variable selection and method for the current study followed the two analyses therein.
(African-American, African Immigrant, and Caribbean immigrant), created from the original census ancestry variable, delineates respondents’ migration status. The other two main explanatory variables were Respondents’ race and gender. Measures of human capital, spatial location, marital status, and respondents’ year of immigration to the United States (if not native-born) were the other independent variables. The human capital measures include respondents’ years of schooling, their labor market experience, their English language proficiency, and a dummy variable measuring whether or not respondents have a college degree. The spatial location variables include a binary metropolitan/nonmetropolitan variable and region of residence—west, Northeast, Midwest, and South. In light of previous research suggesting employer preference for married employees (Roos 1990), a dummy variable controls for marital status. Finally, paralleling Dodoo’s (1997) analysis, a five category variable controls for period of migration to the United States—Post 1990s, 1985-90, 1975-84, 1965-74, and pre-1965. Each of these variables has been previously linked to the earnings of our selected groups (Butcher 1994; Dodoo 1991a-d, 1997; Dodoo and Takyi 2002; Kalmijn 1996; Model 1991, 1995; Roos 1990).

Characteristics of Sample

Table 1 presents the variables described above and characteristics of the sample, as defined by those variables.

[Table 1 about here]

As indicated in table 1, the selected sample was predominantly Southern and Northeastern residents, with Southern residents constituting about half of the sample (49.77%) and northeastern residents constituting just under a third of the sample (27.28%). By contrast,

2 Following Dodoo, potential experience (age minus years of schooling minus six) and its squared term are proxies of labor market experience (Mincer 1974).
about 10% (9.92) lived in the West and a little over 13% (13.03) lived in the Midwest. Furthermore, individuals in the selected sample were clearly metropolitan residents. Over 90% (90.14%) of individuals included in the sample were metropolitan residents. A greater number were single (50.84%) and female (52.64%), whereas most indicated being black (95.009%). The mean, median, and modal age of the sample all hover around 40-42. Looking at their migration pattern, most immigrants clearly migrated to the U.S. in the 1990s; with almost 80% migrating to this country during that time period. By contrast, very few immigrants migrated to the U.S. prior to 1965 (about 1.06%); with the combined migration to the U.S. from pre-1965 to 1990 being less than 20%.

Exploring the human capital measures reveals mean years of education of 12.76, which is a little less than the median and modal years of schooling of 12. Almost 20% of our sample had a college degree (19.65%), with most not having had a college degree (80.35%). Not surprisingly, then, the sample includes individuals with extensive labor market experience. In fact, it appears that most began working right after high school and continued working up to the time of the survey. Note the mean and median/modal years of labor market experience of 23.36 and 22, respectively, for the sample. Most also indicate their English speaking ability to be quite proficient. Only 0.33% indicated their English speaking ability to be none and only 2.34% indicated poor English language ability. Most indicated that they speak English very well (79.76%).

The work-related measures reveal some interesting patterns about the sample. Many worked almost round the year, 40 hours a week, 52 weeks in the year. For example, the median and modal hours of 2080 indicate that individuals working that amount of hours in the year on the average worked 52 weeks in the year, 40 hours a week. This evidence is born by the median and
modal usual hours worked per week of 40 and the median and modal weeks worked in 1999 of
51.1 and 52.0, respectively. By contrast, the mean hours worked in 1999 is 1887.63, which is
193 hours less than the median and modal hours of 2080.

Finally, the earnings measures reveal a much lower median wage and salary income for
the sample than both the mean and mode. As indicated in Table 1, the modal income for the
sample is $30,000, which is a little less than the mean income of $30,891.02, both of which are
higher than the median income of $25,000. By contrast, the modal hourly (1999) earnings for our
sample was $9.62; which is considerably less than the mean hourly earnings of $18.31; but
closer to the median hourly earnings of $12.98.  

SELECTED MEASURES OF DIFFERENCE: EARNINGS AND RELATED VARIABLES

Table 2 displays earnings and related measures for the seven groups under study and reveals
some notable differences among the comparison groups. For example, there is a sizeable
earnings difference between African-Americans and the two immigrant groups (Caribbean and
African), with both showing average earnings higher than the former. Notably, the average
earnings difference between African-Americans and African immigrants is $3,717.8, whereas
that between African-Americans and Caribbean immigrants is $2,894.14. In contrast, there is an
even greater earnings difference between males and females, with males on average earning
$8,232.42 more than females. Most notably, the highest earnings difference is between blacks

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3 Note that in either measure (annual wage and salary income and hourly earnings), the mean is higher than the
median, suggesting that the income measures are somewhat skewed. In fact, results of the univariate procedure (not
reported here, but available upon request) revealed that the income measures are highly skewed. To minimize the
impact of the skewness of our dependent variable on the results of our analysis, logged hourly earnings is used for
the multivariate part of the analysis below.
and whites. The $49701.87 earnings of whites is $19736.16 more than the $29965.71 earnings of blacks.

[Table 2 about here]

Exploring the human capital variables also reveals some noteworthy differences among the comparison groups. Most notable among these is the percent of whites with a college degree, as compared to that of blacks. Whereas almost 49% of whites had a college degree, only 18% of blacks did (this may account for some of the earnings difference between blacks and whites noted above). Also noteworthy is the fact that the percent of college degree holders is higher for both immigrant groups than their native-born counterparts, with African immigrants showing the highest percent of college degree holders among the three groups (27% versus 14.25% and 18.76%). Not surprisingly, the number of years of schooling for African immigrants is greater than those of the other two groups, with Caribbean immigrants and African-Americans having virtually identical numbers of years of schooling. Most interestingly, although the table shows a sizable earnings difference between males and females, there is virtually no difference in the number of years of schooling for the two groups (12.77 for females versus 12.74 for males); as well as the percent with a college degree (20.01% for males versus 19.50% for females).

The marriage variable reveals a higher percentage of married individuals for Caribbean immigrants than for African immigrants and African-Americans; with African-Americans showing the lowest percent of married persons among the three. Likewise, there were more married males than females (55.02% versus 44.12%, respectively) and more married whites than blacks (72.57% versus 48.08%, respectively).

The rest of the measures reveal similar patterns for the seven sub groups as those for the entire sample. For example, as with the entire sample, the spatial location variables indicate
similar patterns of residency for the seven subgroups. Most were metropolitan residents and resided mostly in the south and northeast. Similarly, most indicated being black, were around the average age of 40-42, and most immigrants immigrated to the U.S. around the 1990s.

In sum, the descriptive statistics presented in table 2 appear to reveal some clearly discernable patterns of difference among the seven comparison groups under study. Three of these are of particular interest to the current study: First, the two immigrant groups (African and Caribbean) indicate average earnings that are noticeably higher than that for their native-born counterparts (although that earnings advantage is also accompanied with a human capital advantage for the two immigrant groups). Second, while there was no variability in human capital between males and females, males exhibit a sizeable earnings advantage over females. Third, there is a sizeable earnings advantage for whites over blacks, although that earnings advantage is also accompanied with a human capital advantage.

Whether these patterns hold against further statistical scrutiny is the subject matter of the multivariate analyses presented in the section to immediately follow.

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS RESULTS

Table 3 presents OLS regression results for four models testing three of the four hypotheses noted above (The complete results of a fifth model, available upon request, are omitted; discussions in the text are restricted to findings related to the comparison in question—African immigrants versus Caribbean immigrants—because all other estimates are identical to those of Model 4). Model 1 measures the effects of each of our three main explanatory variables (group-origin/immigrant status, race and gender) on logged hourly earnings. Model 2 controls for year of immigration, as well as the three variables controlled in Model 1. Model 3 adds the human capital variables to the four variables controlled in model 2, whereas the forth model controls for
the net effects of all of our independent variables (including interactions between each of our three main explanatory variables and the college degree measure). Note that in Models 1 – 4, African-Americans are the reference category to African and Caribbean immigrants; whereas Females and Blacks are the reference categories to males and Whites, respectively. Finally, a fifth model controls for all the variables controlled in Model 4; but for the fact that African immigrants are the reference category for the group origin variable rather than African-Americans. For brevity, the few differences between estimates of that model and those of Model 4 are discussed in the text; the complete list of estimates are omitted because of similarity with results of Model 4.

It follows that Models 1 - 4 collectively test Hypotheses 1, 3 and 4; whereas Model 5 tests the Hypothesis 2.

[Table 3 about here]

As shown in table 3, results of model 1 indicate that each of our three main explanatory variables (race, gender and group-origin) had an independent and statistically significant effect on variations in hourly earnings. Looking at the estimates for Model 1, we see that African and Caribbean immigrants had a 5% and 9% earnings advantage, respectively, over their African-American counterparts. By contrast, females and blacks had hourly earnings that were 12.2% and 2% lower than Males and Whites, respectively.

Controlling for year of immigration in model 2 depresses the immigrant advantage by 2% and 6% for African and Caribbean immigrants, respectively. By contrast, while the earnings difference between Males and Females is unchanged (a 12.2% earnings disadvantage for Females), controlling for year of immigration in model 2 accentuates the earnings difference between Blacks and Whites by 14%: As indicated by the estimates for race in Models 1 and 2,
the earnings disadvantage for Blacks jumps from 2% in Model 1 to 16.4% in Model 2.

Furthermore, results of Model 2 suggest that the average hourly earnings of immigrants are considerably depressed by recent arrivals. For example, Compared to their pre-1965 counterparts and the native-born, immigrants arriving in the period of the 1990s had a 23.4% earnings disadvantage; whereas those arriving in the decade 1965-74 had earnings that are not significantly different from pre-1965 immigrants and the native-born.

Interestingly, after controlling for the human capital variables in model 3, the immigrant advantage completely disappears for both immigrant groups. In fact, results of model 3 indicate that, for African immigrants, the earnings advantage not only disappears; but the estimate becomes negative: The estimate for African immigrants in model 3 indicates that African immigrants now have earnings that are 5% less than African-Americans. Conversely, results of Model 3 indicate that the earnings of Caribbean immigrants are no longer significantly different from those of African-Americans. In other words, results of Model 3 clearly indicate no immigrant advantage for the two immigrant groups as suggested by migration theories; in fact, the results show an earnings disadvantage for African immigrants.

By contrast, the earnings difference between Males and Females is slightly accentuated in Model 3; whereas that between Blacks and Whites is dramatically decreased. The estimate for Model 3 shows the earnings disadvantage for females to slightly increase by 0.06 from Model 2 to Model 3 (12.2% versus 12.8%). Conversely, the estimate for Blacks decreases by about 11% from Model 2 to Model 3 (16.4% versus 5%). These findings are important in and of themselves; in that they clearly suggest that, for Females and African immigrants, the possession of superior human capital did not enhance their hourly earnings (an observation that is incidentally consistent with the descriptive statistics presented in Table 2).
When all of our independent variables are controlled in model 4, the earnings disadvantage for African immigrants is further accentuated; while the estimate for Caribbean immigrants remains positive but not statistically significant. Relative to African-Americans, results of Model 4 indicate a 17.4% earnings disadvantage for African immigrants (a 12% increase in earnings disadvantage from the estimate for model 3 to that for model 4).

Similarly, the earnings disadvantage for Females is also accentuated; whereas that for Blacks slightly declines. Rather than a 12.8% earnings disadvantage for Females (as in Model 3), Females now indicate a 14.4% earnings disadvantage to Males.

Given the professed centrality of education in upward mobility in the United States, model four also investigates the interaction of each of group origin, race and gender with college degree. As shown in table 3, results of model 4 indicate a highly significant negative (9%) coefficient for the African immigrant-college degree and Black-college degree interactions, while that for the Caribbean immigrant-college degree interaction is negative but not statistically significant. Note the highly significant (<0.0001) estimates for the African-College degree and Black-College degree interactions for model 4. The finding that African immigrants and Blacks appear to be rewarded less for their educational attainment is particularly noteworthy; given the professed value of education in American society and the continuing debate on the significance of race for socioeconomic attainment in contemporary U.S. society. By contrast, Female college degree holders had a relative earnings advantage over their Male counterparts. Note the highly significant (<0.0001) estimate for the Female-College interaction for model 4. In other words, while Females as an entire category were relatively disadvantaged in earnings as compared to their Male counterparts; Female college degree holders had a relative edge over their Male counterparts in hourly earnings.
Finally, contrary to suggestions from migration theories (See above), results of Model 5 (not shown in Table 3) indicate a relative earnings advantage for Caribbean immigrants. Results of that model show that Caribbean immigrants had a 2.7% earnings advantage over African immigrants ($P=0.0004; \text{sd}=0.00745$). Likewise, results of model 5 indicate that Caribbean immigrant college degree holders had an eight percent earnings advantage over their African counterparts ($P=<0.0001; \text{sd}=0.01415$).

Taken together, the results presented in Table 3 proffer strong support for two of our four hypotheses; while offering evidence contradicting the other two. Contrary to the Hypothesis 1, the two immigrant groups appear to reap no advantage as they should according to theory; that is, after controlling for earnings related measures. Similarly, African immigrants show no earnings advantage over Caribbean immigrants as they should according to the Hypothesis 2. By contrast, results of the multivariate analysis presented in Table 3 proffer strong support for the Hypotheses 3 and 4. The evidence indicate that race and gender, net of other variables such as education and nativity, are powerful predictors of earnings; suggesting the continuing significance of race and gender for socioeconomic attainment in contemporary U.S. society.

CONCLUSION

This paper has investigated the effects of immigrant status, gender and race on the earnings attainment of “persons of African origins” in the United States. Utilizing data from the 2000 population census, multivariate analysis was used to examine the earnings attainment of self-identified black and white African immigrants, their Caribbean counterparts and African-Americans. In doing so, the paper assesses how well three theoretical arguments account for differences in earnings among these three groups (see below).

Predictions drawn from migration theories suggest an immigrant advantage for the two
immigrant groups (Glazer & Moynihan 1963; Lewis 1983; Sowell 1978, 1981; Butcher 1994; Chiswick 1979; Foner 1985; Hossfeld 1994; Waters 1994a); and, likewise, implications from those theories also suggest an edge in socioeconomic attainment for African immigrants over Caribbean immigrants. Finally, the significance of race and gender for socioeconomic attainment in the United States is, of course, well noted in the literature (See Kerbo 2000 for an extensive review).

Hence, I predicted that 1) the two immigrant groups will show hourly earnings that are significantly lower than those of their native-born counterparts; 2) African immigrants will show hourly earnings that are significantly higher than Caribbean immigrants; 3) Females will exhibit hourly earnings that are significantly lower than Males; and 4) the hourly earnings of Blacks will be significantly lower than that for Whites.

With respect to these hypotheses, analysis of the study are somewhat mix. Two of the Hypotheses were supported and two were not. More specifically, results of the analysis revealed four notable findings:

1. While the earnings of the two immigrant groups initially exceed those of their native-born counterparts, controlling for earnings related measures erases the immigrant advantage and elevates the earnings of African-Americans over those of African immigrants; such that part of the African immigrant disadvantage in hourly earnings remains unexplained by those variables.

2. The analysis revealed an interaction between each of immigrant status, race and gender and college degree; such that the evidence suggests that African immigrant and Black college degree holders were rewarded less for their schooling than their African-American and white counterparts; whereas Female college degree holders were rewarded more than Male college degree holders. Such interaction shows no effect on the hourly
earnings of Caribbean immigrant college degree holders, as compared to their African-American counterparts.

- 3. Net of the effects of all of our independent variables (including relevant human capital variables such as education and labor market experience), the hourly earnings of females is shown to be considerably lower than that of males.

- 4. Compared to whites, the hourly earnings of blacks is shown to be significantly lower, with the earnings difference remaining even after controlling for earnings related measures.

Implications of these findings on the three theoretical positions discussed above, therefore, also remain mix. Which of the noted factors better explain the findings? Selectivity factors? Cultural factors? How about demand side factors?

For example, the findings clearly suggest that selectivity and cultural explanations are particularly weak. The two immigrant groups appear to reap no advantage as they should according to theory; that is, once relevant earnings related measures were controlled. In fact, one of the immigrant groups (Africans) are shown to be disadvantaged by their status.

By contrast, the evidence indicates that race and gender, net of other variables such as education and nativity, are powerful predictors of earnings. While the current data is not suited for an affirmative evaluation of demand-side arguments, therefore, discrimination remains a plausible explanation for the observed differences in earnings between these groups.

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4 Importantly, the three theoretical positions, not withstanding the limitations of them noted below, say very little about the influence of race and gender on socioeconomic attainment in the United States. Hence they offer little, if any, insights into the earnings difference between Males and Females of our sample, nor do they offer any for those between blacks and whites.
It follows that evidence from the study is clear on one point. That point is that race and gender remain important variables for socioeconomic attainment in contemporary U.S. society. That is to say, blacks and females remain relatively disadvantaged in the United States. Hence, rather than just focusing on immigrant status as a main explanatory variable, the current study suggests that more attention should be focused on gender and race as important explanatory variables.

A fruitful direction for future research, then, is to more fully disentangle the net/independent effect of each of our three explanatory variables (race, sex and group-origin) on the earnings of our selected groups. What are the main/direct effects of each on earnings? What are the indirect effects? Which variable is mediated by others? More complex structural equation models may shed light on these and related questions.

Furthermore, a useful addition to the comparisons in this paper may be one that differentiates the groups by race, gender and group-origin: African-American Males and Females versus African and Caribbean immigrant Males and Females; Black Males and Females versus White Males and Females; and immigrant Black Males and Females versus immigrant White Males and Females. Because race and gender intersect in unique and intricate ways in the United States, members of each of these groups may have qualitatively different labor market experiences than those of the other groups.
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Table 1: Descriptions of Variables and Sample of Self-Identified Black and White Male and Female African-Americans, African and Caribbean Immigrants in the United States (From 2000 5% IPUMS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native-Born/Migrant</td>
<td>A three category variable indicating whether respondent is native born or migrant: African Immigrant (28.91%), Caribbean Immigrant (28.03%), African-American (43.06%).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region</td>
<td>Region respondent lived at time of interview: Northeast (27.28%), South (49.77%), Midwest (13.03%), West (9.92%).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metro</td>
<td>A dichotomous variable indicating whether respondent was a metropolitan or non-metropolitan resident at the time of the survey: Metropolitan resident (90.14%), Non-metropolitan resident (9.86%).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>A dichotomous variable indicating respondent’s sex: Male (47.36%), Female (52.64%).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>A dichotomous variable indicating respondents marital status at the time of the survey: Married (49.16%), Not Married (50.84%).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>Respondent’s annual (1999) Wage and salary income (in constant 1999 dollars): Median = $25,000.00, Mean = $30891.02, mode = $30,000.00.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logged Hourly Earnings</td>
<td>Mean = 2.58, median = 2.56, mode = 2.26.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hours worked in 1989</td>
<td>mean = 1887.63, median &amp; mode = 2080.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Respondent’s actual age: Range = 25-64, Mean = 42.12, median = 41, mode = 40.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Number of years of schooling: Range = 0-22, Mean = 12.76, median &amp; mode = 12.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Language Proficiency</td>
<td>Respondent’s English speaking ability: None (0.33%), Very Well (79.76%), Well (12.65%), Good (5.24%), Poor (2.34%).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year of Immigration</td>
<td>Year in which respondent migrated to the U.S: Pre-1965 (1.06%), 1965-74 (4.15%), 1975-84 (8.45%), 1985-90 (6.54%), after 1990 (79.79%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>A dichotomous variable indicating respondent’s race (blacks and whites only): White respondents (4.91%), Black respondents (95.09%).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Degree</td>
<td>A dichotomous variable indicating whether respondent has a college degree or not: Non-College Degree Holder (80.35%), College degree Holder (19.65%).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor Market Experience</td>
<td>A proxy of respondent’s labor market experience (respondent’s age, minus respondent’s years of schooling, minus 6): Mean = 23.36, median &amp; mode = 22.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hours Worked</td>
<td>Usual hours worked per week: Mean = 32.15, median &amp; mode = 40.00.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weeks Worked</td>
<td>Weeks worked in 1999: Mean = 36.17, median = 51.1, mode = 52.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>111,900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2: Selected Measures of Difference among Self-Identified Black and White Male and Female African-Americans, African and Caribbean Immigrants in the United States (From 2000 5% IPUMS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>African American</th>
<th>African Immigrants</th>
<th>Caribbean Immigrants</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Annual (1999)</td>
<td>28,901.95</td>
<td>$32,619.7</td>
<td>31,796.09</td>
<td>35,043.98</td>
<td>26,811.5</td>
<td>49,701.87</td>
<td>29,965.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earnings 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earnings 17.84</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logged Hourly</td>
<td>2.53</td>
<td>2.62</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.84</td>
<td>2.56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earnings 2.51</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usual Hours Worked</td>
<td>31.39</td>
<td>33.96</td>
<td>34.62</td>
<td>34.39</td>
<td>32.02</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weeks Worked</td>
<td>35.21</td>
<td>21.89</td>
<td>38.74</td>
<td>29.91</td>
<td>37.18</td>
<td>36.11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hours worked in 1999</td>
<td>1871.55</td>
<td>35.31</td>
<td>1897</td>
<td>1994.41</td>
<td>34.69</td>
<td>2011.46</td>
<td>1882.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Capital</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of schooling</td>
<td>12.54</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>12.47</td>
<td>12.77</td>
<td>12.74</td>
<td>14.68</td>
<td>12.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Degree(%)</td>
<td>14.25</td>
<td>27.99</td>
<td>18.76</td>
<td>20.01</td>
<td>19.50</td>
<td>48.82</td>
<td>18.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of Experience</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>21.93</td>
<td>24.17</td>
<td>23.35</td>
<td>23.40</td>
<td>21.72</td>
<td>23.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Ability(%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>.005</td>
<td>0.43</td>
<td>0.73</td>
<td>0.02</td>
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<td>Only English at home</td>
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<td>Poor</td>
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<tr>
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<td>97.84</td>
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<td>Midwest</td>
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<td>83.11</td>
<td>55.02</td>
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<td>72.57</td>
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<td>Year of immigration (%)</td>
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<td>21.53</td>
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<td>7.93</td>
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<td>1975-84</td>
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<td>15.50</td>
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<td>1985-90</td>
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<td>80.9</td>
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<td>87.05</td>
<td>96.75</td>
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<td>28.14</td>
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<td>Age</td>
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<td>41.34</td>
<td>42.65</td>
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<td>31,361</td>
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Table 3: OLS Regression of Hourly Earnings on Group-Origin, Race and Gender (On sample from 2000 5% IPUMS)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Model 1</th>
<th>Model 2</th>
<th>Model 3</th>
<th>Model 4</th>
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<td>Intercept</td>
<td>15.213 (0.01078)***</td>
<td>19.91235</td>
<td>2.738521 (0.02322)***</td>
<td>2.721549 (0.02468)***</td>
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<tr>
<td>Group Origin</td>
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<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>0.047923 (0.00493)***</td>
<td>0.029497 (0.00509)***</td>
<td>-0.044614 (0.00478)***</td>
<td>-0.17419779 (0.00552)***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caribbean</td>
<td>0.086607 (0.00466)***</td>
<td>0.025592 (0.00568)***</td>
<td>0.008536 (0.00547)</td>
<td>0.007317 (0.00600)</td>
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<td>Sex</td>
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<tr>
<td>Female</td>
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<td>-0.12162 (0.00223)***</td>
<td>-0.12835 (0.00210)***</td>
<td>-0.143585 (0.00232)***</td>
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<tr>
<td>Race</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>-0.01887 (0.01069)***</td>
<td>-0.1641 (0.01070)***</td>
<td>-0.04947 (0.00997)***</td>
<td>-0.041993 (0.01320)***</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year of</td>
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<tr>
<td>Immigration</td>
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<td>-0.16016 (0.02127)**</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.03534 (0.02096)</td>
<td>-0.027184 (0.01978)</td>
<td>-0.056973 (0.02020)**</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.03942 (0.02095)</td>
<td>-0.02175 (0.01979)</td>
<td>-0.05456 (0.02021)**</td>
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<td>1990’s</td>
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<td>-0.23427 (0.02003)**</td>
<td>-0.041265 (0.01863)*</td>
<td>-0.045789 (0.01863)**</td>
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<tr>
<td>Human</td>
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<tr>
<td>Years of Schooling</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.065773 (0.00069676)**</td>
<td>0.066498 (0.00069786)**</td>
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<td>College Degree</td>
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<td>0.245267 (0.00430)***</td>
<td>0.259985 (0.02116)***</td>
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<td>Years of Experience</td>
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<td>Experience</td>
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<td>-0.000161357 (0.00000873)***</td>
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<tr>
<td>English Ability</td>
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<tr>
<td>English/non</td>
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<td>-0.14695 (0.04942)***</td>
<td>-0.14695</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>(0.04941)***</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-0.10135 (0.00903)***</td>
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<tr>
<td>English/poor</td>
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<td>-0.08534 (0.01286)***</td>
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<td>0.110866 (0.00213)***</td>
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<td>urban residence</td>
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<td>0.172596 (0.00315)***</td>
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<td>Region</td>
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<tr>
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<td>0.083634 (0.00292)***</td>
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<td>0.174732 (0.00310)***</td>
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<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>0.146886 (0.00371)***</td>
<td>0.14732 (0.00371)***</td>
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<td>Interactions</td>
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<td>(0.00541)***</td>
<td>(0.00541)***</td>
<td>(0.00541)***</td>
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<td>(0.02048)***</td>
<td>(0.02048)***</td>
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1. Title of the submission.

Consumers and Producers’ perceptions on the potentials impact of Bt cowpea introduction and dissemination for food security and poverty reduction in West Africa

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6. Abstract
Cowpeas are of vital importance to the livelihood of several millions of people in West Africa. It sustains the livelihoods of rural households for food, feed, and incomes. The demand for cowpeas in West Africa has been increasing because of high population growth, mainly from the urban areas, and also because the demand for low cost food and weaning food. Cowpea has a high potential for yield increase and lower crop losses if biotic and socio-economic constraints are addressed. Pest pressure on cowpea is the most important source of crop losses and can reduce yields to almost zero. Beside yield losses in the field, cowpea grains can be damaged by storage pests. Traditional methods and chemical insecticides have not been successful in controlling insects. Beside higher cost and availability, insecticides require sprayers, proper protection practices through training for effective use and lower health and pollution hazards with dangerous consequences. Biotechnology may offer a cost effective solution and significant opportunities for higher production and incomes. Cowpea insect pest (Maruca vitrata) is sensitive to Bt. Progress has been being made in developing a reliable genetic transformation of Bt. Bt proteins active against Maruca vitrata are being identified at Purdue University with support from the Bean/Cowpea Collaborative Research support program. The development of GMOs in general including Bt cowpea raises also controversial arrays of ethical issues and scientific risk assessment through testing becomes necessary before the release of biotechnology products.

To document the potential impact of biotechnology on cowpea productivity, incomes and welfare of cowpeas producers, consumers and other end-users involved in the value chain in Sub-Saharan Africa, a regional socio-economic survey was carried-out in Benin, Niger, Nigeria, Burkina-Faso and Mali in 2006. The study aims to assess producers’ and consumers’ preferences, acceptability, willingness-to-pay and adaptability of transgenic cowpea to local conditions in West Africa. Samples of farmers (788) and consumers (1120) were selected based on stratified random sampling, respectively in the main cowpea growing areas in each country and the main cities where cowpea trade is highly developed. Field surveys were conducted in rural and urban areas using structured questionnaires completed during face-to-face interviews.

The results show that:
(1) Information exchange and awareness are important for the adoption and large diffusion of Bt cowpea.
(2) Cowpea growers would prefer Bt to conventional cowpea seeds in the sense that they are willing to pay a higher price for Bt cowpea seeds.
(3) Given the potential of reducing health hazards by lowering the use of toxic synthetic pesticides, both farmers and consumers are willing to pay a premium price for Bt cowpea as an alternative to harmful cotton pesticides. The opportunity costs of using cotton insecticides include the economic losses encountered by the farm household when a family member is sick due to the misuse of chemical insecticides.
(4) Urban consumers in regional markets believe that Bt cowpea may be safer than conventional cowpea treated with chemicals.
(5) Bt cowpea will raise incomes substantially at the farm, household, community and regional levels.
ABSTRACT

Means of mass communication convey the news under the male dominance and within the male discourse. This situation prevailing all around the world is not different in Turkey. Women cannot have a say in the management of the mass media and mostly work in lower positions. Women take part in the news either as a mother or as a wife and these news are only about violence, harassment, rape, accident, illustrated magazine, health, nutrition, child etc. They are not the ones who are being consulted or whose ideas are requested.

This study is restricted with national daily newspapers POSTA, ZAMAN, HÜRRİYET, which have the highest circulation rate, and CUMHURİYET published with different viewpoint. The issues of these daily newspapers in a week, which compose the sampling in the study, are going to be examined by content analysis method and only the news about women will be discussed.

The aim of the study is to determine the position of the women who are employed in the staff which prepares the newspapers and to determine how the women are dealt within news articles.
In the light of this aim, in the sample national daily newspapers;

- The sex distribution of the people (reporter, journalist) who took part in the news production process,
- The topic distribution of the news in the newspapers,
- Under which topics men and women are mentioned in the newspapers,
- The sex, age and social position of the people mentioned in the newspapers,
- Whether the people mentioned in the newspapers are victims or survivor in respect to their sexes,
- The sex, age and social position of the individuals who were consulted on the news topics will be examined.
WOMEN IN NATIONAL NEWSPAPERS IN TURKEY

The concept of “social gender” is one of the most important concepts used in women’s studies. Two different gender concepts are found in the literature of social sciences. One is biological sex, and the other is the concept of social gender. Biological sex means the classification of people as “men” and “women” depending on their physical differences. Social gender, on the other hand, defines the different roles and behaviours of men and women within the society (Suğur, 2006, p 3).

The patriarchal understanding prefers to perceive being a woman and being a man as opposite ends, and tries to differentiate gender roles with a clear-cut separation. As a rule, there is a list of expectations for men consisting of “do”s and “be”s while the same list of expectations consists of “don’t”s for women. Similarly, what women are expected to do/be, men are forbidden to do/be. Men are expected to be tough, dominant, powerful, judging, determined, successful, independent, ambitious, active and effective solution finders, while women are expected to be benign, accommodating, weak, obedient, irresolute, unsuccessful, dependent, helpless and passive. This system has, for the sake of predetermined gender roles, divided into two those characteristics which make all of us a whole in terms of being human beings, assigning one half to men and the other to women, and thus, making us limited individuals lacking the other half of themselves (Navaro, 1996, p 29).

Every individual experiences the process of socialization to become a member of the society (s)he lives in, to fit in that society and to earn himself/herself a position in it. The individual gains/forms an identity through this process of socialization, in which the family, friends, the social environment, the school and means of mass communication all play a role. The socialization process assigns different identities to men and women in terms of their gender roles. One of the most basic elements of socialization is communication. The means of mass communication, which we all are involved with during our daily lives, play an important role in the socialization process as well.

Means of mass communication encompass various codes and indications related with the process of communication. These codes and indications, which are related with the value
judgements establishing the cultural content of society, are held together thanks to tradition, and meanings are built through traditions as well. Means of mass communication provide examples to the society, offer alternative perspectives, socialize people according to these perspectives, and reflect the society which they live in. Each of these means (newspapers, the radio, the television, the cinema, magazines and the Internet) has different features of their own; yet, what they have in common is that they are all available for mass access/utilization (Burton, 1995, p 39).

We all have a social gender, which is influential on every aspect of our lives. Those processes which produce and reproduce social genders never come to an end. Despite the fact that the social gender is not an identity which one is truly aware of, it is continuously produced in environments such as the media, workplace and our homes, depending on the structures of meanings and messages around us. The media has a particular importance in this process due to the fact that the television is the main and most common means of entertainment and information for a large section of society, and people spend a substantial part of their lives watching TV and reading newspapers or magazines. The media conveys the images of men and women as far as social genders are concerned. These images reflect those cultural values and expectations which shape gender roles. They define what is noteworthy, and what the society should see and hear. The descriptions/definitions of men and women by the media can help to create social gender definitions largely shared by the society, to reinforce and maintain these definitions, or to change them (Kaypakoğlu, 2004, p 93).

The most important function of the means of mass communication, which play an influential role on our socialization, is to inform us: to convey the news. Conveying the news is an activity of the public area, and all of this activity belongs to men. The non-presence of women in the public domain has naturally caused this activity to be dominated solely by men, in terms of both the addressed mass and the subject matter. Not only the news are constructed by and about men, but they are also created from a male perspective. And this goes beyond the people or institutions producing the news, determining the overall discourse of the news (Fiske, 1989, p 284).

Rakow and Kranich claim that the news employ a male narrative style, and thus, women are not considered as the directly addressed audience of the news. According to them, the woman who is the subject/topic of the news is regarded not as a speaking subject/person, but as an
image that supports the news (Rakow and Kranich, 1991, p 12). As can be understood from these views, it is seen that the male perspective has dominance when news are evaluated in terms of social gender. While those news, carrying patriarchal traces and being conveyed to men and women from this perspective, are broadcasted as the facts themselves, social identities of men and women are reproduced.

Means of mass communication convey the news under male dominance, and within male discourse. This situation prevailing all over the world is not different in Turkey. Women do not have a say in the management of means of mass communication, and they are often employed in minor positions. Women usually take part in the news as a wife or mother, as the subject of the news pieces about violence, harassment, rape, accidents, gossips and sensations, health, nutrition, children, etc. Women are often not present as consultants or opinion-providers.

The main aim of this study is to determine the position of the women who are employed as reporters in the staff of the newspapers, and to determine in which stories women appear on news articles and what the functions of women (subject, spokesperson, expert or commentator, personal experience, eye witness, popular opinion, other) in the news stories are.

In order to realize this goal in this study, the news stories of the determined newspapers have been examined using the content analysis method; and the basis of this study is “Global Media Monitoring Project,” the research covering the news on radio stations, television channels and newspapers every five year in 1995, 2000 and 2005. The study is restricted to certain newspapers published between January 29 and February 2 2007, which are the national daily newspapers Posta, Zaman and Hürriyet, having the three highest circulations in Turkey, and Cumhuriyet published with a different viewpoint from the above-mentioned newspapers. All the news excluding articles, comments, analysis, advertisements and cartoons on the first, second and the back pages of the newspapers, which provided the sampling for the study, have been examined. 172 news stories from Hürriyet, 179 news stories from Cumhuriyet, 246 news stories from Posta, and 145 news stories from Zaman have been examined, which makes a total of 742 news.
The analysis involves the following 15 questions and items:

Page number, subject, scope of the story, role, gender, age, occupation or position, function in the news story, family relationships, victim, survivor, is this person directly quoted in the story?, is there a photograph of this person?, are women central to the news in this story?, does the story clearly highlight issues concerning equality or in equality between women and men?, does the story clearly challenge or clearly reinforce stereotypes about women and/or men?, further analysis.

Of the 638 people covered in the four sample national daily newspapers that have been studied for five days, 203 are women and 435 are men. The ratios provided in this study have not been calculated over the total number of the cases but over the ratios of women and men within their own group.

**Subject**

When the news on the sample newspapers are analyzed in terms of their subjects, it is seen that the subject of “media, including new media (computers, Internet), portrayal of women and men, and pornography” ranks first with a rate of 11.5%. The subjects following the first one are the subject of “war, civil war, terrorism, state-based violence” with a rate of 8.4%, “family relations, inter-generational conflict, single parents” with a rate of 7.1%, “domestic politics/government (local, regional, national), elections, speeches, the political process” with a rate of 5.5%, “other stories on social or legal issues” with a rate of 5.4%, “economic policies, strategies, models (national, international)” with a rate of 5.3%, and “arts, entertainment, leisure, cinema, theatre, books and dance” with a rate of 5%. The subjects that have been covered the least on the newspaper stories are the “rural economy, agriculture, farming practices, agricultural policy, land rights”, “migration, refugees, asylum seekers, ethnic conflict, integration, racism, xenophobia” with a rate of 0.3%, “poverty, housing, social welfare, aid to those in need”, “other stories on science or health”, “development issues, sustainability, community development” with a rate of 0.4%, “other stories on politics and government”, “labour issues, strikes, trade unions, negotiations, employment, unemployment” with a rate of 0.7%. When the subjects of the news on the sample newspapers are analyzed in terms of the gender, it has been found that women are covered the most on the news with the subject of “media, including new media (computers, Internet), portrayal of women and/or men and pornography” with a rate of 28.1%, “family relations, inter-generational conflict, single parents” with a rate of 13.8%, “arts, entertainment, leisure, cinema, theatre, books, dance”
with a rate of 6.4%, “medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical research, funding (apart from HIV-AIDS)”, “gender-based violence, harassment, domestic violence, rape, trafficking, genital mutilation” with a rate of 5.9%, “other subject” with a rate of 5.4%, “beauty contests, models, fashion, beauty aids, cosmetic surgery” with a rate of 4.9%. It has also been found that women have not appeared on the news with the subjects of “other stories on politics and government”, “economic indicators, statistics, business, trade, stock markets”, “labour issues, strikes, trade unions, negotiations, employment, unemployment”, “rural economy, agriculture, farming practices, agricultural policy, land rights”, “consumer issues, consumer protection, regulation, prices, consumer fraud”, “science, technology, research, funding, discoveries, developments”, “other stories on science or health”, “religion, culture, tradition, controversies, teachings, celebrations, practices”. As for men, it has been found that they have appeared the most on the news with the subjects of “war, civil war, terrorism, state-based violence” with a rate of 12.4%, “economic policies, strategies, models (national, international)” with a rate of 7.8%, “domestic politics/government (local, regional, national), elections, speeches, the political process” with a rate of 7.6%, “other stories on social or legal issues” with a rate of 6.9%, “family relations, inter-generational conflict, single parents”, “media, including new media (computers, Internet), portrayal of women and/or men, pornography” with a rate of 5.7%, “non-violent crime, bribery, theft, drug-dealing, corruption, (including political corruption/malpractice)” with a rate of 5.1% where as they have been covered with a very low ratio on the news having the subjects of “poverty, housing, social welfare, aid to those in need”, “rural economy, agriculture, farming practices, agricultural policy, land rights, “development issues, sustainability, community development”, “migration, refugees, asylum seekers, ethnic conflict, integration, racism, xenophobia” with a rate of 0.2%, “other stories on science or health” with a rate of 0.5%, “labour issues, strikes, trade unions, negotiations, employment, unemployment”, “birth control, fertility, sterilisation, amniocentesis, termination of pregnancy” with a rate of 0.7%.

**Scope of story**

When the scope of stories are considered, it has been found that the stories with the highest number are “national” (have importance within my own country) stories with a rate of 54.4%, “national and other” (involve my country and other countries) stories have a rate of 19.7%, “foreign, international” (involve other countries or the world in general) stories have a rate of 14.2% while “local” (have importance within my city, community, area) stories have a rate of 11.7%. It has been found that on the analyzed stories, women have appeared on “local” stories
with a rate of 65%, “national” stories with a rate of 14.3%, “foreign and international” stories with a rate of 12.3%, and “national and other” stories with a rate of 8.4%, while men have appeared on “national” stories with a rate of 64.5%, “national and other” stories with a rate of 23.7%, “local” stories with a rate of 12% and finally “foreign and international” stories with a rate of 9.9%.

**Role**
The total of 742 stories on the newspapers that have been analyzed for five days involves reporters and journalists with a rate of 22.9% and have person in the news with a rate of 63.6%. 22.7% of the staff employed as reporters and journalists for the news on newspapers is women while 28.5% of the said staff is men.

**Gender-Age**
Out of the total of 742 stories on the sample newspapers, 58.6% of the people in the news is men while 27.4% of the said people is women and 14% of the people in question is the people whose gender is not known. When the ages of these people are analyzed, it has been revealed that the age of 50.8% of them is not mentioned; 14.6% of them has been found to be between 19 and 34; 2.2% of them has been found to be between 35 and 49, 2% of them has been found to be between 0 and 12, 1.6% of them has been found to be between 13 and 18, 1.3% of them has been found to be between 50 and 64, respectively. It has been found that 1.1% of them are 65 and above.

**Occupation or position**
When the occupation or position of the people covered on the news stories is considered, it has been discovered that “celebrities, artists, actors, writers, singers, radios or television personalities” take place the most on the news stories with a rate of 12.4%. This is followed by “government officials, politicians, presidents, government ministers, political leaders, political party staff, spokespersons” with a rate of 8.9%, people whose occupation are “not stated” with a rate of 6.6%, “business persons, executives, managers, entrepreneurs, economists, financial experts, stock brokers” with a rate of 5.7%, “students, pupils, schoolchildren” with a rate of 5.1%, “criminals, suspects” with a rate of 3.4%, “government employees, public servants, bureaucrats, diplomats, intelligence officers” with a rate of 3.2%. The following people have a very low coverage on news stories on newspapers; “children, young people (up to 18 years)” with a rate of 0.1%, “office or service worker, non-
management worker in office, store, restaurant, catering”, “villagers or residents engaged in unspecified occupations, retired people, pensioners” with a rate of 0.3%, “religious figures, priests, monks, rabbis, mullahs, nuns” with a rate of 0.4%, “agriculture, mining, fishing, forestry workers” with a rate of 0.5%, “homemakers, parents, either female or male and unemployed people” with a rate of 0.7%. When the occupations or positions of the people covered on newspapers are considered regarding their gender, it has been found that out of 203 women covered on newspapers 13.1% of them is “celebrities, artists, actors, writers, singers, radios or television personalities”, 5.1% of them is “students, pupils, schoolchildren”, 1.5% of them is “business people, executives, managers, entrepreneurs, economists, financial experts, stock brokers” while it has been found that women are not included among the occupation groups such as “government employees, public servants, bureaucrats, diplomats, intelligence officers”, “police, military and para-military groups, militia, prison officers, security officers, fire officers”, “science or technology professionals, engineers, technicians, computer specialists”. When their occupation was considered, it has been revealed that out of 435 men covered on newspaper stories 13.1% of them is “government officials, politicians, presidents, government ministers, political leaders, political party staff, spokespersons”, 7.4% of them is “business persons, executives, managers, entrepreneurs, economists, financial experts, stock brokers”, 6.1% of them is “celebrities, artists, actors, writers, singers, radio or television personalities” while it has been established that they have not been included at all in occupation groups which are “homemakers, parents, either female or male” and “children, young people (up to 18 years) ”.

**Function in the news story**

When the functions of 742 people covered in the news stories are studied, it has been found that the people have the following functions in the news stories; “subject” (the story is about this person or about something the person has done, said etc) with a rate of 41.1%, “spokesperson” (the person represents, or speaks on behalf of another person, a group or an organisation) with a rate of 13.5%, “expert or commentator” (the person provides additional information, opinion or comment, based on specialist knowledge or expertise) with a rate of 5.9%, “popular opinion” (the person's opinion is assumed to reflect that of the 'ordinary citizen' (e.g., in a street interview, vox populi etc) with a rate of 1.6%; it is implied that the person's point of view is shared by a wider group of people), “eye-witness” (the person gives testimony or comment, based on direct observation (e.g. being present at an event) with a rate of 0.5%, “do not know” (the person's function is not clear) with a rate of 0.6% and “personal
experience” (the person provides opinion or comment, based on individual personal experience; the opinion is not necessarily meant to reflect the views of a wider group) with a rate of 0.3%. When the function of people covered in the news stories is studied in terms of gender distribution, it has been revealed that out of 203 women and 435 men in total 29.9% and 33.9% of the “subjects” is women and men, respectively, 0.8% and 8.5% of the “experts or commentators” is women and men, respectively. As for “popular opinion”, there has been equality between men and women with a rate of 1.3%. 1.1% of the “spokespersons” is women while 20.1% is men. There are no women covered in news stories as a part of “personal experience” while 0.4% of it is men, there are no women covered as “eye-witnesses” whereas 0.8% of the “eye-witnesses” is men. As for the distribution of the function in the news story of the people covered in the news in terms of gender, women as the subjects have been included in the news about “media, including new media (computers, Internet), portrayal of women and/or men, pornography”, “family relations, inter-generational conflict, single parents” with a rate of 13.4%, “gender-based violence, harassment, domestic violence, rape, trafficking, genital mutilation” with a rate of 3.3% while men have been included in the news about “war, civil war, terrorism, state-based violence” with a rate of 9.2%, “family relations, inter-generational conflicts, single parents” with a rate of 4.9%, and “disasters, accidents, famines, earthquakes, floods, hurricanes, plane crashes and car crashes” with a rate of 4.3%. It has been found that women as “spokesperson” have taken place in the news stories about “environment, nature, pollution, global warming, ecology, tourism” with a rate of 2%, “poverty, housing, social welfare, aid to those in need”, “gender-based violence, harassment, domestic violence, rape, trafficking, genital mutilation”, “riots, demonstrations, public disorder” with a rate of 1%, while men have taken place in the news about “domestic politics/government (local, regional, national), elections, speeches, the political processes” with a rate of 22%, “economic policies, strategies, models (national, international)” with a rate of 19%, “other stories on social or legal issues” with a rate of 10%. Women as “experts or commentators” have taken place in the news about “environment, nature, pollution, global warming, ecology, tourism” with a rate of 6.8%, “other stories on crime and violence” with a rate of 2.3% whereas men have taken place in the news about “foreign/international politics, relations with other countries, negotiations, treaties, UN peacekeeping”, “war, civil war, terrorism, state-based violence”, “arts, entertainment, leisure, cinemas, theatres, books, dances” with a rate of 9.1%, “non-violent crimes, briberies, thefts, drug-dealings, corruptions, (including political corruption/malpractice) and “education, child care, nurseries, pre-school to university, adult education, literacy” with a rate of 6.8%, “labour issues, strikes, trade
unions, negotiations, employment, unemployment”, “other epidemics, viruses, contagions, BSE, SARS”, “human rights, women's rights, children's rights, gay & lesbian rights, rights of minorities” and “other stories on social or legal issues” with a rate of 4.5%  While women have not been included in news stories as “personal experiences” men have been included in the news about “war, civil war, terrorism, state-based violence” and “human rights, women's rights, children's rights, gay & lesbian rights, rights of minorities” with a rate of 50%. While women have not included in the news stories as “eye-witness”, men have been included in the stories about “medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical research, funding (apart from HIV-AIDS)”, “violent crimes, murders, abductions, kidnappings, assaults, drug-related violence”, “celebrity news, births, marriages, deaths, obituaries, famous people, royalty”, “media, including new media (computers, Internet), portrayal of women and/or men, pornography” with a rate of 25%. Women as “popular opinion” have taken place in the news about “media, including new media (computers, Internet), portrayal of women and/or men, pornography” with a rate of 16.7%, “arts, entertainment, leisure, cinema, theatre, books, dance”, “gender-based violence, harassment, domestic violence, rape, trafficking, genital mutilation”, “family law, family codes, property law, inheritance law and rights”, and “transport, traffic and roads” with a rate of 8.3% while men have taken place in the news about “transport, traffic, roads” and “other stories on crime and violence” with a rate of 16.7%, “war, civil war, terrorism, state-based violence”, “riots, demonstrations and public disorder” with a rate of 8.3% as “popular opinion”.

Family relationship
While 57.7% of the total of 742 news stories on the sample newspapers does not include definitions referring to family relationships (women are often defined in the news in terms of their familial relationships [wife of, daughter of etc.]. Men are sometimes defined in this way too [husband of, son of etc].) 5.9% of the news includes this sort of definitions. On the news including the said definitions, they have been used for women with a rate of 7.4% while only 1.9% of them has been used for men.

Victim
While 3.1% of the people covered in 742 news stories in total in newspapers has been the “victim of an accident, natural disaster, poverty, disease, illness”, 1.2% of them has been established as the “victim of other crimes, robbery, assault and murder”, 0.2% of them has been the “victim of domestic violence (by husband/wife/partner/other family member),
psychological violence, physical assault, marital rape, murder” 05%, of them has been the “victim of unknown crimes which can not be decided”. It has been found that 0.4% of them has been the “victim of non-domestic sexual violence or abuse, sexual harassment, rape, trafficking”, “victim of violation based on religion, tradition, cultural belief, genital mutilation, bride-burning”, and “victim of war, terrorism, vigilantism, state-based violence”, 0.1% of them has been found to be the “victim of discrimination based on gender, race, ethnicity, age, religion”. 56.5% of the people included in the news has not been depicted as victims in the news stories (not a victim). When the gender distribution of the people that are found to be victims is considered, it is seen that women are the “victims of an accident, natural disaster, poverty, disease, illness” with a rate of 2.3%, “victims of domestic violence (by husband/wife/partner/other family member), psychological violence, physical assault, marital rape, murder, and other crimes, robbery, assault, murder” with a rate of 1.1%, “victims of non-domestic sexual violence or abuse, sexual harassment, rape, and trafficking” with a rate of 0.4%, and finally “victims of discrimination based on gender, race, ethnicity, age, religion” with a rate of 0.2% while men have been found to be the “victims of an accident, natural disaster, poverty, disease, illness” (2.5%), “victim of other crime, robbery, assault, murder” (0.8%), “victim of war, terrorism, vigilantism, state-based violence” (0.6%), and “victim of violation based on religion, tradition, cultural belief, genital mutilation, bride-burning” (0.2%).

**Survivor**

0.3% of the people covered in 742 news stories in newspapers has been defined as the “survivors of an accident, natural disaster, poverty, disease, illness”. 0.1% of them has been found to be the “survivors of non-domestic sexual violence or abuse, sexual harassment, rape, trafficking” and “other survivors” while 63.1% of them has not been mentioned as a survivor (not a survivor). As for the gender distribution among the people depicted as survivors on the news stories, it has emerged that women have been included in only one news story as the survivor, and men on three news stories.

**Is this person directly quoted in this story?**

On the total of 742 stories in the sample newspapers, the opinions of the people included in the stories have been “directly” quoted with a rate of 41.7% while they have been quoted “indirectly” with a rate of 58.3%. 17.4% of the subjects whose opinions have been “directly” quoted is women and 15.4% of them is men. 1.5% of the people who are included in the news
as a spokesperson and whose opinions have been “directly” quoted is women and 40% of them is men. These figures change as 1.5% and 15.4% respectively for women and men for the experts or commentators of the news. As for popular opinions, the figures become 2.1% for women and 2.6% for men. Women do not appear as the personal experience and eye witness. The men who are included in the news as eye witnesses and whose opinions are directly quoted have a percentage of 1.5%. As to the men depicted as personal experience whose opinions are directly quoted, it has been found that they show a percentage of 1%.

**Is there a photograph of this person?**

35.4% of the people covered in 742 news stories in newspapers has a photograph, and 25.5% of them don’t. 2.4% of them has a photograph on the news story, yet it has not been determined for sure if the photograph in deed belongs to that particular person.

**Are women central to the news in the story?**

It has been discovered that women are central to only 14.2% of 742 news stories in newspapers. The news stories where women have been defined central to the news includes the following in order; “media, including new media (computers, Internet), portrayal of women and/or men, pornography”, “beauty contests, models, fashion, beauty aids, cosmetic surgery”, “family relations, inter-generational conflict, single parents”, “gender-based violence, harassment, domestic violence, rape, trafficking, genital mutilation”, “arts, entertainment, leisure, cinema, theatre, books, dance”, “medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical research, funding (apart from HIV-AIDS)”, “economic indicators, statistics, business, trade, stock markets”, “disaster, accident, famine, earthquake, flood, hurricane, plane crash, car crash”, “family law, family codes, property law, inheritance law and rights”, “education, child care, nurseries, pre-school to university, adult education, literacy”, “non-violent crime, bribery, theft, drug-dealing, corruption, (including political corruption/malpractice)” and “migration, refugees, asylum seekers, ethnic conflict, integration, racism, xenophobia”.

**Does the story clearly highlight issues concerning equality or inequality between women and men?**

It has been found that only 0.8% of 742 news stories in the newspapers the story clearly highlights issues concerning equality or inequality between women and men. The following is the ordered list of the subjects where the equality or inequality between women and men in
newspapers is clearly highlighted; “foreign/international politics, relations with other countries, negotiations, treaties, UN peacekeeping”, “family relations, inter-generational conflict, single parents” and “gender-based violence, harassment, domestic violence, rape, trafficking, genital mutilation”.

**Does the story clearly challenge or clearly reinforce stereotypes about women and/or men?**

It has been found that 42.6% of 742 news stories in newspapers the expressions that reinforce stereotypes about women and/or men are not known and cannot be decided while 3.5% of them clearly reinforces stereotypes, and 3.2% of them clearly challenges stereotypes. The stories that clearly challenge or clearly reinforce stereotypes about women and/or men are about the following, in order; “media, including new media (computers, Internet), portrayal of women and/or men, pornography”, “arts, entertainment, leisure, cinema, theatre, books, dance”, “medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical research, funding (apart from HIV-AIDS)”, “family relations, inter-generational conflict, single parents”, “human rights, women's rights, children's rights, gay & lesbian rights, rights of minorities”, “family law, family codes, property law, inheritance law and rights”, “beauty contests, models, fashion, beauty aids, cosmetic surgery” and “sports, events, players, facilities, training, policies, funding”.

**Further analysis**

Any of 724 news stories from the four sample national newspapers does not require further analysis.

**SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

Women stand out in means of mass communication with their traditional roles or gender identities. Although it would be in favor of women that the means of mass communication reach a great number of people, it reinforces the stereotypes due to the unfavourable content and presentation. Today, means of mass communication are among the institutions taking place in the process of generating stereotypes; however, the women identities presented in means of mass communication have not been able to offer a new identity to women apart from their traditional roles. On means of mass communication, women generally stand out
with either their traditional roles (a wife, mother, housewife, self-sacrificing woman) or their gender identities. In order for women to be the subject of news stories, they have to be involved in tragic events such as being sexually abused, raped, (the victim), being subjected to sexual violence, others cheating on them, being the reason of ending a marriage, and committing suicide. On the news stories where women are the subject, it is presented with a discourse similar to that of glossy magazines accompanied by unrelated photographs thereby stressing the gender identity of women.

When the news stories analysed in the study titled “Women in National Newspapers in Turkey” are evaluated in terms of their topics, “media, including new media (computers, Internet), portrayal of women and/or men, pornography” ranks the first with a rate of 11.5% while the news stories about “rural economy, agriculture, farming practices, agricultural policy, land rights” rank the last with a rate of 0.3%. When the topics of the news stories are analysed in terms of gender distribution, it is seen that women are included the most in the news about “media, including new media (computers, Internet), portrayal of women and/or men, pornography” (28.1%), which is followed by the news about “family relations, inter-generational conflict, single parents” (13.8%) and “arts, entertainment, leisure, cinema, theatre, books, dance” (6.4%), and are not included in “other stories on politics and government”, “labour issues, strikes, trade unions, negotiations, employment, unemployment” and “science, technology, research, funding, discoveries, developments”. Since women are mostly used as visual materials on media and stand out with their roles of being a mother and a wife, the topics of the news stories that include women turn out to be parallel with the given data.

When the scope of story on the newspapers is considered, it has been found that the news stories covering national (has importance within my own country) issues are in the first rank with a rate of %54.4. It has been discovered that in the analysed news stories women have been included in stories covering local (65%), national (14.3%), foreign and international (12.3%), national and other (8.4%) issues.

Women constitute 22.7% of the staff working as reporters and journalists working for the total of 742 news stories in the four sample national daily newspapers that have been studied for five days. This data show that the women working in media sector are often employed in minor positions.
When the occupations or positions of the people included in the news stories are evaluated, it has been found that “celebrities, artists, actors, writers, singers, radio or television personalities” are covered the most in the news with a rate of 12.4%. When the occupations or positions of the people included in the news stories are analysed in terms of gender distribution, it is seen that while 13.1% of 203 women taking place in newspapers are “celebrities, artists, writers, singers, radio or television personalities”, 5.1% of them are “students, pupils, schoolchildren”, women are not included in the occupation groups such as “government employees, public servants, bureaucrats, diplomats, intelligence officers”, “police, military, para-military groups, militia, prison officers, security officers, fire officers”, “science or technology professionals, engineers, technicians, computer specialists”. These data show that women dominantly appear as educators, health carers —as the society think they best fit women— and as artists, singers and the like where the visual aspect is stressed.

When the functions of 742 people covered in the news stories are studied, it has been found that the people have the following functions in the news stories; “subject” (the story is about this person or about something the person has done, said etc) with a rate of 41.1%. When the functions of the people covered in the news stories are studied in terms of gender distribution, it is seen that 29.9% of 203 women appears as the subject, 0.8% of them appears as the “expert or commentator”, 1.3% of them appears as the “popular opinion” and 1.1% of them appears as the “spokesperson” and that women don’t appear as the “personal experience” and the “eye-witness”. The topic distribution of the people included in the news stories in terms of gender, women appear as the “subject” (the story is about this person, or about something the person has done, said etc) with a rate of 13.4% in the news about “media, including new media (computers, Internet), portrayal of women and/or men, pornography”, “family relations, inter-generational conflict, single parents”, as the “spokesperson” in the news about “environment, nature, pollution, global warming, ecology, tourism” with a rate of 2%, “poverty, housing, social welfare, aid to those in need” 1%, as the “expert or commentator” in the news about “environment, nature, pollution, global warming, ecology, tourism” with a rate of 6.8%, “other stories on crime and violence” with a rate of 2.3%, as the “popular opinion” in the news about “media, including new media (computers, Internet), portrayal of women and/or men, pornography” with a rate of 16.7%, “arts, entertainment, leisure, cinema, theatre, books, dance” with a rate of 8.3% while they don’t appear as the “personal experience” and the “eye-witness”. These data show that women mostly appear in the news as
the “subject” but not as the “spokesperson”, “expert or commentator”, “personal experience”, “eye-witness”, and “popular opinion”, which discloses that the opinions of women are not considered important. And this is inline with the existing perception about the women in the society.

It has been found that the definitions including the wife, husband, son, and daughter as the family relationships in the 742 news stories from the sample newspapers are used for women with a rate of 7.4%. Compared to men, women more often appear on the news stories as the wife of, sister of, mother of etc. and become the subject of the news stories.

3.1% of the people in the 742 news stories on the newspapers are the “victim of an accident, natural disaster, poverty, disease, illness”, which is the highest rate. When the gender distribution of the people found to be the victims is considered, it has been revealed that 2.3% of 203 women in total is the “victim of an accident, natural disaster, poverty, disease, illness”, 1.1% of them is the “victim of domestic violence (by husband/wife/partner/other family member), psychological violence, physical assault, marital rape, murder”, and the “victim of other crime, robbery, assault, murder”, 0.4% of them is the “victim of non-domestic sexual violence or abuse, sexual harassment, rape, trafficking”, 0.2% of them is the “victim of discrimination based on gender, race, ethnicity, age, religion”. Alongside this, it has been found that 0.3% of the people covered in the total of 742 news stories is the “survivor of an accident, natural disaster, poverty, disease, illness”. As for the gender distribution of the people defined as the survivors on the news stories, it has been discovered that only 1% of 203 women in total is included in the stories as the survivor.

The opinions of 41.7% of the people in 742 news stories from the sample newspapers have been “directly” quoted and 58.3% of the opinions have been quoted “indirectly”. 17.4% of the subjects whose opinions have been “directly” quoted is women and 1.5% of the people who are included in the news as a “spokesperson” and whose opinions have been “directly” quoted is women. 2.1% of the people who are included in the news as a popular opinion and whose opinions have been directly quoted is women. Women do not exist in the news stories as the “personal experience” and “eye-witness”.

It has been discovered that women are central to only 14.2% of 742 news stories in newspapers. When the topics of the news stories where women have been defined central are
considered, the major topics have been defined as the following; “media, including new media (computers, Internet), portrayal of women and/or men, pornography”, “beauty contests, models, fashion, beauty aids, cosmetic surgery”, “family relations, inter-generational conflict, single parents”, “arts, entertainment, leisure, cinema, theatre, books, dance”, “medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical research, funding (apart from HIV-AIDS)”, “disaster, accident, famine, earthquake, flood, hurricane, plane crash, car crash”, “family law, family codes, property law, inheritance law and rights”, “education, child care, nurseries, preschool to university, adult education, literacy”, which are about the issues that fits the position of the women in the society and their gender. The news stories in newspapers that clearly highlight issues concerning equality or inequality between women and men include “foreign/international politics, relations with other countries, negotiations, treaties, UN peacekeeping”, “family relations, inter-generational conflict, single parents” and “gender-based violence, harassment, domestic violence, rape, trafficking, genital mutilation”. It has been established that out of 742 news stories in the newspapers, the stories that clearly challenge or clearly reinforce stereotypes about women and/or men are again mainly about issues that fits the position of the women in the society and their gender; “media, including new media (computers, Internet), portrayal of women and/or men, pornography”, “arts, entertainment, leisure, cinema, theatre, books, dance”, “medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical research, funding (apart from HIV-AIDS)”, “family relations, inter-generational conflict, single parents”, “human rights, women's rights, children's rights, gay & lesbian rights, rights of minorities”, “family law, family codes, property law, inheritance law and rights”, “beauty contests, models, fashion, beauty aids, and cosmetic surgery”.

To conclude, women employed in the media do not take place in decision taking positions and senior positions but employed in lower positions with lower payment. As the subject of the news, women are included in the topics and occupations that are parallel to the already existing positions in the society. Their opinions are not considered to be of importance and they stand out with their visuality. Besides, it has been established that the adjectives and descriptions used in the news stories are compatible with the stereotypes defined for men and women in the social system.
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Religion, Sexuality, and Terror Management

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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. This is follow-up study, advancing a pilot which first began to explore religion and TMT.

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

Abstract:
This paper describes the programming required for online homework and evaluates its use. Methods for student identification and for processing student input are presented. Evaluation is based on applications in my courses. Cost effectiveness is favored by large classes, numerous assignments, and a long horizon of intended use. Online homework was found to increase learning through increased student study-time allocations. Students felt that course website interaction was productive. They also indicated that online homework increased their perception of the value of lectures and that this approach would be welcome in other courses. All findings were highly statistically significant.
USING A DILEMMA-BASED APPROACH TO ETHICS:
LIFE LESSONS FOR COLLEGE SENIORS

Topic Area: Education - Philosophy

Presentation Format: Workshop (Paper will be submitted for proceedings)

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USING A DILEMMA-BASED APPROACH TO ETHICS:
LIFE LESSONS FOR COLLEGE SENIORS

In a capstone course intended to further prepare students for their professional future, college seniors were introduced to a dilemma-based approach to articulating and evaluating their own personal and professional values as well as the values of others. Qualitative data have been collected across two years to examine how student definitions of the terms “ethics” and “morals” as well as their identification of key personal and professional values might change over the term of a semester based on their exposure to the dilemma approach. In this workshop, participants will be introduced to the philosophical underpinnings of the dilemma format and practice the structured resolution process. Small workshop groups will discuss and present dilemma resolutions. Qualitative outcomes of the author’s study, e.g. changes that might have resulted from the pedagogical format, will be presented and compared to workshop participant group outcomes. Participants will reflect on the effectiveness of the dilemma approach and implications for its future use for critical problem solving and professional preparation.
USING A DILEMMA-BASED APPROACH TO ETHICS:
LIFE LESSONS FOR COLLEGE SENIORS

The first decade of the 21st century has borne witness to a number of corporate scandals and evidence of professional misconduct. Sadly, such misconduct has not been isolated to one particular domain, but encompasses such disciplines as journalism, religion, education, law, finance, public administration, real estate, and sports, to name just a few. Many scholars agree that the gradual decline in professional moral and ethical standards in American social institutions has increased over the past three decades (Allen, Bacdayan, Kowalski, & Roy, 2005; Callahan, 2004). Worse, researchers have concluded that unethical behavior, particularly cheating, has increased in high schools and universities across the United States (Leo, 2002; Mangan, 2006; McCabe, Trevino, & Butterfield, 2001; Schneider, 1999; Vincent & Meche, 2001). Such evidence suggests a mandate for ethics as a required curriculum component in academic disciplines in order to better prepare student professionals for their future careers.

The author of this study revised the content and pedagogical approach of a senior capstone course in the department of Family & Consumer Sciences in a mid-sized university in the Southeast. Over a period of two years, the author collected data about how students defined the terms “ethics” and “morals” as well as how they identified key personal and professional values in order to determine how these definitions and values might change over the term of a semester based on exposure to the course content and to the dilemma approach to understanding ethics.

Increasing Evidence of Unethical Behaviors among Students

Callahan (2004) suggested that the cheating evidenced on college campuses is understandable, because children today are taught from a very early age to win at all
costs. Many students at the high school level, pressured to compete to gain entrance to prestigious universities, have resorted to cheating as a means to an end: “The evidence is that a willingness to cheat has become the norm” (M. Josephson, as cited in Callahan, p. 203). In an annual survey of high-achieving high school students, 80% of students with A averages admitted to some form of academic dishonesty (Who’s Who Among American High School Students, 2000). Vincent & Meche (2001) studied 729 high school students in Louisiana. While the researchers found that the majority of students recognized unethical situations and chose ethically appropriate behaviors, they also found that 26% of the students did not recognize unethical situations, and 44% of the students indicated they would participate in unethical behavior.

McCabe et al. (2001) found 70% of college undergraduates admitted to having cheated at least once during college. Mangan (2006) reported that 56% of graduate students from 32 schools of business admitted to cheating in college. In a study of 1051 undergraduate and graduate business students, Nonis & Swift (2001) found several issues of concern: 1) students who believed that cheating or dishonest acts were acceptable were more likely to engage in such behaviors; and 2) students who engaged in dishonest acts in college were more likely to engage in such acts in the workplace. They also found that male students and younger students were more dishonest in college than female students and older students. Such disturbing findings suggest that cheating may have become normative behavior for today’s student (Nonis & Swift). Therefore, it is important to increase students’ awareness and understanding of unethical behavior in order to foster academic and, ultimately, workplace integrity.
The Academic Debate over Ethics Education

There is some disagreement among scholars about the effectiveness of ethics education in and of itself (Daehlen, 2005; Leo, 2002; Nesselroade, Williams, Nam, & McBride, 2006) and about the effectiveness of varying approaches to teaching ethics (Allen et al., 2005; Carroll, 2005; Kayes, 2002). Traditionally, ethics has been taught in the undergraduate and graduate curricula of disciplines such as medicine, nursing, healthcare, and counseling (Clarkeburn, 2002; Goldie, McCommachie, Schwartz, & Morrison, 2002; Wilson, 1999; Woogara, 2005). More recently, there has been a call to integrate ethics education into the required curriculum of other disciplines, notably business schools (Carroll, 2005; Farnsworth & Kleiner, 2003) and other colleges that prepare students for various professional careers (Adams, Dollahite, Gilbert, & Keim, 2001; Humbarger & DeVaney, 2005; Paulins & Lombardy, 2005; Roubanis, Garner, & Purcell, 2006).

Wilson (1999) argued that ethics education better prepared female nursing students to resolve ethical dilemmas. In her study, females who exhibited a propensity to making moral decisions based on an ethic of care orientation were willing to incorporate the male-oriented ethic of justice reasoning into their evaluation of ethical dilemmas as a consequence of exposure to ethics training. Clarkeburn (2002) noted that ethics taught with an aim toward forcing life sciences students to accept certain values may create problems. She recommended that the focus in such courses be on the process of moral decision-making along with increasing ethical sensitivity. Further, ethics education should be tailored to students who reason at different levels, most commonly associated with students who are just beginning a program in contrast to those who are nearing
completion of their studies. For example, Clarkeburn, Downie, Gray, and Matthew (2003) found that students made a natural progression in understanding and reasoning abilities and recommended that discussions of ethical dilemmas were more effective for upper-level students who understood the basic tenets of ethics and their relative application to moral reasoning.

Woogara (2005) noted that while ethics education is important, teaching ethics in large, diverse classrooms is counterproductive because students represent numerous different cultures and beliefs. Leo (2002) cited postmodernism as the culprit, suggesting that we have arrived at an era of moral relativism in which individuals, as products of a specific culture, are encouraged to view their own cultural norms as universal standards. Truth, then, becomes “whatever the tribe or individual says it is”. College professors who ascribe to postmodernism would be inclined to communicate to students that there are no real ethical standards (Leo).

Allen et al. (2005) examined the impact of ethics training on business student values by comparing freshmen and senior students’ perceptions of Maccoby’s instrumental values. They found that the increased emphasis on ethics in the business curriculum did not have a significant impact in changing the importance of “head” (thinking aspects) and “heart” (feeling aspects) values. The authors suggested that the imbalance of head/heart values was a result of the emphasis on logic and reasoning in the business curriculum. Etzioni (2002) came to a similar conclusion in his study of 2000 business graduates, concluding that business education not only fails to improve moral character, but weakens it. Similarly, Daehlen (2005) found only minimal changes in
student ratings of intrinsic and extrinsic job values as a result of higher education. The problem, then, may not be *that* ethics is taught, rather *how* it is taught.

Farnsworth & Kleiner (2003) recommended that ethics education be required in the business curriculum because it may help breach the gap in trust and legitimacy that has been experienced by businesses on the heels of recent corporate scandals. They also noted that the development of skills to recognize and analyze issues elicits a sense of moral obligation and personal responsibility and permits tolerance of moral disagreement and ambiguity (Farnsworth & Kleiner). The researchers indicated that colleges and universities are already charged with conveying the core values of each discipline and socializing students to oversee and maintain such values.

*The Dilemma-based Approach to Teaching Ethics*

Kayes (2002) presented a concise overview of the three primary historical approaches used to teaching values and ethics. The first approach, the values clarification approach (Rokeach, 1973, as cited in Kayes) helps students understand their own values orientation, providing an increased level of self-awareness and causing them to confront inconsistencies. Kohlberg’s moral reasoning approach incorporates critical thinking and the application of values to outcomes. This approach requires students to defend their values position according to progressive developmental stages, which contrasts with the first approach because it shifts emphasis from one’s values to applying those values to a situation requiring action. The third approach, the ethics instruction approach, emphasizes application of normative models of decision-making in applied settings, including utilitarianism, the Kantian categorical imperative, and Aristotelian virtue ethics.
In the course described in this paper, the author combined all three of the above approaches to ethics instruction because each had merit. In addition, the author used a pedagogical constructivist framework, e.g. creating an environment in which students drew upon their personal experiences to build new knowledge (Paulins & Lombardy, 2005). While it may be argued that such an multi-dimensional approach might cause confusion, it seemed that the combination of the approaches helped to enhance the course emphasis on the validity of alternative opinions and courses of actions and the importance of considering multiple perspectives. Further, the introduction of several analytical approaches enhanced the new knowledge that resulted from evaluations and discussions of the ethical dilemmas.

**Course Structure and Pedagogical Approach**

The Family & Consumer Sciences (FCS) Department at the university at which this study was conducted houses several professional preparation programs, including Foods & Nutrition, Dietetics, Hospitality Management, Interior Design, Fashion & Retail Merchandising, Family Studies, and a generalist program in FCS as well as a teaching certification program. All students majoring in one of these programs are required to take a senior-level capstone course entitled Senior Seminar for Professional Development.

In 2005, the content of this course was significantly revised to include ethics education. The aim of the course revision was to expose students to the basic tenets of ethics and moral reasoning through simple, topical reading materials and structured analysis of ethical dilemmas in order to better prepare them for addressing similar issues in their professional lives. Since its revision, approximately 30 students have taken the course each semester.
Students spend the first eight weeks of each semester reading about and discussing ethics. Reading for the course includes *The Cheating Culture* by David Callahan, *How Good People Make Tough Choices* by Rushworth Kidder, a number of short news articles, as well as some brief readings from a business ethics text. On a class-by-class basis, students are broken into small groups to discuss resolutions to various ethical dilemmas. They then present the analysis of their dilemma to the class as a whole. Analysis and resolutions are structured in much the same manner as Kayes (2002), who suggested the following:

1. think critically about the problems,
2. account for the multiple competing values that arise during decision making,
3. recognize and explicate personal values and their influence on decision making,
4. and apply ethical decisions by analogy (p. 310)

Within the first couple weeks of the semester, students learn basic philosophical approaches to resolving dilemmas: utilitarianism, the Kantian categorical imperative, and Aristotelian virtue ethics, as well as the application of Kohlberg’s moral reasoning stages. Once these structured resolution processes have been explicated, students are asked to apply each of the resolution processes to the dilemmas. The purpose of such an approach is the practice of applying different types of reasoning to resolutions. In so doing, students accomplish two things: 1) alternative solutions to dilemmas are explored, and 2) acknowledgment and appreciation of different opinions are acquired. Students conduct these analyses both in groups and individually, orally and in writing.
Initially, dilemmas of a general nature are presented and discussed. Their purpose is to provoke discussion, permit students to express opinions and to begin to explore morals and values. The teacher plays the role of facilitator, encouraging debate, prompting explications, and ensuring that all students have a chance to voice their opinions. After several week of such general discussions, the content of dilemmas progresses to issues of concern in professional environments, including such topics as confidentiality, discrimination, and business tactics. Having begun to explore their values on a personal level, students are thus prompted to begin to explore them in a professional setting. Additional dilemmas that address social and moral responsibility of both companies and individuals are also discussed. Students are encouraged to think beyond what works for them and to consider aspects of moral responsibility to the group, to the profession, and to society.

Another important component of this course is the use of private weekly journal entries. Students are asked to write a brief commentary on some aspect of the class discussion, the readings, or an issue of concern to them in their own lives. The instructor reads and responds to all student journal entries. While not anonymous, the journals become a sort of private dialogue between the instructor and the student that accomplishes many things. First, journal entries give students an opportunity to further discuss classroom dilemmas. Often, students proffer their own resolution to certain dilemmas or clarify thinking on the issues raised by the dilemma – clarification that may not have been communicated in the class setting or that comes as a result of reflection after the class discussion.
Students may also use the journal entry to discuss a particular issue with which they are dealing. This may be an issue in their personal life, at their job, or on campus. In most instances, students have been prompted to present this issue because it parallels a class discussion. Many times, students will draw upon some of the dilemma resolution structures they have learned in order to work their way through the issue. While it is not the instructor’s role to offer advice, there is an opportunity to provide clarification or additional resources to the student.

It is under the guise of the journal entry that students are asked to present their thoughts in response to the following questions:

1) How would you define the term “morals”?
2) How would you define the term “ethics”?
3) What are the five personal values you think are important?
4) What are the five professional values you think are important?

Students are asked to respond to these questions as part of their first journal entry, and as part of their final journal entry at the end of the course. A content analysis of their responses has been conducted to accomplish two objectives: 1) to identify general themes, similarities and differences, and 2) to examine any changes that may have occurred during the semester as a result of exposure to course content and methods. It is understood that changes that have occurred may have also been influenced by outside events or individuals.

**Course Outcomes and Evaluation**

Qualitative data were collected from four classes taught during the 2005 and 2006 academic years. A total of 107 students completed the course during that period. For
purposes of analysis, all student responses (four classes) to each of the questions cited above were grouped together and evaluated as Beginning-of Semester (BOS) responses and End-of-Semester (EOS) responses.

In general, the greatest changes in student responses seemed to occur in their definition of the term “ethics” and, to a lesser extent, in their definition of the term “morals”. While important distinctions were evident between student identifications of personal and professional values, there seemed to be less change across the semester in values cited for either domain.

**Definition of the Term “Ethics” and Changes across the Semester**

At the beginning of the semester, the themes that were commonly identified by students in their definitions of ethics were 1) the role of society in determining right and wrong; 2) the logic or set of principles applied to determining actions; 3) the importance of morals as a reasoning premise; 4) the link, even interchangeability between morals and ethics; and 5) the link between personal and professional values.

Initially, students defined ethics as rules that are “dictated more by what society deems as correct, proper, acceptable, and appropriate”. In many instances, students suggested that ethics were a result of the group’s (society’s) decision of what was right and wrong, that ethics were culturally understood by all, and guided individual actions. Repeatedly, students referred to “guidelines”, standards”, “principles”, even “laws” when defining ethics and how such principles were used to guide both individual as well as group behavior.

One student defined ethics as “a set of reasons, or the basis behind how I make decisions”. Another wrote that ethics were “a person’s rationale about different situations
and their key to answering difficult questions”. There was definitely a sense that students saw ethics as a basis of behavior, or existential action. “I think ethics has to do with our choices based on what we would do when put in a dilemma or situation. This defines who we are”. Some students, however, did not see a difference between the terms ethics and morals. They identified them both as values, or beliefs, and suggested that one goes logically with the other, that the two terms could not be discussed separately. In a similar vein, students reported a link between personal and professional ethics, that they should be considered as related.

A review of End-of-Semester responses revealed that students were better able to articulate the difference between ethics and morals, and that they viewed ethics as more a matter of conscious personal choice. Definitions and explanations of the term evoked the following themes: 1) conscious choice of principles and actions; 2) social code of values; 3) underlying importance of morals; 4) appreciation of varying points of view; and 5) importance as a professional standard of conduct.

One student wrote that ethics were “the ability and choice to do the right thing by a set of standards that have been established”, while another stated that ethics permitted one “to know how to deal with situations in the most positive way and to try and benefit both sides in the workplace and in everyday life - being able to identify both positive and negative outcomes that arise, and knowing how to handle them in the best possible way”. In other words, students expressed a sense of control over their personal standards of conduct. While some continued to acknowledge the role of society in providing guidelines for behavior (“understood rules of social behavior”), many more indicated a
personal sense of involvement in determining the standards to which they held themselves accountable.

Morals were still included in some of the definitions of ethics, often in reference to a “code of values” that underlies the standard by which one behaves. One defined as ethics as the “system of morals and values”. Another stated, “Ethics is having morals”. But many more had teased apart the two definitions, and identified ethics as under the purview of self.

An important change that seemed to evidence itself in the review of EOS responses was the recognition of the value of differing viewpoints. Said one student, “Ethics is what comes after you know where you are standing in life on certain situations. You have to take into account that there are different ways to look at situations even though you do not feel the same way”. Not only did students recognize the importance of appreciating differences of opinion, but also an appreciation of the process of evaluating options in making choices. One student wrote that ethics had to do with “the way you rationalize situations, how you derive your answer, which is how we come up with multiple answers. There is never one way to solve things”. Such responses seem to indicate the direct effect of the dilemma approach to teaching this class. Clearly, students understood the importance of individual and varied contributions of others.

The change in understanding of the meaning of ethics has implications for understanding the role of ethical standards in a professional environment and for professionals. “Ethics are the values and standards we use in our decision making process without giving certain types of people priority over others”. One student identified ethics as “the backbone to the professional side of life”. It seems evident that students were
better prepared at the end of the semester to recognize and address ethical issues that might arise in their respective professions.

*Definition of the Term “Morals” and Changes across the Semester*

At the beginning of the semester, the themes revealed in student definitions of the term morals were fairly straightforward. Students viewed morals as personal, internalized, and derived primarily from values learned while they were young. Morals provided the basis for individual conduct, for knowing what was right and wrong, and served as the foundation of character.

“Morals are more personal” wrote one student. They are “what is inside of each individual”. “There are no rights or wrongs because morals are personal”. All of these statements indicate the general perception of students that morals are, in fact, a personal code of conduct. They are “standards of human conduct, a “set of convictions that guide me in decision making”. Importantly, many students identified morals as values-based, and even more recognized that morals were grounded in family values, instilled at a very young age. Some broadened the scope of the origin of morals to include culture and “surrounding environments”, but the general theme for many students was that morals were the foundation for personal judgments of what is right and wrong, and they provided direction for actions in the future. Finally, wrote one student, “morals are what builds good and bad character”.

End-of-semester definitions of morals followed similar themes with relation to the emphasis on family as the source of learned, internalized values. Students continued to see morals as the underlying codes by which an individual judges right and wrong.
Students seemed to understand that there was a difference between morals and ethics, but they also suggested that there might be an important connection between the two.

One student defined morals as a set of “internal laws that people want to obey”. Many still associated morals with values learned from family and close friends. In other words, they viewed morals as a set of personal beliefs that guided individuals in their choices and actions, such as “doing something good to help someone, being kind”. Morals seem to constitute, in some way, who the individual is. “Certain things don’t have a price tag, cannot be replaced or taken away. These are your morals. They hold intangible value and define a person’s personality, not the way they think, but why they feel that way. Morals are the depth of your conscience. They are the reason, concern, heart and soul of your mind.” There was new acceptance, however, of the possibility that the basis of such beliefs might be reevaluated, or at least expanded.

One student cautioned, “Remember that ethics and morals are intertwined”. Another stated, “I still do not know how to explain the difference between the two. I do know there is a difference though”. These comments, while seemingly contradictory, might suggest a better understanding of ethics and morals as a result of having participated in this class. While students seemed better able to articulate how their understanding of the term ethics had changed over this period of time, the statements cited above indicate that students had begun to view the two concepts as separate, yet complementary. It is difficult to discuss ethics without introducing the notion of morals and values and, by contrast, it is difficult to discuss morals and values without making inferences about ethical principles and belief systems. It is the contention of this author that many students could both distinguish and relate the two concepts in their minds.
Several conclusions may be drawn from the review of student responses to questions about their personal and professional values. First, there were relatively few instances in which students identified the same values for both the personal and professional domains. Second, there was very little change across the semester in the personal values articulated by students. There did, however, seem to be an orientation at the end of the semester toward increased social consciousness. Professional values identified at the beginning of the semester seemed to cluster around commonly recognized values such as open-mindedness, punctuality, ambition, and commitment. At the end of the semester, some of the same values were identified; but included in the mix were several values of broader scope such as accountability and sense of accomplishment.

With very few exceptions, students did not identify the same values as fitting both the personal and professional domain – either at the beginning of the semester or at the end. This may speak to the association that students made between morals and values, inferring that values were underlying, internalized codes of conduct that framed individual behavior. If this was the case, than the values students identified as personal would be assumed to be integral to behavior in professional situations. Another possible explanation is that students may see the domains as entirely separate, and therefore requiring emphasis of different values. Numerous discussions in the class identified the issues and conflicts that may arise when individuals bring differing sets of values to the workplace. Perhaps students felt that personal values were not likely to be a source of conflict.
Many of the personal values identified by students revolved around tenets of faith. Such a finding was not surprising given the demographics of the student population in this southeastern university. Further, additional values emphasized family and the importance of relationships, love, and honesty or trustworthiness. Many of the values identified echoed generally accepted personal codes of conduct such as those espoused by organizations such as the Boy Scouts or Girl Scouts: honor, reliability, obedience, courage. All of these values were cited again at the end of the semester.

As previously noted, it was in the area of personal values that the fewest changes occurred. This was not necessarily a bad thing. It suggests that students had strong opinions about their beliefs and values and/or that exposure to the class content reinforced those values and beliefs. One possible effect of the class, though, was the fact that many students identified more social, or global, values at the end of the semester. For example, students noted conscientiousness, selflessness, generosity, and responsibility among their EOS important personal values. It is hoped that some of the course emphasis on personal and professional responsibility helped to encourage reflection and integration of new values. Such a conclusion also speaks to the previous suggestion that one effect of the course was to cause students to reevaluate their values and to be willing to incorporate new values as a result of new experiences.

There was a fair correlation between professional values identified by students as important at the beginning of the semester and those identified as important at the end of the semester. Commonly identified professional values included leadership, drive, ability to communicate effectively, quality, and punctuality. Senior students have acquired the “language” of the professional workplace and thus seemed to be able to articulate values
generally accepted as important by organizations and professions. From the very beginning, they recognized the importance of skill, competence, efficiency, and creativity. At the end of the semester, values not previously identified included team player, sense of accomplishment, ethical conduct, and compromise. Again, it might be suggested that the identification of these new values are evidence of a broader and deeper understanding of just what values may be required in the professional work environment. Certainly, the fact that several students identified compromise as important reinforces the comments made at the end of the semester about ethics, e.g. that alternative points of view have merit and should be acknowledged and appreciated.

Summary

Although there may be disagreement about the importance of ethics education and the best approach to ethics education at the university level, there can be no disagreement about the rise in unethical behavior witnessed in various professions and corporate environments. It seems, then, imperative that some effort be made to expose college students to a reflective, analytical review of the philosophical theory behind ethics and moral reasoning and, more importantly, to guide those students through the practice and discussion of ethical dilemmas. As noted by Farnsworth and Kleiner (2003), universities provide a critical preparation for a student’s professional career. It makes sense, then, that universities accept the responsibility of preparing students to recognize and effectively address the kinds of ethical dilemmas they will encounter in their chosen professions.
References


ORGANIC FOODS:
IS THERE A DISCONNECT BETWEEN ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS?

Topic Area: Other Areas of Social Sciences

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Abstract

ORGANIC FOODS: IS THERE A DISCONNECT BETWEEN ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS?

Interest in organic foods as well as a sense of responsibility for the environment is growing among young adults in the United States. In some areas, the availability of organic foods on campus may ultimately factor into a student’s choice of university. The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between knowledge, attitudes and behaviors of students in a mid-sized Southern university in relation to organic foods. Students (N=443) enrolled in one of two core university courses completed a survey that explored their knowledge about and attitudes toward organic foods. Results revealed that many students (49%) possessed valid factual knowledge about organic foods. Even more (64%) felt positively about having organic food options available to them both on campus and elsewhere. Taste and price were the factors that most influenced the purchase of such foods. Linear regression and path analysis was used to test whether attitudes were significantly related to the purchase of organic foods. In this case, positive attitudes toward organic foods as well as other environmentally friendly practices significantly predicted similar behaviors. Student consumers seem to act upon their beliefs.
Significance

New research and mounting interest by the public have increased global awareness of organic food products. Studies have shown that the primary consumers of organic food are women aged 30-45 who have children in the household and who are environmentally conscious (Lockie, Lyons, Lawrence, & Grice, 2004; Magnusson, Arvola, Hursti, Aberg, & Sjoden, 2003). However, the interest in both organic foods as well as a sense of responsibility for the environment is growing among younger people, specifically college students. During young adulthood, individuals are likely to identify issues of importance that will influence their attitudes and activities in the future. Support of eco-friendly causes such as the production and consumption of organic foods is an example of positive socially conscious behavior (Bissonnette & Contento, 2001).

Several universities, particularly in the western United States, have responded to students’ increased interest in environmentalism by adding organic foods to their menus. In fact, some media have reported that the practice of integrating organic foods to the campus food options may ultimately factor into a student’s decision about where to attend school (Horovitz, 2006a). Therefore, the purpose of this study was to further examine the awareness (knowledge), attitudes, and behaviors of university students towards organic foods, and to determine whether students who expressed positive attitudes about organic foods and other environmental issues actual act upon those beliefs.

Review of Literature

Federal Standards for Organic Foods

The terms natural and organic are not interchangeable. The term natural refers to products that do not contain any artificial flavorings, colorings, or chemical preservatives and...
which are only minimally processed (The National Organic Program, 2007). Organic food differs from conventionally produced food in the way it is grown, handled, and processed. The United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) defines organic foods as products grown without the use of pesticides, synthetic fertilizers, sewage sludge, genetically modified organisms, or ionizing radiation (The National Organic Program). The agency also requires that organic meat, poultry, eggs, and dairy products be produced from animals that are not given antibiotics or growth hormones (Organic.org). There is an increased recognition of the term organic as a trusted symbol of eco-friendly products (Loureiro, McCluskey & Mittelhammer, 2002).

Before a product can be labeled organic, a government-approved certifier must inspect the farm where the food is grown to ensure USDA organic guidelines are followed (The National Organic Program, 2006). For example, no pesticides can be used to grow or process organic products. Companies that handle or process organic foods for public consumption must be certified by the USDA (The National Organic Program). Many of the foods exhibit the USDA Organic Seal (Figure 1) as evidence of this certification.

Consumers who want to buy organic products must be able to correctly identify them. Label standards for organic products, as put forth by the USDA, are: 100% Organic (made with 100% organic ingredients); the word organic or the organic seal (95% organic); made with Organic Ingredients (a minimum of 70% organic ingredients); organic ingredients listed on the
side panel (less than 70% organic ingredients) (The National Organic Program, 2007; Organic.org, 2006).

Other certification programs, such as the eco-labeling program for products in Oregon and the system of integrated management (SIM) in Greece, have been developed to promote eco-friendly products to consumers (Botonaki, Polymeros, Tsakindou & Mattas, 2006; Loureiro et al., 2002). Loureiro et al. (2002) studied consumers’ level of awareness of certified products using eco-labeled apples. However, while the general level of awareness about organic products was high (86%), the awareness of the label meaning was limited.

**Consumer Attitudes and Behaviors**

Many consumers have developed trust in organic products. According to a Swedish study, the attitudes towards and the purchase of organic foods were strongly related to the perceived human health benefits of those foods (Magnusson et al., 2003). Researchers in the United Kingdom found the term organic had emotional resonance for consumers in terms of personal well-being, health, benefits to the environment, and a healthy diet (Padel & Foster, 2005; Tregear, Dent & McGregor, 1994).

As attitudes towards organic products evolve, values play an important but mixed role in how organic products are perceived (Dreezens, Martijn, Tenbult, Kok & de Vries, 2005; Chryssohoidis & Krystallis, 2005). Dreezens et al. indicated that modified foods (foods that have been manipulated at a genetic level) were viewed negatively and associated with the values of power, dominance and submission. In contrast, organic foods were associated with the values of welfare for all people and protection of nature. By contrast, Chryssohoidis and Krystallis found that external values such as belonging to society were less important to consumers who
purchased organic foods than internal values such as self-respect and enjoyment of life, which were strongly associated with the consumption of organic fruits and vegetables.

Consumer perception of the appearance, taste and texture of organic foods varies. In Northern Ireland, a focus group found organic products bland and lacking in color. However, the same group stated that some organic foods, especially mixed vegetables, had a better texture and flavor (Connor & Douglas, 2001). Researchers in the United Kingdom and Australia concluded that the taste of organic food was better than conventionally grown products (Tregear et al., 1994) and that organic food had sensual qualities (Lockie et al., 2004).

As consumers develop more positive attitudes toward organic food, they are faced with purchase decisions. Studies have examined different decision-making factors. Padel and Foster (2005) concluded that the process is complex, and that motives and barriers may vary with product categories. Researchers have found a widespread perception of organic foods as expensive (Tregear et al., 1994) and that the primary barrier to purchasing organic food was the consumer’s level of personal disposable income (Davies, Titterington & Chochrane, 2005). Lockie et al. (2004) suggested that increased education and household income is positively associated with the likelihood that an individual has consumed organic foods. However, Chryssohoidis and Krystallis (2005) and Fotopoulos (2000) found that the main factor that hinders the purchase of organic food is limited availability of such foods.

Nevertheless, consumer purchases of organic foods have increased. In 1994, Tregear et al. found that 29% of the general public occasionally bought organic foods. A later study (Connor & Douglas, 2001) found that almost half of the respondents purchased organic food on a regular basis. Fruits and vegetable tend to be the first organic products that consumers buy and
are often the only organic products consumers buy (Padel & Foster, 2005). In spite of increased purchases, however, few consumers follow a diet that is mainly organic (Lockie et al., 2004).

There is some disagreement about whether there is an association between other environmentally friendly behaviors and the consumption of organic foods. Davies et al. (1995) found that consumers of organic foods were not necessarily concerned about the environment. However, two more recent studies found a significant relationship between environmentally friendly behaviors and organic consumption (Lockie, et al., 2004; Magnusson et al., 2003).

Consumers who are likely to buy organic products have several common characteristics. In Oregon, the likelihood that a consumer will pay a premium for eco-labeled apples was positively associated with being female, having children in the household, and to being environmentally conscious (Loureiro et al., 2002). In Greece, willingness to pay for organic products was higher among consumers who placed importance on health (Botonaki et al., 2006).

In summary, while current research seems to corroborate an increasing awareness of and interest in organic foods, there seems to be a gap that continues to exist to explain why consumers fail to consistently purchase and support the production of such products.

Attitudes and Behaviors of Young People

In a study of 651 high school students in a major metropolitan area, Bissonnette and Contento (2001) found that adolescents had positive attitudes about organic foods. The students believed organic foods were healthier, tasted better, and were better for the environment. Yet their beliefs were not strong enough to urge them to act upon those beliefs (Bissonnette & Contento). Perhaps as adolescents mature and increasingly make their own food choices and purchases, the positive attitudes about organic foods may align more directly with corresponding behaviors.
Interest in organic foods or alternative food sources is especially evident in college age individuals who show an increasing enthusiasm for a healthy lifestyle and a sense of responsibility for the environment (Horovitz, 2006a). Universities across the United States have begun to introduce organic food options in response to increasing demands from their student clientele. For example, the University of Wisconsin at Madison became the first major American public university to commit to putting foods grown on local farms on the regular menu (Organic Consumers Association, 2006b).

The University of California – Berkeley boasts the nation’s first organic certification on a college campus (University of California-Berkeley, 2006). Menlo College has introduced nearly 100% organic foods and beverages on campus (Horovitz, 2006b). Colorado State University and the University of Pennsylvania have student food venues that sell locally grown food. Oral Roberts University introduced its Green Cuisine brand, which includes organic salads, sandwiches and packaged goods make from local food (Organic Consumers Association, 2006a; Horovitz, 2006b). Thus, universities have responded to increasing demands for healthy foods from their students. Further, such a response supports and encourages socially responsible behaviors.

As American universities introduce more organic options on campuses, it is important to determine exactly what students think about organic foods. If research has established that consumer purchases may or may not necessarily follow upon knowledge and attitudes, it makes sense to explore the gap between attitudes and behaviors with regard to organic foods in order to better understand and respond to consumer needs on college campuses.
Method

Population and Sample

The population for this study was students at a mid-size four-year university in the Southeast United States. The sample included 443 students who were enrolled in one of two entry-level political science classes in Spring 2007. All students are required to take both of the political science courses as part of the mandated core curriculum; therefore, the sampling method provided an ideal means of gaining a representative of the student body. No student could be enrolled in both classes at the same time.

Instrumentation

The instrument used for this study was a survey designed by the researchers. The instrument was four pages in length and consisted of 28 items. The consent information was included on the first page of the instrument followed by 24 multiple choice questions, three Likert-style rating questions, and one ranking question.

The first six questions requested demographic information: gender, race, age, student classification, place of residence and income level. The following four questions evaluated the subjects’ awareness of organic foods; the next four questions addressed the subjects’ attitudes toward organic foods; and the final section of thirteen questions sought information about student eating behaviors in relation to organic foods.

Protocol

The chair of the Political Science department at the university granted permission for the students in entry-level political science classes to be involved in the study. Researchers then contacted individual professors to make arrangements to administer the survey in each class. The average class size was 50 students. Students in some course sections did not participate because
professors could not coordinate an administration date, and students who were not present during survey administration did not participate. The survey was administered over a period of two weeks.

At the beginning of each class, a research assistant read procedures from a script before the surveys were distributed. Students were informed that the survey was voluntary and anonymous. Because the informed consent was part of the questionnaire, subjects indicated their consent to participate by completing the questionnaire. Once the surveys were completed, the research assistant placed them in sealed envelopes where they were kept until data analysis.

Statistical Analysis

Data analysis was conducted using SPSS Version 14.0 and Jump Version 5.0. Descriptive statistics were used to describe the sample and to display the frequencies of responses to survey items. Chi-square analysis was conducted to determine associations between categorical variables of interest. Further, a correlation matrix was constructed to examine relations between student attitudes about eco-friendly practices and their related behaviors. Finally, a path analysis model was tested in which attitudes toward organic foods were evaluated relative to similar environmentally positive behaviors.

Results

The sample for this study consisted of 443 students ($N = 443$). Of the sample, 44.2% were male and 55.8% were female. The mean age of the group was 21.6 years. The racial/ethnic background of students was 54.6% White/Non-Hispanic, 30.6% African American, 7.0% Hispanic, 3.9% Asian, and 3.7% Other. The majority (59.5%) of the students were classified as sophomores, and approximately one-third (27.4%) of the students lived on campus. Respondents indicated the income level of the household in which they resided. The income level for 32.6%
of the respondents was less than $20,000 annually. Twenty-seven percent reported an annual household income level between $20,001 and $50,000. The remainder (40.2%) reported an income level above $50,001 annually.

When asked to identify the definition of the term “organic”, 214 respondents (49.0%) selected the correct definition. Meanwhile, 138 (31.7%) indicated that they recognized the USDA-approved organic seal. Knowledge of the correct definition of organic and recognition of the seal were significantly associated ($r_s = .161, p<.001$). Students under the mean age of 21.6 years and at the lowest and highest household income levels were more likely to know the definition of organic and recognize the organic seal.

A majority of students indicated they knew that organic foods were available for purchase in grocery stores and in health food stores (72.2% and 79.0%, respectively). Some (9.7%) believed organic foods were available in restaurant environments. When asked to indicate in what form organic foods could be purchased (subjects could indicate all that applied), responses were as follows: produce (87.1%), grains (72.2%), dairy (53.5%), snacks (31.4%), meat (29.3%), beverage (28.2%), and candy (7.7%).

Most students (56.4%) were neutral when asked their opinion about organic foods, but 41.3% of the respondents noted that they either “accept organic foods” or “only eat organic foods”. Students ranked taste as the factor that influenced them most when selecting organic foods, followed by price, appearance, availability, and package information (Table 1). Approximately one-third (31.1%) of the respondents believed organic foods to taste the same as conventionally grown products while 15.8% felt organic foods tasted better, and 12.3% felt organic foods tasted worse.
Only 20.7% of the respondents reported that they could purchase organic foods on campus, and few indicated that they consumed more than 50% organic diets, no matter where they purchased foods. However, between 33.2% and 45.5% reported they purchased and consumed some organic foods on campus, in restaurants, or at home. The highest number (45.5%) purchased for consumption at home. When asked where they purchased organic foods, 47.4% indicated the grocery store and 13.5% indicated a health food store. The frequencies of types of organic foods purchased were as follows: produce (40.4%), grains (28.2%), dairy (22.8%), drinks/beverages (20.8%), snacks (16.3%), and meat (13.8%).

Interestingly, slightly more than half (50.5%) of the students indicated they would support the use of organic foods on campus, and 64.0% reported they would buy organic foods if offered on campus.

There were significant positive relationships between knowledge of the definition of the term organic and opinion about organic foods (attitude) \( r_s = .103, p < .05 \) and between recognition of the organic seal (knowledge) and opinion about organic foods (attitude) \( r_s = .197, p < .01 \). Thus, awareness and attitude about organic foods were found to be associated. A linear regression was conducted to test whether the two knowledge variables to predict attitude. Results

### Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Rankings</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Price</td>
<td></td>
<td>193</td>
<td>46.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taste</td>
<td></td>
<td>247</td>
<td>59.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appearance</td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Package Information</td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


were significant \( R^2 = .04, F(2, 422) = 9.73, p < .000 \). Recognition of the seal was the strongest of the two predictors.

There was also a significant positive relationship between recognition of the organic seal and opinion about the taste of organic foods as compared to conventionally grown products \( r_s = .298, p < .01 \). The relationship between the other knowledge variable (definition of organic) and attitude was not significant. Linear regression tested recognition of the organic seal as a predictor of attitude and was found to be significant \( R^2 = .08, F(2, 418) = 20.09, p < .000 \). When knowledge of the definition of organic was added as a predictor and tested in a second linear regression, model fit did not change significantly, corroborating the previous conclusion that the stronger predictor was recognition of the seal.

A multiple correlation was conducted to examine the relationship between attitudes about organic foods and subject responses that indicated the support and purchase of organic foods (behavior) in different contexts (Table 2). Attitude towards organic foods was found to be

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Attitude Towards Organic Foods</th>
<th>Purchase and Consumption of Organic Foods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>On Campus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude Towards Organic Foods</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchase/Consumption of Organic Foods</td>
<td>On Campus 0.284**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Off Campus (restaurant) 0.309**</td>
<td>0.670**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Home 0.298**</td>
<td>0.524**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. **p < 0.01
significantly related to three different behaviors: 1) purchase and consumption of organic foods on campus, 2) purchase and consumption of organic foods (usually in restaurants), and 3) purchase for consumption of foods at home.

Given the significant findings of the correlational analysis, a path analysis (Figure 2) was conducted to determine whether attitudes toward organic foods would predict the three sets of purchase and consumption behaviors. Attitude was found to be a significant predictor ($p < .01$) of all three behaviors (Table 3).

**Table 3**

*Direct Effect of Student’s Overall Attitude towards Organic Foods on Their Food Choices On-Campus, Off-Campus, and At Home*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor Variable</th>
<th>Path Coefficient of Direct Effect on Response Variable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attitude towards Organic Food</td>
<td>On-Campus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Path Coefficient</td>
<td>0.31**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$R^2$ value (%)</td>
<td>10.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. **$p < 0.01$**

*Figure 2.* Path analysis: Direct effect of student’s overall attitude towards organic foods on their food choices on-campus, off-campus, and at home.
Attitude towards organic foods was found to be significantly related to students’ perception of whether or not they lead a healthy lifestyle ($r_s = .160$, $p<.01$). A second path analysis was conducted to determine the direct effect of attitude towards organic foods on other healthy lifestyle practices (Table 4). Significant path coefficients were calculated for relationships between positive attitudes towards organic foods and healthy diet, regular exercise, and consumption of organic foods only.

### Table 4

**Direct Effect of Student’s Overall Attitude Towards Health Related Behavior**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor Variable</th>
<th>Path Coefficient &amp; $R^2$ Values of Direct Effect on Response Variable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attitude towards Organic Food</td>
<td>Healthy Diet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Path Coefficient</td>
<td>0.22**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$R^2$ value (%)</td>
<td>5.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. *$p<0.05$, **$p<0.01$*

A final analysis examined the relationship between attitudes about environmentally friendly behaviors and the actual behaviors themselves. A multiple correlation determined that most of the attitudes expressed about such behaviors were related to the practice of the behaviors (Table 5). Further, in many instances, the attitudes of respondents about an eco-friendly behavior such as recycling and energy conservation were significantly correlated to other eco-friendly behaviors. For example, a positive attitude towards water conservation was significantly related to supportive behaviors such as recycling, energy conservation, ozone protection, and donating money to environmental causes.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude (Opinion) towards Environmental Friendly Practices</th>
<th>Participates (Behavior) in Environmental Friendly Practices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Recycling</strong></td>
<td><strong>Recycling</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hybrid Cars</td>
<td>Hybrid Cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H2O Conservation</td>
<td>Car Pool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energy Conservation</td>
<td>Energy Conservation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ozone Protection</td>
<td>H2O Conservation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Donate Money</strong></td>
<td>Ozone Protection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Recycling</strong></td>
<td><strong>Donate Money</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hybrid Cars</strong></td>
<td><strong>Donate Money</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>H2O</strong></td>
<td><strong>Donate Money</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Conservation</strong></td>
<td><strong>Donate Money</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Energy</strong></td>
<td><strong>Donate Money</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ozone</strong></td>
<td><strong>Donate Money</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Recycling</td>
<td>0.297**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.295**</td>
<td>0.062</td>
<td>0.130*</td>
<td>-0.006</td>
<td>0.109</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.015</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hybrid Cars</td>
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<td>0.232**</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-0.005**</td>
<td>0.085</td>
<td>0.016*</td>
<td>0.016</td>
<td>0.070</td>
<td>0.048</td>
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<tr>
<td>H2O Conservation</td>
<td>0.305**</td>
<td>0.324**</td>
<td>0.638**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.015</td>
<td>0.096</td>
<td>0.032*</td>
<td>0.083</td>
<td>0.070</td>
<td>0.103</td>
<td>0.015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energy Conservation</td>
<td>0.388**</td>
<td>0.391**</td>
<td>0.460**</td>
<td>0.496**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.115*</td>
<td>0.099</td>
<td>0.166**</td>
<td>0.160**</td>
<td>0.112</td>
<td>0.142</td>
<td>0.015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ozone Protection</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>0.171**</td>
<td>0.198**</td>
<td>0.205**</td>
<td>0.196**</td>
<td>0.291**</td>
<td>0.311**</td>
<td>0.015</td>
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<tr>
<td>Donate Money</td>
<td>0.204**</td>
<td>0.124*</td>
<td>0.140*</td>
<td>0.066</td>
<td>0.179**</td>
<td>0.119*</td>
<td>0.145**</td>
<td>0.081</td>
<td>0.145*</td>
<td>0.081</td>
<td>0.145*</td>
<td>0.208**</td>
<td>0.283**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01
Discussion

We found that many students are relatively knowledgeable about organic food products and tend to feel strongly that organic foods are beneficial and necessary. Many expressed an interest in having more organic foods available on campus, and even more indicated they would be willing to purchase organic foods if made available on campus. Contrary to some of the outcomes reported in the literature, we found that students were more likely to act upon the beliefs they expressed about both organic foods and environmentally friendly behaviors.

In this study, there were more female than male respondents. In general, we found that almost as many males as females (relative to sample size) knew the correct definition of the term organic, recognized the federal organic seal, and expressed a positive attitude towards organic foods. This finding varies from the literature that identifies females as being more aware and having stronger attitudes about organic foods. Such a finding may be a consequence of the source of the sample, e.g. students as opposed to the general public (Lockie et al., 2004). Students on a college campus are more frequently exposed to state-of-the-art research and information.

When examining the relationship between awareness (knowledge) and attitude, we concluded that even though a large number of students (44.7%) selected one of two alternative (incorrect) definitions of the term organic, those students may have, in fact, also had strong opinions in support of organic foods and other eco-friendly practices. Such findings were confirmed when we examined the association between the selection of one of the two other options and attitude questions. Even though students might not have known the correct definition, they still expressed positive attitudes towards organic foods and other practices.
Most of the students in this study clustered in household income levels of under $20,000 or $50,000 and above. We would have expected students to report lower household income levels because many live on their own. It is possible that those who reported higher household incomes were students who either lived with their parent(s) or a spouse, e.g. many students are commuters and/or more are married or live with a significant other. More than 30% of study respondents from the upper household income levels reported that they “accept organic foods”. This agrees with similar findings in the literature that indicate higher levels of awareness and support for organic foods among individuals with higher incomes. More than 20% of the students in the lowest household income level also expressed a positive attitude towards organic foods. It is possible that many of these students, while living on their own for school, come from households that fall into a similar upper income range.

Another interesting finding in this study was that significantly more students under the mean age of 21.6 years knew the correct definition of the term organic and recognized the organic seal than those over the mean age. Further, twice as many respondents under the mean age of 21.6 years expressed positive attitudes toward organic foods as those over the mean age. Such a finding agrees with Bissonnette and Contento (2001) who examined the attitudes of high school students. Similarly, the finding suggests that younger people may be more inclined to seek out organic foods in various food environments or at least to feel strongly about having them available. If such a conclusion is drawn, it makes sense that university food services should be integrating more organic food options into their on-campus menus.

Many students indicated that they knew organic foods were available in grocery stores and health food stores, but very few thought that such foods were available in commercial restaurants. While more than half of the respondents indicated they had no opinion about organic
foods, more than half of the subjects responded to a question that asked them to rank factors that influenced their buying decision when purchasing organic foods. It was expected that price, particularly among students, would be the most important factor; however, taste was reported to be the most important factor, followed in order by price, appearance, availability, and package information. Bissonnette and Contento (2001) also reported that high school students thought organic foods tasted better. The literature has shown that consumers associate health benefits with organic foods. Perhaps a younger, more health-minded generation of educated consumers may place more emphasis on quality (taste) and value (price) than has been the case in the past. Such a conclusion might also support the fact that students knew of the availability of many forms of organic foods.

It is important to note that many students in this study expressed “no opinion” when asked about their attitudes towards organic foods. Thus, some of the significant findings are based as much on associations between lack of knowledge or opinions about organic foods as they are on those who expressed positive opinions about organic foods. Interestingly, more students ranked the factors that influenced them when purchasing organic foods than responded positively about their opinions towards organic foods.

When asked whether they purchased and consumed organic foods in varying contexts – on campus, off campus (restaurants), or at home - more students indicated that they purchased organic foods for consumption at home than on- or off-campus. Since they also indicated that these foods were primarily purchased at grocery stores and health food stores, it seems logical that a greater number consumed these foods at home. Produce, grains, and dairy were the most commonly identified forms in which organic foods could be purchased and they were, also the most common types of purchases for those who said they purchased organic foods.
Very few students reported they consumed an all-organic diet. Most indicated that they purchased and consumed “50% or less” organic foods. This, combined with the larger number of students who said they had no opinion about organic foods, might lead to the conclusion that this group was generally not interested in information about or exposure to organic foods. However, more than half reported they would support the integration of organic foods into campus menus, and even more said they would buy organic foods if offered on campus. Such findings seem to reinforce the current move on university campuses to provide more organic food options.

One of the primary purposes of this study was to examine the link between knowledge and attitudes about organic foods, and then to determine if there was a significant link between attitudes and behaviors supporting those opinions. Study outcomes led us to the conclusion that students were relatively knowledgeable about organic foods, that they held strong opinions about such foods, and that their opinions served to predict their behaviors. It is important to reiterate that the study findings about the relationship between knowledge, attitudes and behaviors were not only reflective of students who knew about and supported the purchase and consumption of organic foods. These findings were also reflective of respondents who were not knowledgeable about organic foods and had no strong opinions about such foods; therefore, they were not necessarily inclined to purchase and consumer organic foods.

Nevertheless, the regression analyses conducted did support the finding that students who were able to identify the correct definition of the term organic and who recognized the USDA organic seal were more likely to have positive opinions supporting organic foods. Recognition of the organic seal was a significant predictor of taste perceptions. In other words, students who recognized the organic seal were more likely to think that organic foods tasted as good as or better than their conventionally grown counterparts.
Our statistical analysis revealed that students who had strong opinions about organic foods actually acted upon those beliefs and purchased and consumed such foods in different venues. They were most likely to purchase for home consumption. Importantly, attitude towards organic foods predicted purchase and consumption of such foods. Lockie et al. (2004) noted that income and education levels may be associated with the consumption of an organic diet. The subjects in this study reported higher household incomes and were university students. Connor and Douglas (2001) slightly less than half of their study respondents consumed organic foods. Our results paralleled those of Connor and Douglas. In addition, while others have attributed the failure to purchase organic foods to availability (Davies et al., 2005; Tregear et al., 1994) and price (Chryssohoidis & Krystallis, 2005; Fotopoulos, 2000), we found students to be most influenced by taste.

A final set of analyses examined student attitudes about other healthy lifestyle practices as related to their attitudes about organic foods, and the relationship between other environmentally conscious attitudes and similar behaviors. Botonaki et al. (2006) suggested that consumers of organic foods are likely to engage in other healthy lifestyle practices. Students in this study who reported a positive attitude towards organic foods also reported that they led a healthy lifestyle. In fact, significant associations were found between positive attitudes toward organic foods and consuming a healthy diet and exercising regularly. However, such an attitude did not necessarily affect student practices related to consumption of alcohol and smoking. It is possible that behaviors such as drinking and smoking that have a long-term effects on health do not resonate with younger individuals in the same ways as diet and exercise.

Several studies have found an association between various types of eco-friendly behaviors. For example, Lockie et al. (2004) and Magnusson et al. (2003) found the consumption
of organic foods and other environmentally conscious behaviors to be significantly related. Our findings concurred, for the most part, with Davies et al. (2002) who did not find such attitudes and behaviors to be related. When students were asked their opinion about such behaviors as recycling, various forms of energy conservation, and ozone protection, they tended to express strong support. Importantly, in many instances, there was a significant relationship between a positive attitude about these factors and the corresponding behavior. In other words, there did not seem to be a disconnect between the belief and the action. Padel & Foster (2005) suggested that the decision-making process about such issues was complex. Individuals who agree in theory with eco-friendly practices may take more factors into account in making the choices to actually follow through on their beliefs. Clearly, students in this study not only felt strongly about environmental issues but they also felt compelled to practice such behaviors.

Summary

One of the principle findings of this study was that students seem to be knowledgeable about organic foods and that they support the integration of organic foods into their menu choices and diets. While approximately one-third to one-half of the students indicated that they purchased and consumed organic products in various environments, more than half the study respondents reported that they would support the use of organic products on campus and would actually purchase organic foods on campus.

This sentiment is an important indicator for college and universities that have not evaluated the opinions and behaviors of their campus constituents. Certainly, there is already a demand for healthy food options on university campuses (Horovitz, 2006a, 2006b). It seems that campus foodservices should begin to evaluate not only their menu offerings, but even what they term healthy choices, in terms of organic food standards. Our study focused on students as
primary consumers; however, campuses also accommodate significant numbers of faculty and staff, many of whom may have opinions similar to those expressed by the students in this study. A future study might examine the opinions of other groups on campuses and implications for university food services.

This study found that students who felt positively about organic foods were also inclined to behave accordingly. In other words, they were more likely to act on their opinions and choose to purchase and consume organic foods. Such a finding may have implications for market food producers in general, in that college students are important consumers today but also primary consumers in the future. It will be important to address this growing demand in more venues than college campuses.
References


FINANCE AND POVERTY: EVIDENCE FROM PANEL STUDY

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FINANCE AND POVERTY: EVIDENCE FROM PANEL STUDY

Abstract

This paper presents empirical evidence of direct relationship between financial development and poverty. A poverty determination model is considered which integrates financial development and financial instability. Using panel data for 68 developing countries over the period 1980-2004, the study finds that on average financial development is conducive for poverty reduction but the instability accompanying financial development is detrimental to the poor. This outcome only holds when financial development is measured by the ratio of money to GDP (M3-GDP) and not by the credit-GDP ratio.

I. INTRODUCTION

There is little doubt in the literature (e.g. Levine et al 2000, Levine 1997, Easterly 1993) that financial development boosts economic growth and sustainable growth is a necessary condition for poverty alleviation (Beck et. al 2004, Honohan 2004, and Julilian and Kirkpatrick 2002, and Dollar and Kraay 2002). The implication from the above studies is that financial development plays an indirect role in the battle against poverty. The more fundamental question is however, can financial development exert a direct impact on poverty? The primary objective of this paper is to empirically investigate this question. To make the study more comprehensive and in order to comprehend the overall impacts on poverty, we consider both the level of development and instability that the process of development is likely to cause. Financial development may bring benign outcomes for the poor as long as that development is sustainable over time. If the process of development experiences unanticipated ups and downs, then it is very likely that the so-called benign effects turn out to be harmful because financial instability may worsen poverty by affecting the poor disproportionately. Therefore, a study of the linkage between financial development and poverty alleviation is incomplete if the level of development is not factored into the study.
The number of studies investigating the finance-poverty linkage using macroeconomic data is not very rich. One reason for the lack of studies in this area relates to the difficulty in deciding on a uniform measure of poverty across different countries. Although the World Bank suggests certain indices that may be used to compare poverty across countries, consistent time series data on such measures is not available. The available data is usually taken from irregular surveys, despite these limitations some researchers have made attempts and documented fairly acceptable results. Among the renowned studies are those by Honohan (2004), Beck et al (2004) and more recently Jeanneney and Kpodar (2005).

Honohan (2004) considers the relationship between financial development and absolute poverty while Beck et al (2004) examines whether financial development boosts the income growth of the poor at a faster rate than that of the rich. Using a cross country sample, Honohan (2004) shows that financial development reduces the share of the population below one dollar a day while controlling for GDP per capita. Beck et al (2004), on the other hand finds that financial development reduces poverty by boosting the income growth of the poor. Jeanneney and Kpodar (2005) considered a number of measures of financial development in relation to their impacts on poverty. They find that financial depth (measured by the ratio of M3 to GDP) is beneficial to poverty reduction but the ratio of bank credit to GDP fails to alleviate poverty. They interpret their results as an evidence of the relevance to McKinnon’s (1973) conduit effect which implies that financial intermediaries do not exert a direct impact on poverty but stimulate growth by enhancing economic activities. Poor people participate in these activities, and hence, eventually benefit from financial development. But if the rich get richer as a result of financial intermediation, that is, if financial development merely supports a trickle down process, there is every likelihood that the poor will suffer disproportionately. Jeanneney and Kpodar (2005) consider the impact of financial instability upon poverty and find that financial instability significantly impedes poverty reduction. This study largely draws on Jeanneney and Kpodar and considers the impact of both the level and instability of financial development on absolute poverty, that is, the population under income of one dollar a day.
In this paper we consider a poverty determination model which integrates financial development and financial instability. The model is estimated on a set of panel data for 68 developing countries having three or more observations of the poverty index over the period 1980-2004. Panel estimation techniques have been applied in order to control for cross country heterogeneity. Our results cannot reject the null hypothesis that on average financial development is conducive for poverty reduction but the instability accompanying financial development is detrimental to the poor. This outcome only holds when financial development is measured by the ratio of money to GDP and not by the credit-GDP ratio.

In a preliminary investigation into the effects of financial development on poverty alleviation we did take account of a number of microeconomic studies (e.g. Hashemi et al 1996, Hossain 1998, and Khandker and Pitt 2002) concerning the presence of specific institutions for the poor, such as microfinance institutions. However, we did not apply a micro-economic approach because such analysis cannot explain differences across countries in the presence/absence of specific policy measures. A policy prescription may appear to be helpful for one country but may be detrimental to some others due to the presence of some country specific issues. The primary reason why we adopt a macroeconomic approach is that this methodology allows us to analyze the impact of alternative financial development programs after controlling for country specific heterogeneity. The paper is organized as follows. Section two presents a brief review of literature. Section three considers the model, data and estimation techniques. Section four presents the results with interpretations, and section five concludes the paper.

II.BACKGROUND OF THE RESEARCH ISSUE AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

It is well documented in the literature that financial development boosts economic growth and growth helps alleviate poverty. Although this indirect link between finance and poverty has attained strong empirical support, there are doubts about the direct role of financial development in reducing poverty and income inequality. The evidence on the above links does not have universal support particularly from academia, which sees the availability of financial services as simply inappropriate to the poor who consequently do
not avail of them. This idea is systematically presented by Greenwood and Jovanovic (1990) who argue that getting involved in the financial sector or subscribing to such financial services as screening and risk pooling requires an initial set-up cost. Poor people are not in a position to incur this cost. Moreover, the low to medium income groups may not find financial intermediaries a beneficial place to park their savings.

However, this regressive prediction of Greenwood and Jovanovic (1990) does not have much empirical support. Li et al (1997) for instance, find that financial depth enters strongly and significantly as a contributor of lower inequality (Gini index) and raises the average income of the lower 80% of the population. They conclude that financial development removes credit constraints for poor households and thereby feeds their desire to spend money on activities such schooling and healthcare for children. The same reasoning is echoed by many other observers such as Rajan and Zingales (2003) and Beck et al (2004).

Rajan and Zingales (2003) observe that as the financial system becomes healthier, powerful and more competitive, it is likely that a grater amount of capacity and a desire by owner’s to bear the high cost of credit. Moreover, the development of informal credit, which is often the only source of borrowing for poor people, is made easier by the growth of a formal financial system which offers opportunities for profitable investments. An identical conclusion is drawn by Beck et al (2004). They observe that in an environment of competitive markets for factors of production, credit may improve the well being of the poor, even if they do not directly receive the loans. This is the essence of so-called conduit effect, which was formally proposed by McKinnon (1973). He professes the idea that even if financial institutions do not provide credit to poor people confined to self-financed investment, they are useful to them in so far as they offer some profitable financial opportunities for their savings. By this proposition, when economic units are involved in self-finance investment activities, the distinction between savers (households) and investors (firms) disappears. This makes money and capital complementary. Hence, if the real return on holding money increases, so does self-financed investment over a significant range of investment opportunities. McKinnon argues that the increased demand of the poor for holding cash balance reduces the opportunity cost of saving internally for the eventual purchase of capital goods from outside the firm/household.
The financial conduit for capital accumulation is thereby enlarged. McKinnon’s complementary hypothesis and the conduit effect have relevance in developing countries where financial markets are not yet very deep. For developing countries money and capital are complementary because, in the absence of deep financial markets and extensive intermediation, money balances have to be accumulated before indivisible investment can be undertaken.

An assessment of the impacts of financial development on poverty alleviation will not be complete if the impact of financial instability is not taken into account. There are many reasons to believe that financial instability hurts the poor more than the rich. For example, as Jeanneney and Kpodar (2006) have put forward, low income people are particularly hurt by disruption of the payment system, unwarranted bank closure and freezing of deposits since they have limited scope for diversifying their assets. In countries where some banks are periodically unable to ensure the liquidity of their deposits, the so-called conduit effect suggested by McKinnon is likely to be diminished by the uncertainty surrounding the health of the banking system. Moreover, when banks are in difficulty, they begin to ration small loans as these loans are less profitable for the banks and because poor people have little power of negotiation. In addition to these direct impacts, there are indirect consequences of financial instability.

Ramey and Ramey (1995) present empirical evidence of a negative relationship between the average rate of growth and the volatility of annual rates. This evidence points to the indirect linkage between financial instability and poverty. Instability induces volatility in growth and volatility impedes the rate of growth which eventually hurts the poor. More specifically, financial instability induces instability in the rate of investment which eventually induces instability in economic growth while the poor suffer from that instability because growth is a necessary condition for sustainable poverty reduction.

A distinguishable feature of our study is that while previous studies have focused only on credit (e.g. Dollar and Kraay 2002, Honohan 2004, and Beck et al 2004), we use both liquidity and credit indicators as measures of financial development and estimate their direct impact on poverty measured in terms of the percentage of the population under a dollar income per day. We do not focus on the indirect effect of these indicators of financial development which comes through growth. Another aspect that set’s this
study apart from many others is that we introduce a measure of financial instability in an attempt to see its direct impact on poverty. The model and estimation techniques are described in the following section.

III. THE MODEL AND ESTIMATION TECHNIQUES

As mentioned at the outset, financial development enhances growth and growth is good for the poor. This is the indirect effect of financial development. We are not interested in this indirect effect because it is already well documented in the literature. We are interested in investigating the direct impact of financial development and financial instability on poverty. Having been influenced by the conduit effect proposed by McKinnon (1973), we hypothesize that financial development directly helps reduce poverty, and that part of the poverty-reduction effect of financial development is reduced when financial instability accompanies financial development.

As a measure of poverty, we use head count index (hci) which is defined as the percentage of population under a dollar daily income. On the explanatory side, financial development is represented by two measures namely the ratio of currencies and deposits (M3) to GDP and the ratio of credit (by bank and non-bank financial institutions to the private sector) to GDP. Impact of each measure of financial development on poverty is studied independently. The other variable of interest-financial instability is measured in terms of the absolute value of the residual of a trend line estimated for each measure of financial development from a time series over the period 1960 through 2004. We estimate the effect of financial development and financial instability on poverty after controlling for the effects of such variables as per capita income and inflation.

Initially we estimate a naïve model that disregards the time and space dimensions of our data. In other words, we simply stake time series observations of one country upon another and then run linear regressions. Three different specifications are attempted. First, the head count index (hci) is regressed on log of the per capita income, the ratio of M3-GDP and the rate of inflation. Then in a second regression, the variable measuring financial development and financial instability on poverty after controlling for the effects of such variables as per capita income and inflation.

Studies such as Dollar and Kraay (2002), Jeanneaney and Kpodar (2006), have used real per capita GDP. But we use per capita household income which is available at the same source from where we collect the poverty data. The reason for using this measure of per capita income is keep uniformity in measurement of poverty and income across country. Both the poverty line and income are measured at 1993 PPP. See Ravallion (2001) and http://iresearch.worldbank.org/PovcalNet/jsp/index.jsp for more details.
financial instability is added in order to see if there is any difference in the parameters estimated between the two specifications. We expect financial development to exert a larger impact after financial instability is added to the model. Accordingly, we also expect the standard error of the estimate to fall and R-squared to increase as the new variable, financial instability, is added to the model. Then, in the third regression, we add a complement namely standard deviation of per capita GDP. The reason for adding this is to see whether the detrimental impact of financial instability is channelled through the instability of economic growth as the cost of economic crises might be borne disproportionately by the poor.

We cannot rely on the results from pooled data regression above because they omit cross-country heterogeneity. Popular estimators that allow for such heterogeneity are fixed effect (FE), and random effect (RE) models. This set of estimators allows for heterogeneity across panel units but confines that heterogeneity to the intercept terms only. So the slope coefficients are considered fixed across units in FE and RE models. We consider both these estimators to estimate our poverty model which is specified as:

\[ P_{\text{v},i,t} = \beta_i + \beta_1 \log(Y_{i,t}) + \beta_2 FD_{i,t} + \beta_3 FI_{i,t} + \beta_4 \log(1 + Inf)_{i,t} + u_i + e_{i,t} \]  

where \( \beta_i \) is the intercept term for country \( i \). \( PV_{i,t} \) is Poverty indicator of country \( i \) defined as percentage of population living under the $1 poverty line at time \( t \). \( Y_{i,t} \) is level of income per capita of country \( i \) at time \( t \). \( FD_{i,t} \) is the level of financial development of country \( i \) at time \( t \). We use two measures of \( FD \) namely the Credit-GDP ratio and the M3-GDP ratio. Credits include those extended to the private sector by the bank and non-bank financial institutions while M3 includes currencies and deposits. We cannot expect financial development to have immediate impact on poverty. It may take couple of years to exert an influence on peoples’ living condition. Moreover, poverty index is observed at irregular intervals. For these reasons, we take an average of five years. Thus, each observation of \( FD \) at time \( t \) is an average taken over the year of poverty index and preceding four years. We could have used lag \( FD_s \), but the panel data model we use here, e.g. fixed effect model, does not allow lags. \( FL_{i,t} \) is the indicator of financial instability. This has been measured by the average (again over the period of poverty index and

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2 The model partially draws Jeanneney and Kpodar (2006).
preceding four years) of the absolute value of the residual of the equation: \( FD_t = a + bFD_{t-1} + ct + \varepsilon_t \). Thus \( FI_{i,t} = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{t=1}^{n} |\varepsilon_{i,t}| \) where \( n = 5 \). \( Inf \) is the rate of inflation measured by the annual rate of change in CPI. \( u_i \) is unobserved effect which vary across countries but fixed over time. \( u_i \) may or may not be correlated with the regressors. Models that assume \( u_i \) to be uncorrelated with regressors are known as fixed effect (FE) models and those consider \( u_i \) to be correlated with regressors are called random effect (RE) models. We consider both assumptions, \( e_{i,t} \) is the error term which varies across both time and space, \( e_{i,t} \) is often referred to as idiosyncratic error (Wooldridge 2006) because it represents unobserved factors that change over time and affect the dependent variable. The classical assumptions e.g. no-correlation with explanatory variables (including \( u_i \)) applies to \( e_{i,t} \). Equation (1) implies that even if we assume that \( e_{i,t} \) is uncorrelated with regressors, estimates based on pooled OLS will be biased and inconsistent if \( u_i \) and the regressors are correlated. However, OLS can give consistent and unbiased results if we can remove \( u_i \) from the model (provided \( u_i \) and \( e_{i,t} \) are uncorrelated). Two popular methods to remove \( u_i \) are first differencing and time-demeaning\(^3\). An alternative way to handle the unobserved country specific effect is to consider a dummy variable for each panel unit. But if the size the panel units is large, using dummies for each unit means estimating a large number of parameters which might cause a lot of problems e.g. loss of degrees of freedom and multicolinearity.

We apply the time-demeaning technique. This technique involves a simple transformation\(^4\) of data: the mean calculated over the number of time periods for each unit (country) is taken away from each observation. The model obtained is called fixed effect model. Thus a simple panel data model such as:

\[
y_{i,t} = \beta_1 + \beta_2 x_{i,t} + u_i + e_{i,t} \tag{2}
\]

which is subsequently transformed into a time-demeaned or fixed effect model as

\(^3\)For description see Wooldridge (2006) and Baum (2006).

\(^4\)The demeaning transformation is also known as fixed effect transformation.
\[ y_{it} - \bar{y}_i = (\beta_1 - \bar{\beta}_1) + (x_{it} - \bar{x}_i)\beta_2 + (u_i - \bar{u}_i) + (e_{it} - \bar{e}_i) \]

or \[ y_{it} - \bar{y}_i = (x_{it} - \bar{x}_i)\beta_2 + (e_{it} - \bar{e}_i) \]

or \[ \gamma_{it} = \gamma_{i0}\beta_2 + \gamma_{i1} \] where \((x_{it} - \bar{x}_i) = \gamma_{i0}\) and \((e_{it} - \bar{e}_i) = \gamma_{i1}\)

Thus we can see that the constant term \(\beta_1\) and the variable \(u_i\) (which vary across panel units but fixed over time) do not appear in the transformed model (because \(\beta_1 = \bar{\beta}_1\) and \(u_i = \bar{u}_i\)). Given that the classic assumptions hold for it i i it i i it i it it i it i it

\[ \gamma_{i0} \]

Because each observation in the model represents a deviation from the panel level mean, the fixed effect model will have explanatory power only if the deviation above or below the mean in the response variable for a given panel unit is significantly correlated with the deviation above or below the mean in the regressors for that panel unit. In other words, the explanatory power depends on the variation within the panel unit. Moreover, FE models produce best linear unbiased and efficient (BLUE) estimates of parameters if the unobservable unit specific effect \(u_i\) is correlated with the regressors.

Another estimator for panel data is the ‘between’ effect (BE) estimator in which the panel level means of the response variables are regressed on the panel level means of the regressors. BE models are not widely used because they disregard the unit-specific variation in the response variable and as a result produce biased estimates. However, they are often applied when the time series of various panel units have inaccuracies in measurement. The idea is that if the inaccuracy has a zero mean (random) over time, a solution to this problem can be found by averaging the data over time and retaining only one observation per unit. BE estimators are biased when the individual effect \(u_i\) and the regressors are correlated. If they are uncorrelated, we prefer the random effects models.

If \(u_i\) is uncorrelated with regressors or everything else in the model, then it may simply be parameterized as a random effect in addition to random disturbance \(e_{i,t}\). Models that assume \(u_i\) as a random effect are called random effect models. Thus, in the RE models, the error term becomes the sum of \(u_i\) and \(e_{i,t}\). A simple panel data model such as:

\[ y_{it} = \beta_1 + \beta_2 x_{it} + (u_i + e_{i,t}) \] (3)

\[ \text{That is why fixed effect estimators are also known as within estimators.} \]
may be transformed into an RE model as:
\[(y_i - \theta \bar{y}) = \beta_1 (1 - \theta) + \beta_2 (x_{it} - \theta \bar{x}_i) + u_i (1 - \theta) + (e_{it} - \theta \bar{e}_i)\]
where \(\theta = 1 - \sqrt{\frac{\sigma^2}{\sigma^2 + \sigma^2_u}}\)

Thus, RE models are estimated essentially by a GLS regression method. We apply optimal weight based on \((1 - \theta)^2\). We test if \(\sigma^2_u = 0\) (no random effect, hence pooled OLS estimator is appropriate) using Breusch and Pagan (1980) LM test. Moreover, Hausman (1978) test is applied to see which specification, RE or FE, is more appropriate to our data.

IV. RESULTS

In all pooled data OLS models, the level of financial development measured in terms of the ratio of M3 to GDP appears as a significant explanatory variable of poverty. The expected minus sign of M3-GDP implies that poverty falls as the level of financial development enhances. For instance, as revealed in model 1, a 10 percentage point increase in the level of financial development reduces poverty by approximately 0.8 percentage points. The impact of financial development becomes more prominent as we introduce financial instability. The coefficient of M3-GDP changes from 0.0849 to 0.1336 in absolute values when financial instability is introduced in the model. Moreover, as tables A1 and A2 in the appendix reveal, t-values (in absolute terms) and R-squared increase while the standard error of the estimate decreases when financial instability is considered together with the level of financial development. This implies a strong correlation between the level of financial development and financial instability, suggesting financial development helps the poor to a larger extent in countries with stable financial system. The Wald test results with regard to model that considers both financial

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6 Table A3 in the appendix presents the beta coefficients of the regressors in the model which are defined as \(\frac{\partial y^*}{\partial x^*}\), where \(x\) and \(y\) are the explanatory and the response variables respectively. The starred quantities are z-transformed or standardized values of these variables. For instance, \(y^* = \frac{(y_i - \bar{y})}{s_y}\), where \(\bar{y}\) is the sample mean and \(s_y\) is the sample standard deviation of the response variable (Baum 2006). Thus the beta coefficient for M3-GDP tells us that the poverty index would decrease by 0.1762 standard deviations given a 1-standard deviation increase in M3-GDP.
development and instability (shown in the appendix) suggest that we can strongly reject the null hypothesis that population coefficients for these variables are zero.

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>model 1</th>
<th>model 2</th>
<th>model 3</th>
<th>model 4</th>
<th>model 5</th>
<th>model 6</th>
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<tr>
<td>lnpi</td>
<td>-.4511***</td>
<td>-.4538***</td>
<td>-.451***</td>
<td>-.4627***</td>
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<td>-.1336***</td>
<td>-.1323***</td>
<td>-.08492***</td>
<td>-.1336***</td>
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<td>inflation</td>
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<td>-.03405</td>
<td>-.0076</td>
<td>.02416</td>
<td>-.04175*</td>
<td>-.01306</td>
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<tr>
<td>instabm3gdp</td>
<td>.7833***</td>
<td>.6795***</td>
<td>-.5969***</td>
<td>-.00554</td>
<td>-.04469*</td>
<td>-.04441*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stdgdpp</td>
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<td>.6795***</td>
<td>-.00554</td>
<td>-.04469*</td>
<td>-.04441*</td>
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<tr>
<td>instabcgdp</td>
<td></td>
<td>.3424***</td>
<td>.2938**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_cons</td>
<td>1.614***</td>
<td>1.625***</td>
<td>1.637***</td>
<td>1.619***</td>
<td>1.581***</td>
<td>1.595***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R^2: .6423 | .6529 | .6631 | .6305 | .6446 | .6521
rmse: .09815 | .09669 | .09534 | .09981 | .09794 | .09697
ll: 390 | 397 | 397 | 392.6 | 381.9 | 393.5

legend: * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

Financial development measured in terms of the ratio of private credit to GDP appears to be a weak variable to explain poverty. Its coefficients are significant only at a low level of confidence. But as we will see later, its impact on poverty disappears in estimation considering country specific effects. As we mentioned earlier, the OLS estimation by pooling data across countries has omitted variable problem caused by heterogeneity across countries. The weaknesses of these estimations are clearly revealed by the scatter plot shown in figure 1 below. The figure plots the actual and the predicted values of the response variable in pooled data model 2. The scatter plot shows considerable difference in actual and predicted values especially where the level of poverty is relatively high.

Figure 2 presents the plot of residual against M3-GDP in the pooled OLS model 2. The pattern in the graph indicates a problem with the model. More specifically, the figure casts doubts over the classic assumption of homoskedasticity in OLS estimates as it clearly reveals the fact that the residuals are much more variable for low levels versus high levels of M3-GDP.
Figure 1
Actual Versus Predicted Values from the Pooled Data OLS 2

Predicted poverty index

Figure 2
Residual versus Predictor Plot from Pooled Data OLS 2

Actual poverty index (hci)
The fact that the results obtained from pooled data regression suffer from specification problem becomes clear if we introduce lags of the poverty index in the model. We can see in table A5 in the appendix that as lags of the dependent variable is added to the model, all the other regressors in the model lose their explanatory power. Results from this regression indicate why we cannot make the assumption that our observations are independently distributed. This is a core assumption for the OLS to provide consistent and unbiased estimates. But because of the panel nature of the data, we cannot make such assumption. We are dealing with multi-period observations so it is very likely that observation of one period is affected by the observation(s) of other period(s). This is true especially for a variable like poverty which is caused by many factors and consequences of which is likely to expand over generations. More precisely, poverty is likely to be affected by a number of factors; some of which we may observe and some we may not. Moreover, some of the unobserved effect may vary over both time periods and countries while the others may remain constant over time but vary only across countries. What all these suggest is the fact that OLS estimates presented in table 1 suffer from omitted variable problem. Because heterogeneity across countries is not taken into account, the OLS estimates are not consistent and unbiased. We therefore need to consider some special type of models. Some of the possible alternatives are considered here.

**Results from Panel Data Models**

Before results are presented, we need to have a look at our data. Table B1 in appendix B presents the overall, between and within statistics of variables considered in our basic model. Because the explanatory power of FE models depends on variation within a given panel unit, any variable with a within standard deviation of zero will be dropped and the coefficients on variable with small within standard deviation are not well identified in FE

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7 In the appendix, we provide Ramsey’s Reset test result with regard to pooled data model 2. The result strongly suggests that we can reject the null hypothesis of no omitted variables for the model.

8 Stata 9 provides an F test to check if individual-specific heterogeneity is necessary. This F test results are presented underneath the regression results from FE models. For instance, F test result in table B2 in appendix B indicates that there are significant individual (country level) effects, implying pooled OLS is not appropriate for the data we considered.
models. The log of per capita income and the rate of inflation have small standard deviations compared to other variables. So they may not be as well identified as the other variables.

### Table 2

**ONE WAY FIXED EFFECT POVERTY MODELS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>model 1</th>
<th>model 2</th>
<th>model 3</th>
<th>model 4</th>
<th>model 5</th>
<th>model 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lnpi</td>
<td>-.3812***</td>
<td>-.384***</td>
<td>-.3837***</td>
<td>-.4187***</td>
<td>-.4194***</td>
<td>-.4198***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m3gdp</td>
<td>-.08537**</td>
<td>-.07884*</td>
<td>-.07852*</td>
<td>.00418</td>
<td>.01202</td>
<td>.01444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inflation</td>
<td>.00418</td>
<td>.01202</td>
<td>.01444</td>
<td>.00298</td>
<td>.00331</td>
<td>.00968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>instabm3gdp</td>
<td>-.1745</td>
<td>-.1754</td>
<td>.05889</td>
<td>.00646</td>
<td>.00675</td>
<td>.00844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stdgdpp</td>
<td>.05675</td>
<td>.00968</td>
<td>.00331</td>
<td>.00968</td>
<td>.00331</td>
<td>.00968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cons</td>
<td>1.388***</td>
<td>1.398***</td>
<td>1.4***</td>
<td>1.475***</td>
<td>1.477***</td>
<td>1.482***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| sigma_u  | .09482  | .09523  | .09494  | .0946   | .09641  | .09427  |
| sigma_e  | .05711  | .05711  | .05708  | .05763  | .05766  | .05761  |
| rho      | .7338   | .7355   | .7345   | .73     | .7291   | .7281   |

Results presented in this and the following tables should be read in conjunction with the results presented in appendix B.

There are two versions of FE models namely one-way and two way FE models. In the one-way models the heterogeneity across panel units are confined within the intercept term which are time invariant but varies across panel units. While under the two-way version of FE models, the intercept term is allowed to vary over time within each panel unit. Table 2 presents estimated coefficients from one way FE models. As we can see in the table, the ratio of credit to GDP does not appear in any specification as a significant explanatory variable of poverty but M3-GDP does appear in all specifications with statistical significance and desired sign (negative). It should be mentioned here that the intercept term appeared in table 2 (labeled _cons) is not the constant term that would result had we used the original data. It is the intercept of the time-demeaned model where each observation within a country is taken as a deviation from the country level mean.

The FE models implemented here take $u_i$ as deviation from this constant term (_cons). Sigma_u reported in the table is the estimated variance of $u_i$, while $\sigma_i^2$ is displayed as sigma_e. The table displays another statistics labeled rho which represents the fraction of variation due to $u_i$. The estimate of rho suggests that around 73 percent of the variation in poverty estimate is attributable to cross country differences in poverty rates. Table B2 in...
appendix B presents some other results e.g. the correlation between $u_i$ and the fitted values of the regressors (labeled corr $u_i$, $X_b$), which is 20 percent for the FE model 2. Presence of this correlation suggests that the RE models are not appropriate for the data we considered. But because the correlation is not very strong, we applied RE models too and find that the results from the RE models do not have much variation from the results from FE model.

Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>model 1</th>
<th>model 2</th>
<th>model 3</th>
<th>model 4</th>
<th>model 5</th>
<th>model 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lnpi</td>
<td>-.5097***</td>
<td>-.5068***</td>
<td>-.4922***</td>
<td>-.5247***</td>
<td>-.4751***</td>
<td>-.4687***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m3gdp</td>
<td>-.09463</td>
<td>-.2581**</td>
<td>-.2604**</td>
<td>-.02407</td>
<td>-.1448</td>
<td>-.0998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inflation</td>
<td>-.01681</td>
<td>-.155</td>
<td>-.112</td>
<td>.02407</td>
<td>-.1448</td>
<td>-.0998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>instabm3gdp</td>
<td>2.171**</td>
<td>1.98**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stdgdpp</td>
<td>-1.054</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.7915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cgdp</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.0111</td>
<td>-.09178</td>
<td>-.09142</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>instabcgdp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.5926*</td>
<td>.5196*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_cons</td>
<td>1.814***</td>
<td>1.822***</td>
<td>1.814***</td>
<td>1.826***</td>
<td>1.688***</td>
<td>1.694***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

legend: * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

However, the Hausman (1978) test result with respect to RE model 2 (see table B9, appendix B) suggest that the country level individual effects do appear to be correlated with the regressors so we cannot accept the null hypothesis that the RE estimator is consistent for the type of data we considered. But this does not mean that $\sigma_u^2 = 0$. The Breusch and Pagan (1980) LM test in context of the RE model 2 strongly rejects the null hypothesis that $\sigma_u^2 = 0$. If $\sigma_u^2$ were zero, then the results obtained from pooled OLS could be considered optimal.

We can see that both FE and RE models fail to predict the impact of financial instability on poverty. Financial instability in these models appears with negative sign which contradicts the reality. Moreover, its impact on the measure of poverty is statistically insignificant in both FE and RE models. However, in the BE models (table 3) financial instability appears not only as a significant explanatory variables but also with the desired positive sign. Thus, the BE model suggests that financial instability impedes poverty alleviation through financial development. The more the instability, the more the incidence of poverty. However, the results from BE models need to be interpreted with cautions because these models assume no correlation between the unobserved country
specific effect \((u_i)\) and the regressors. Validity of this assumption may be questioned because \(u_i\) and the explanatory variables do have correlation as revealed in results from FE models. As we see in table B2 in appendix B, the correlation between \(u_i\) and the fitted values of the regressors (labeled corr \(u_i, X_b\)) is 20 percent for the FE model 2.

The difference in the results obtained from FE and RE and BE models points to the likelihood of measurement error in the time series of various panel units. We will address this issue in our next attempt.

**Table 4**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>model 1</th>
<th>model 2</th>
<th>model 3</th>
<th>model 4</th>
<th>model 5</th>
<th>model 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lnpi</td>
<td>-.421***</td>
<td>-.4252***</td>
<td>-.4263***</td>
<td>-.4483***</td>
<td>-.4494***</td>
<td>-.45***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m3gdp</td>
<td>-.0781**</td>
<td>-.0734**</td>
<td>-.07182*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inflation</td>
<td>.00222</td>
<td>.00641</td>
<td>.01162</td>
<td>.00377</td>
<td>-.0044</td>
<td>.00378</td>
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<td>instambm3gdp</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stdgdpp</td>
<td>-.1246</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.1525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cgdp</td>
<td>.00058</td>
<td>-.00466</td>
<td>-.00282</td>
<td>.04686</td>
<td>.03507</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>instabcgdp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.00058</td>
<td>-.00466</td>
<td>-.00282</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_cons</td>
<td>1.521***</td>
<td>1.535***</td>
<td>1.542***</td>
<td>1.579***</td>
<td>1.583***</td>
<td>1.59***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**legend:** * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

V. CONCLUSION

Empirical evidence suggests that financial development is pro-poor. We employed various specifications of fixed effect and random effect models and found financial development measured in terms of the ratio of M3 to GDP to have significant impact on poverty reduction in almost all specification. But the impact of financial development is good to the extent the development is not accompanied by instability. Our results suggest financial instability considerably hurt poor compared to the rich segment of the population. However, these results do not hold when financial development is measured in terms of the ratio of credit to GDP. In literature, this outcome is be interpreted as evidence of the relevance of the conduit effect.

A major limitation of this study is that it applies only the one-way FE and RE models. We do run a FE model considering time dummies but found the regressors to
lose explanatory power once the time dummies are considered. This may be due to the unbalanced panel and high autocorrelation in data. However, we considered a FE linear model with AR (1) disturbance and found the same results as obtained from the other versions of the FE models. But this time the F test result (see under the regression output in table B10, appendix B) suggests that pooled OLS would be appropriate. Another limitation of the study is that we consider strict exogeneity of the regressors including $u_t$.\n
REFERENCES


APPENDIX A: RESULTS FROM POOED OLS

TABLE A1: POOLED DATA OLS 1

|       | Coef. | Std. Err. | t     | P>|t| | [95% Conf. Interval] |
|-------|-------|-----------|-------|-----|---------------------|
| lnp1  | -0.4511388 | 0.0237148 | -19.02 | 0.000 | -0.4977513 to -0.4045262 |
| m3gdp | -0.0849236 | 0.018657 | -4.55 | 0.000 | -0.1215948 to -0.0482524 |
| inflation | 0.0070392 | 0.0226041 | 0.31 | 0.756 | -0.0373902 to 0.0514686 |
| _cons | 1.613805 | 0.0788595 | 20.46 | 0.000 | 1.458803 to 1.768807 |

Number of obs = 430
F( 3, 426) = 131.99
Prob > F = 0.0000
R-squared = 0.6448
Root MSE = 0.09815

TABLE A2: POOLED DATA OLS 2

|       | Coef. | Std. Err. | t     | P>|t| | [95% Conf. Interval] |
|-------|-------|-----------|-------|-----|---------------------|
| lnp1  | -0.4537854 | 0.0232513 | -19.52 | 0.000 | -0.4994872 to -0.4080837 |
| m3gdp | -0.133607  | 0.0227229 | -5.88 | 0.000 | -0.1782703 to -0.0889437 |
| instabm3gdp | 0.7833013 | 0.1929137 | 4.06 | 0.000 | 0.4041176 to 1.162485 |
| inflation | -0.0340485 | 0.0186808 | -1.82 | 0.069 | -0.0707668 to 0.0026699 |
| _cons | 1.624598 | 0.0777272 | 20.90 | 0.000 | 1.47182 to 1.777375 |

Number of obs = 430
F( 4, 425) = 103.60
Prob > F = 0.0000
R-squared = 0.6562
Root MSE = 0.09669

Post Estimated Results from Pooled Data OLS 2:

TABLE A3: ESTIMATED BETA

|       | Coef. | Std. Err. | t     | P>|t| | Beta |
|-------|-------|-----------|-------|-----|-------|
| lnp1  | -0.4537854 | 0.0232513 | -19.52 | 0.000 | -0.7827169 |
| m3gdp | -0.133607  | 0.0227229 | -5.88 | 0.000 | -0.1762684 |
| instabm3gdp | 0.7833013 | 0.1929137 | 4.06 | 0.000 | 0.1325737 |
| inflation | -0.0340485 | 0.0186808 | -1.82 | 0.069 | -0.0466043 |
| _cons | 1.624598 | 0.0777272 | 20.90 | 0.000 |       |

Wald Test: H0: m3gdp, instabm3gdp = 0; F(2,425)= 14.23; Prob > F = 0.0000

Ramsey’s RESET Test
Using Powers of the Fitted Values of the Poverty Index (hci):
Ho: model has no omitted variables
F(3, 422) = 128.14
Prob > F = 0.0000
**TABLE A4: POOLED DATA OLS 3**

Number of obs = 429  
F( 5, 423) = 92.31  
Prob > F = 0.0000  
R-squared = 0.6670  
Root MSE = 0.09534

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Robust</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>[95% Conf. Interval]</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hci</td>
<td>Coef.</td>
<td>Std. Err.</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>P&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lnpi</td>
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<td>-19.22</td>
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<td>-.4970955</td>
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<tr>
<td>m3gdp</td>
<td>-.1322942</td>
<td>.0224708</td>
<td>-5.89</td>
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<td>-.1764625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>instabm3gdp</td>
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<td>.1843579</td>
<td>3.69</td>
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<td>.3171488</td>
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<tr>
<td>stdgdpp</td>
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<td>0.000</td>
<td>-.86173</td>
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<tr>
<td>inflation</td>
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<td>-.0437671</td>
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<tr>
<td>_cons</td>
<td>1.63658</td>
<td>.0779812</td>
<td>20.99</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>1.483301</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE A5: POOLED DATA OLS WITH LAG DEPENDENT VARIABLE**

Number of obs = 73  
F( 6, 66) = 33.36  
Prob > F = 0.0000  
R-squared = 0.8334  
Root MSE = 0.03729

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Robust</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>[95% Conf. Interval]</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hci</td>
<td>Coef.</td>
<td>Std. Err.</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>P&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-2.25</td>
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<td>-.2001188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hci</td>
<td>.8631686</td>
<td>.1065948</td>
<td>8.10</td>
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<td>.6503452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L1.</td>
<td>.0677495</td>
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<td>-0.98</td>
<td>0.332</td>
<td>-.2062209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L2.</td>
<td>-.0274281</td>
<td>.0555428</td>
<td>-1.53</td>
<td>0.130</td>
<td>-.0631155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m3gdp</td>
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<td>0.63</td>
<td>0.530</td>
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<tr>
<td>inflation</td>
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<td>-.1444697</td>
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<tr>
<td>_cons</td>
<td>.3706982</td>
<td>.1648519</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>0.028</td>
<td>.0415608</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE A6: POOLED DATA OLS 4**

Number of obs = 429  
F( 3, 425) = 126.81  
Prob > F = 0.0000  
R-squared = 0.6331  
Root MSE = 0.09981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Robust</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>[95% Conf. Interval]</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hci</td>
<td>Coef.</td>
<td>Std. Err.</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>P&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lnpi</td>
<td>-.4627299</td>
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<tr>
<td>cgdp</td>
<td>-.0055428</td>
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<tr>
<td>inflation</td>
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<td>_cons</td>
<td>1.619299</td>
<td>.0811911</td>
<td>19.94</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>1.459713</td>
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### TABLE A7: POOLED DATA OLS 5

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>lnpi</td>
<td>-.4486112 (0.0240915)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cgdp</td>
<td>-.0446943 (0.0197683)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>instabcgdp</td>
<td>.342043 (0.0906263)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inflation</td>
<td>-.0417547 (0.0190592)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_cons</td>
<td>1.580732 (0.0786004)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Number of obs = 428
F( 4, 423) = 99.15
Prob > F = 0.0000
R-squared = 0.6479
Root MSE = 0.09794

---

### TABLE A8: POOLED DATA OLS 6

<table>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>lnpi</td>
<td>-.4473951 (0.0242893)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cgdp</td>
<td>-.044406 (0.0192488)</td>
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<td>.2937841 (0.0922574)</td>
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<tr>
<td>stdgdpp</td>
<td>-.5341309 (0.1433017)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inflation</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>_cons</td>
<td>1.595176 (0.0788989)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Number of obs = 427
F( 5, 421) = 85.02
Prob > F = 0.0000
R-squared = 0.6562
Root MSE = 0.09697
TABLE B1: SUMMARY OF THE PANEL DATA

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Max</th>
<th>Observations</th>
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<td>12.39958</td>
<td>16.41162</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>79.35</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>.102</td>
<td>70.584</td>
<td>80.07958</td>
<td>n = 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>within</td>
<td>6.931503</td>
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<td>80.07958</td>
<td>T-bar = 6.32353</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2.572309</td>
<td>.102</td>
<td>70.584</td>
<td>n = 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>within</td>
<td>5.95828</td>
<td>-24.34943</td>
<td>91.19223</td>
<td>T-bar = 6.32353</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cgdp</td>
<td>40.65244</td>
<td>28.60905</td>
<td>2.728468</td>
<td>146.1481</td>
<td>N = 433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>between</td>
<td>24.64284</td>
<td>4.174426</td>
<td>80.07958</td>
<td>T-bar = 6.32353</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>within</td>
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<td>-24.34943</td>
<td>91.19223</td>
<td>T-bar = 6.32353</td>
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<tr>
<td>ins~gdp</td>
<td>5.318948</td>
<td>7.912336</td>
<td>.4422445</td>
<td>111.4181</td>
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<tr>
<td>between</td>
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<td>1.247873</td>
<td>45.44027</td>
<td>111.4181</td>
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<tr>
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<td>71.29676</td>
<td>T-bar = 6.45588</td>
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<tr>
<td>m3gdp</td>
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<td>7.118777</td>
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<tr>
<td>between</td>
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<td>7.977093</td>
<td>107.8741</td>
<td>131.2097</td>
<td>n = 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>9.778911</td>
<td>-10.1296</td>
<td>93.18751</td>
<td>T-bar = 6.39706</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ins~3gdp</td>
<td>2.771136</td>
<td>2.749052</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20.07871</td>
<td>N = 440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>between</td>
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<td>.3576512</td>
<td>13.35264</td>
<td>20.07871</td>
<td>n = 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>within</td>
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<td>-7.374862</td>
<td>11.2186</td>
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<tr>
<td>inflat~n</td>
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<td>.2257527</td>
<td>-0.003332</td>
<td>1.498168</td>
<td>N = 449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>between</td>
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<td>.0043073</td>
<td>.5794414</td>
<td>1.498168</td>
<td>n = 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>within</td>
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<td>-.3730157</td>
<td>1.115143</td>
<td>T-bar = 6.60294</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>stdgdppc</td>
<td>3.673535</td>
<td>2.888598</td>
<td>.3176078</td>
<td>23.38795</td>
<td>N = 449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1.052037</td>
<td>8.401389</td>
<td>23.38795</td>
<td>n = 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>18.6601</td>
<td>T-bar = 6.60294</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>code</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>19.63356</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>N = 1700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>between</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>19.77372</td>
<td>n = 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>within</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>T = 25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>between</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>n = 68</td>
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<tr>
<td>within</td>
<td>7.213224</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>T = 25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Description of the Variables and Sources of Data


cgdp: The ratio of credit by the banks (to the private sector) to GDP. Source: World Development Indicator (WDI) 2006.


m3gdp: The Ratio of M3 to GDP. Source: WDI 2006.

instbm3gdp: Financial instability measured in terms of M3-GDP ratio.

inflation: Log (1+ rate of inflation expressed in decimal). Source: (rate of inflation measured from CPI) WDI 2006

stdgdppc: Standard deviation of GDP per capita. Source (GDP Per Capita): WDI 2006
### TABLE B2: ONE-WAY FIXED EFFECT MODEL 2

|             | Coef.  | Std. Err. |     t  |   P>|t| | [95% Conf. Interval] |
|-------------|--------|-----------|--------|--------|----------------------|
| hci         |        |           |        |        |                      |
| lnpi        | -.38397 | .027621   | -13.90 | 0.000  | -.4480338            |
| m3gdp       | -.07884 | .031617   | -2.49  | 0.013  | -.141018             |
| instabm3gdp | -.17445 | .16675    | -1.05  | 0.296  |                      |
| inflation   | .01202  | .01782    | 0.67   | 0.500  |                      |
| _cons       | 1.3984  | .08569    | 16.32  | 0.000  |                      |

**Fixed-effects (within) regression**

- Number of obs = 430
- Group variable (i): code
- R-sq: within = 0.4336
  - Obs per group: min = 3
  - avg = 6.3
  - max = 17
- F(4, 358) = 68.52
- corr(u_i, Xb) = 0.2028

**Between regression (regression on group means)**

- Number of obs = 430
- Group variable (i): code
- R-sq: within = 0.3069
  - Obs per group: min = 3
  - avg = 6.3
  - max = 17
- F(4, 63) = 12.84

**Random-effects GLS regression**

- Number of obs = 430
- Group variable (i): code
- R-sq: within = 0.4328
  - Obs per group: min = 3
  - avg = 6.3
  - max = 17
- Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian
- Wald chi2(4) = 452.80
- corr(u_i, X) = 0 (assumed)

|             | Coef.  | Std. Err. |     t  |   P>|z| | [95% Conf. Interval] |
|-------------|--------|-----------|--------|--------|----------------------|
| hci         |        |           |        |        |                      |
| lnpi        | -.50679 | .03952    | -12.82 | 0.000  | -.6857576            |
| m3gdp       | -.25809 | .07908    | -3.26  | 0.002  | -.416113             |
| instabm3gdp | 2.1714  | .72376    | 3.00   | 0.004  | 3.61743              |
| inflation   | -.15498 | .09560    | -1.62  | 0.110  | -.346017             |
| _cons       | 1.822   | .11991    | 15.20  | 0.000  | 1.582748             |

**TABLE B3: BETWEEN EFFECT MODEL 2**

**TABLE B4: RANDOM EFFECT MODEL 2**

- Number of obs = 430
- Group variable (i): code
- R-sq: within = 0.4336
  - Obs per group: min = 3
  - avg = 6.3
  - max = 17
- Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian
- Wald chi2(4) = 452.80
- corr(u_i, X) = 0 (assumed)

|             | Coef.  | Std. Err. |     z  |   P>|z| | [95% Conf. Interval] |
|-------------|--------|-----------|--------|--------|----------------------|
| hci         |        |           |        |        |                      |
| lnpi        | -.4252 | .02271    | -18.72 | 0.000  | -.669706             |
| m3gdp       | -.07343 | .02800    | -2.62  | 0.009  | -.128310             |
| instabm3gdp | -.09678 | .16369    | -0.59  | 0.554  | -.417607             |
| inflation   | .00641 | .01766    | 0.36   | 0.716  | -.028191             |
| _cons       | 1.5351 | .07056    | 21.75  | 0.000  | 1.396754             |

**Notes:**
- (fraction of variance due to u_i)
- corr(u_i, X) = 0 (assumed)
- Wald chi2(4) = 452.80
- corr(u_i, X) = 0 (assumed)

**Finance and Poverty: Evidence from Panel Study**
TABLE B5: TWO-WAY FIXED EFFECT MODEL 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fixed-effects (within) regression</th>
<th>Number of obs = 430</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group variable (i): code</td>
<td>Number of groups = 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-sq: within = 0.5093</td>
<td>Obs per group: min = 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>between = 0.7352</td>
<td>avg = 6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>overall = 0.6505</td>
<td>max = 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F(27, 335) = 12.88</td>
<td>Prob &gt; F = 0.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corr(u_i, Xb) = 0.1889</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| hci | Coef. | Std. Err. | t     | P>|t| | [95% Conf. Interval] |
|-----|-------|-----------|-------|------|---------------------|
| lnpi | -0.3904507 | 0.0291173 | -13.41 | 0.000 | -0.4477265 | -0.3331748 |
| m3gd | -0.0310072 | 0.0327759 | -0.95  | 0.345 | -0.0954797 | 0.0334653 |
| instabm3gd | -0.1499691 | 0.1673739 | -0.90  | 0.371 | -0.4792054 | 0.1792672 |
| inflation | -0.0021502 | 0.0193834 | -0.11  | 0.912 | -0.0402787 | 0.0359784 |
| yr1980 | 0.1548437 | 0.0331899 | 4.67   | 0.000 | 0.0895568 | 0.2201307 |
| yr1981 | -0.0169852 | 0.0232518 | -0.73  | 0.466 | -0.0627231 | 0.0287528 |
| yr1982 | (dropped) |          |       |      |         |          |
| yr1983 | 0.0266283 | 0.0399948 | -0.67  | 0.506 | -0.1052088 | 0.0519253 |
| yr1984 | 0.0525893 | 0.0228918 | 2.30   | 0.022 | 0.0075595 | 0.0976191 |
| yr1985 | 0.0387511 | 0.0183618 | -2.11  | 0.036 | -0.0748704 | 0.0083172 |
| yr1986 | -0.0135358 | 0.0196315 | -0.69  | 0.490 | -0.0521705 | 0.0250628 |
| yr1987 | 0.0081547 | 0.0146421 | 0.56   | 0.578 | -0.0306872 | 0.0203049 |
| yr1988 | 0.0407323 | 0.0244626 | 2.82   | 0.005 | 0.0012283 | 0.0691813 |
| yr1989 | 0.0054208 | 0.013254  | 0.41   | 0.683 | -0.0206508 | 0.0314924 |
| yr1990 | -0.0086707 | 0.0145656 | -0.54  | 0.589 | 0.0037421 | 0.0198818 |
| yr1991 | 0.0083511 | 0.0194615 | 0.43   | 0.668 | -0.029311 | 0.0466333 |
| yr1992 | -0.0108038 | 0.030222  | -0.83  | 0.407 | -0.0364189 | 0.0181144 |
| yr1993 | 0.001377 | 0.0120892 | -0.11  | 0.909 | -0.0251573 | 0.0224033 |
| yr1994 | 0.0042954 | 0.0152709 | -0.28  | 0.779 | -0.0343343 | 0.0257435 |
| yr1995 | 0.0151603 | 0.0120317 | -1.26  | 0.209 | -0.0388275 | 0.0085069 |
| yr1996 | 0.008665 | 0.010538 | -0.82  | 0.412 | -0.029394  | 0.012064 |
| yr1997 | -0.0204817 | 0.0162959 | -1.62  | 0.106 | -0.0453248 | 0.0043615 |
| yr1998 | 0.0113562 | 0.0101397 | -1.12  | 0.264 | -0.0313016 | 0.0085893 |
| yr1999 | 0.0076616 | 0.0125862 | -0.61  | 0.543 | -0.0324195 | 0.0170963 |
| yr2000 | 0.0156723 | 0.0058771 | 1.40   | 0.162 | 0.0376546 | 0.006311 |
| yr2001 | 0.013239 | 0.0123314 | -1.07  | 0.284 | -0.0374957 | 0.011078 |
| yr2002 | 0.0152443 | 0.010625  | -1.43  | 0.152 | 0.0361445 | 0.0056558 |
| yr2003 | 0.0277627 | 0.0131495 | -2.11  | 0.035 | -0.0536286 | -0.0018967 |
| _cons | 1.409682 | 0.0903805 | 15.60  | 0.000 | 1.231897  | 1.587466  |

| sigma_u | 0.09496335 |
| sigma_e | 0.05494884 |
| rho | 0.74916746 | (fraction of variance due to u_i) |

F test that all u_i = 0:  F(67, 335) = 13.42  Prob > F = 0.0000

TESTING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF TIME-EFFECT

| yr1980 = 0 | yr1990 = 0 | yr2000 = 0 | yr1981 = 0 | yr1991 = 0 | yr2001 = 0 | yr1982 = 0 | yr1992 = 0 | yr2002 = 0 | yr1983 = 0 | yr1993 = 0 | yr2003 = 0 | yr1984 = 0 | yr1994 = 0 | yr2004 = 0 | yr1985 = 0 | yr1995 = 0 | yr2005 = 0 | yr1986 = 0 | yr1996 = 0 | yr2006 = 0 | yr1987 = 0 | yr1997 = 0 | yr2007 = 0 | yr1988 = 0 | yr1998 = 0 | yr2008 = 0 | yr1989 = 0 | yr1999 = 0 | yr2009 = 0 |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|

F(23, 335) = 2.24  Prob > F = 0.0011
### CREDIT-GDP RATIO VS POVERTY

#### TABLE B6: FIXED EFFECT MODEL 5

|                      | Coef. | Std. Err. | t     | P>|t| | [95% Conf. Interval] |
|----------------------|-------|-----------|-------|-----|----------------------|
| lnpi                 | -.4194468 | .0265261 | -15.81 | 0.000 | -.4716143 - .3672922 |
| cgdp                 | .0067491 | .023324  | 0.29  | 0.772 | -.0391210 .0526193  |
| instabcgp dp        | -.0019545 | .0625293 | -0.03 | 0.975 | -.1249277 .1210186  |
| inflation            | .0033117 | .0197438 | 0.17  | 0.867 | -.0355175 .0421409  |
| _cons                | 1.477441 | .0840866 | 17.57 | 0.000 | 1.312072 .1.64281   |

F(4,356) = 65.97
Prob > F = 0.0000

#### TABLE B7: BETWEEN EFFECT MODEL 5

|                      | Coef. | Std. Err. | t     | P>|t| | [95% Conf. Interval] |
|----------------------|-------|-----------|-------|-----|----------------------|
| lnpi                 | -.4751346 | .0495526 | -9.59 | 0.000 | -.5741575 -.3761116 |
| cgdp                 | -.0917845 | .0599908 | -1.53 | 0.131 | -.2116665 .0280975 |
| instabcgp dp        | .5925902 | .2338667 | 2.53  | 0.014 | .1252449 1.059936  |
| inflation            | -.1448187 | .1056516 | -1.37 | 0.175 | -.3559467 .0663092 |
| _cons                | 1.688429 | .1453246 | 11.62 | 0.000 | 1.398021 1.978837  |

F(4,63) = 48.49
Prob > F = 0.0000

#### TABLE B8: RANDOM EFFECT MODEL 5

|                      | Coef. | Std. Err. | z     | P>|z| | [95% Conf. Interval] |
|----------------------|-------|-----------|-------|-----|----------------------|
| lnpi                 | -.4493517 | .0226805 | -19.81| 0.000 | -.4938047 -.4048987 |
| cgdp                 | -.0046646 | .0214455 | -0.22 | 0.828 | -.0466971 .0373678 |
| instabcgp dp        | .0468605 | .0606546 | 0.77  | 0.440 | -.0720204 .1657415 |
| inflation            | .004399  | .0194315 | -0.23 | 0.821 | -.042484 .0336859  |
| _cons                | 1.583303 | .0713449 | 22.19 | 0.000 | 1.443469 1.723136  |

sigma_u | .09460613
sigma_e | .05766048
rho     | .72914731 (fraction of variance due to u_i)

F test that all u_i=0: F(67, 356) = 12.90
Prob > F = 0.0000
Breusch and Pagan Lagrangian multiplier test for random effects:

\[ hci[code,t] = Xb + u[code] + e[code,t] \]

Estimated results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Var</th>
<th>sd = sqrt(Var)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hci</td>
<td>.0269341</td>
<td>.1641162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>.0032609</td>
<td>.0571041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>.0064776</td>
<td>.0804838</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Test: \( \text{Var}(u) = 0 \)

\( \text{chi}^2(1) = 337.71 \)

\( \text{Prob} > \text{chi}^2 = 0.0000 \)

--- Coefficients ---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(b)</th>
<th>(B)</th>
<th>difference</th>
<th>S.E.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>-.4251912</td>
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<td>.0157186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m3gdp</td>
<td>-.0788397</td>
<td>-.0734311</td>
<td>-.0054086</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>instabm3gdp</td>
<td>-.1744512</td>
<td>-.0967817</td>
<td>-.0776695</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>inflation</td>
<td>.0120212</td>
<td>.0064136</td>
<td>.0056076</td>
<td>.0023797</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( b = \text{consistent under } H_0 \text{ and } H_a; \text{ obtained from xtreg} \)

\( B = \text{inconsistent under } H_a, \text{ efficient under } H_0; \text{ obtained from xtreg} \)

Test: \( H_0: \text{difference in coefficients not systematic} \)

\[ \text{chi}^2(4) = (b-B)'[(V_b-V_B)^{-1}](b-B) \]

\[ = 235.69 \]

\( \text{Prob} > \text{chi}^2 = 0.0000 \)

--- Fixed Effect AR(1) Model ---

FE (within) regression with AR(1) disturbances

Number of obs = 362
Number of groups = 68
R-sq: within = 0.0386
between = 0.0329
overall = 0.0367
F(4,290) = 2.91
corr(u_i, Xb) = -.24253

|     | Coef. | Std. Err. | t     | P>|t| | [95% Conf. Interval] |
|-----|-------|-----------|-------|------|----------------------|
| hci | -.0124536 | .0136472 | -0.91  | 0.362 | -.0393138  .0144066 |
| lnpi | -.2506225 | .075719 | 3.31   | .001 | .101594  .3996509 |
| m3gdp | -.1680613 | .3003173 | -.56  | 0.576 | -.7591392  .4230167 |
| inflation | .0068959 | .0330266 | 0.21  | 0.835 | -.0581063  .0719981 |
| _cons | .087367 | .015455 | 5.65  | 0.000 | .0569487  .1177852 |
| rho_ar | .7390993 |           |       |      |                      |
| sigma_u | .1935571 |           |       |      |                      |
| sigma_e | .06519738 |          |       |      |                      |
| rho_fov | .89810162 | (fraction of variance due to u_i) |       |      |                      |

F test that all \( u_i = 0 \): \( F(67,290) = .11 \)

\( \text{Prob} > F = 1.0000 \)
ID Number: 140
Title: WOMAN IN NATIONAL WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINES IN TURKEY

Field of the Study: Communication and Woman Studies
Format of the Presentation: Written Text- Powerpoint
Name of the Author: Asistant Prof. Emine DEMİRAY
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ABSTRACT
Means of mass communication convey the news under the male dominance and within the male discourse. This situation prevailing all around the world is not different in Turkey. Women cannot have a say in the management of the mass media and mostly work in lower positions. Women take part in the news either as a mother or as a wife and these news are only about violence, harassment, rape, accident, illustrated magazine, health, nutrition, child etc. They are not the ones who are being consulted or whose ideas are requested.

This study is restricted with only one issue of each news magazines titled as AKSİYON, AKTÜEL, HAFTALIK, TEMPO and NOKTA. These magazines are published nationally and they are among the ones which have the highest circulation rate in Turkey. The news, which compose the sampling in the study and which were published in the weekly news magazines, are going to be examined by content analysis method.

The aim of the study is to determine the position of the women who are employed in the staff, which prepares the news magazines, and to determine how the women are dealt with in the news.
In the light of this aim

- The sex distribution of the people (reporter, journalist) who took part in the news production process
- The topic distribution of the news in the news magazines
- Under which topics men and women are mentioned in the news magazines
- The sex, age and social position of the people mentioned in the news in the magazines
- Whether the people mentioned in the news are victim or survivor in respect to their sexes,
- The sex, age and social position of the individuals who were consulted will be examined.
WOMEN IN NATIONAL WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINES IN TURKEY

The concept of “social gender” is one of the most important concepts used in women’s studies. Two different gender concepts are found in the literature of social sciences. One is biological sex, and the other is the concept of social gender. Biological sex means the classification of people as “men” and “women” depending on their physical differences. Social gender, on the other hand, defines the different roles and behaviours of men and women within the society (Suğur, 2006, p 3).

The patriarchal understanding prefers to perceive being a woman and being a man as opposite ends, and tries to differentiate gender roles with a clear-cut separation. As a rule, there is a list of expectations for men consisting of “do”s and “be”s while the same list of expectations consists of “don’t”s for women. Similarly, what women are expected to do/be, men are forbidden to do/be. Men are expected to be tough, dominant, powerful, judging, determined, successful, independent, ambitious, active and effective solution finders, while women are expected to be benign, accommodating, weak, obedient, irresolute, unsuccessful, dependent, helpless and passive. This system has, for the sake of predetermined gender roles, divided into two those characteristics which make all of us a whole in terms of being human beings, assigning one half to men and the other to women, and thus, making us limited individuals lacking the other half of themselves (Navaro, 1996, p 29).

Every individual experiences the process of socialization to become a member of the society (s)he lives in, to fit in that society and to earn himself/herself a position in it. The individual gains/forms an identity through this process of socialization, in which the family, friends, the social environment, the school and means of mass communication all play a role. The socialization process assigns different identities to men and women in terms of their gender roles. One of the most basic elements of socialization is communication. The means of mass communication, which we all are involved with during our daily lives, play an important role in the socialization process as well.

Means of mass communication encompass various codes and indications related with the process of communication. These codes and indications, which are related with the value judgements establishing the cultural content of society, are held together thanks to tradition, and meanings are built through traditions as well. Means of mass communication provide
examples for the society, offer alternative perspectives, socialize people according to these perspectives, and reflect the society which they live in. Each of these means (newspapers, the radio, the television, the cinema, magazines and the Internet) has different features of their own; yet, what they have in common is that they are all available for mass access/utilization (Burton, 1995, p 39).

We all have a social gender, which is influential on every aspect of our lives. Those processes which produce and reproduce social genders never come to an end. Despite the fact that the social gender is not an identity which one is truly aware of, it is continuously produced in environments such as the media, work place and our homes, depending on the structures of meanings and messages around us. The media has a particular importance in this process due to the fact that the television is the main and most common means of entertainment and information for a large section of society, and people spend a substantial part of their lives watching TV, and reading newspapers or magazines. The media conveys the images of men and women as far as social genders are concerned. These images reflect those cultural values and expectations which shape gender roles. They define what is noteworthy, and what the society should see and hear. The descriptions/definitions of men and women by the media can help to create social gender definitions largely shared by the society, to reinforce and maintain these definitions, or to change them (Kaypakoğlu, 2004, p 93).

The most important function of the means of mass communication, which play an influential role on our socialization, is to inform us: to convey the news. Conveying the news is an activity of the public area, and all of this activity belongs to men. The non-presence of women in the public domain has naturally caused this activity to be dominated solely by men, in terms of both the addressed mass and the subject matter. Not only the news are constructed by and about men, but they are also created from a male perspective. And this goes beyond the people or institutions producing the news, determining the overall discourse of the news (Fiske, 1989, p 284).

Rakow and Kranich claim that the news employ a male narrative style, and thus, women are not considered as the directly addressed audience of the news. According to them, the woman who is the subject/topic of the news is regarded not as a speaking subject/person, but as an image that supports the news (Rakow and Kranich, 1991, p 12). As can be understood from these views, it is seen that the male perspective has dominance when news are evaluated in
terms of social gender. While those news, carrying patriarchal traces and being conveyed to men and women from this perspective, are broadcasted as the facts themselves, social identities of men and women are reproduced.

Means of mass communication convey the news under male dominance, and within male discourse. This situation prevailing all over the world is not different in Turkey. Women do not have a say in the management of means of mass communication, and they are often employed in minor positions. Women usually take part in the news as a wife or mother, as the subject of the news pieces about violence, harassment, rape, accidents, gossips and sensations, health, nutrition, children, etc. Women are often not present as consultants or opinion-providers.

The main aim of this study is to determine the positions of women working as reporters for weekly news magazines, to understand under what subjects women are handled in these magazines, and what their functions are in these news stories (subject, spokesperson, expert or commentator, conveyor of personal experience, eye witness, conveyor of popular opinion, other).

To achieve this aim, all the news of the selected news magazines have been examined with the content analysis method, and the evaluation has been based on the “Global Media Monitoring Project,” which was realized on the radio, the television and the newspaper news in 1995, 2000 and 2005, respectively. The study is limited to one issue each for 5 news magazines published in Turkey, which have the highest circulation rate in Turkey: AKSİYON, dated 29 January 2007; AKTÜEL, dated 01 February 2007; HAFTALIK, dated 28 January 2007; TEMPO, dated 01 February 2007; and NOKTA (a political news magazine), dated 01 February 2007. All the news pieces in the news magazines constituting the sampling in this study, except for the commentaries, letters to the editors, advertisements, cartoons and introductions, have been examined. A total of 410 pieces of news have been evaluated, and their breakdown among the magazines is as the following: 114 from Aksiyon; 83 from Aktüel; 80 from Nokta; 74 from Tempo; and 59 from Haftalik.
The evaluation encompasses the following 15 headings concerning the news examined:

Item number, subject, scope of the story, role, gender, age, occupation or position, function in the news story, family relationships, victim, survivor, is this person directly quoted in the story?, is there a photograph of this person?, are women central to the news in this story?, does the story clearly highlight issues concerning equality or in equality between women and men? does the story clearly challenge or clearly reinforce stereotypes about women and/or men?, further analysis.

Of the 385 people from the five weekly news magazines constituting the sampling of this study, 109 are women, and 276 are men. The percentages provided in the text for men and women have not been calculated over the total number of cases, but over the numbers of men and women separately.

**Subject**

When the news pieces in the weekly news magazines are examined in terms of their subjects, the subjects “arts, entertainment, leisure, cinema, theatre, books, dance” come in the first rank with a rate of 18.8%. This is followed, respectively, by “other stories on social or legal issues” and “celebrity, arts and media-other subject” (7.6%), “sports, events, players, facilities, training, policies, funding” (7.3%), “domestic politics/government (local, regional, national), elections, speeches, the political process” (6.6%), “migration, refugees, asylum seekers, ethnic conflict, integration, racism, xenophobia” (5.4%), and “medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical research, funding (apart from HIV-AIDS)” and “war, civil war, terrorism, state-based violence” (5.1%). The subjects least covered in the news magazines are, respectively, “riots, demonstrations, public disorder” and “disaster, accident, famine, earthquake, flood, hurricane, plane crash, car crash” with a rate of 0.2%, “labour issues, strikes, trade unions, negotiations, employment, unemployment” and “religion, culture, tradition, controversies, teachings, celebrations, practises” with a rate of 0.5%, “other stories on the economy” and “other stories on celebrities, arts, media” with a rate of 0.7%, and “family relations, inter-generational conflict, single parents” with a rate of 1%. When the news pieces in the weekly news magazines are evaluated in terms of gender distribution, it is seen that women are covered most for the following subjects: “arts, entertainment, leisure, cinema, theatre, books, dance” (24.8%), “medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical research, funding (apart from HIV-AIDS)” (12.8%), “migration, refugees, asylum seekers, ethnic conflict, integration, racism, xenophobia” and “sports, events, players, facilities,
training, policies, funding” (7.3%), “education, child care, nurseries, pre-school to university, adult education, literacy” (6.4%), and “foreign/international politics, relations with other countries, negotiations, treaties, UN peacekeeping” and “other stories on social or legal issues” (5.5%). Yet, women are not covered for the following subjects; “economic policies, strategies, models (national, international),” “labour issues, strikes, trade unions, negotiations, employment, unemployment,” “science, technology, research, funding, discoveries, developments,” “human rights, women's rights, children's rights, gay & lesbian rights, rights of minorities ..,” “religion, culture, tradition, controversies, teachings, celebrations, practices,” “other stories on celebrities, arts, media” and “domestic politics/government (local, regional, national), elections, speeches, the political process”. As for men, they are covered most for the following subjects: “arts, entertainment, leisure, cinema, theatre, books, dance” (13%), “other subject” and “domestic politics/government (local, regional, national), elections, speeches, the political process” (9.4%), “other stories on social or legal issues” (8.7%), “sports, events, players, facilities, training, policies, funding” (8%), “war, civil war, terrorism, state-based violence” (6.9%), and “migration, refugees, asylum seekers, ethnic conflict, integration, racism, xenophobia” (4.7%). Men have never been covered for the subjects of “disasters, accidents, famines, earthquakes, floods, hurricanes, plane crashes, car crashes”. The subjects for which men are least covered are as follows; “beauty contests, models, fashion, beauty aids, cosmetic surgery” (0.4%), and “labour issues, strikes, trade unions, negotiations, employment, unemployment,” “other stories on the economy,” “development issues, sustainability, community development,” “family relations, inter-generational conflicts, single parents,” and “religion, culture, tradition, controversies, teachings, celebrations, practises” (0.7%).

Scope of story
The evaluation of the weekly news magazines in terms of the scopes of news stories reveals the following rates: Most of the news pieces (62.2%) are on a “national” level (having importance within my own country); 19.5% of the news pieces can be classified as “national and other” (involving my country and other countries); 10.2% are on a “local” level (having importance within my city, community, area); and 7.6% comprise of news on a foreign/international level (involving other countries or the world in general). The gender distribution in terms of scope of story for the news pieces evaluated is as follows: For the news pieces covering women; 60% are on a local level, 21.3% can be classified as “national and other,” 12% are on a national level, and 6.5% are on a foreign/international level. As for
the news pieces covering men; 66.9% are on a national level, 18.2% can be classified as “national and other,” 8.4% are on a local level, and 6.5% are on a foreign/international level.

Role
Of the people coded in a total of 410 news pieces from five weekly news magazines, 24.9% are reporters/journalists; 68.8% are “persons in the news.” Of those people employed as reporters/journalists in the weekly news magazines, 43.1% are women, and 21% are men.

Gender-Age
Of the people coded in a total of 410 news pieces from the news magazines constituting the sampling, 67.3% are men, 26.6% are women, and the gender of 0.7% is not known. When these people are evaluated in terms of their ages, it is seen that: the age of 61% is not mentioned, 3.7% are 19-34 years old, 2.4% are 65 or older, 1.5% are 50-64, and 1% are 13-18 years old.

Occupation or position
When the occupations/positions of the people covered in the weekly news magazines are evaluated, the following rates are revealed: the majority (10.2%) are in the group of “media professionals, journalists, video or film-makers, theatre directors,” 8% are in the group of “celebrities, artists, actors, writers, singers, radio or television personalities,” the occupation of 7.6% is not known, 7.1% are in the group of “academic experts, education professionals, teachers or university lecturers (all disciplines), nursery or kindergarten teachers, child-care workers,” 6.6% are in the group of “government officials, politicians, presidents, government ministers, political leaders, political party staff, spokespersons,” and 5.1% are in the groups of “business people, executives, managers, entrepreneurs, economists, financial experts, stock brokers” and “sportspeople, athletes, players, coaches, referees”. The occupations/positions least seen among the people covered in weekly news magazines are as follows; “criminals, suspects” (1.2%), “science or technology professionals, engineers, technicians, computer specialists” and “homemakers, parents, either female or male” (1%), “retired people, pensioners” (0.7%), and “religious figures, priests, monks, rabbis, mullahs, nuns,” “activists or workers in civil society organizations, non-governmental organizations, trade unions, human rights, consumer issues, environment, aid agency, peasant leaders, United Nations,” and “villagers or residents engaged in unspecified occupations” (0.2%). When the occupations/positions of the people covered in these news pieces are evaluated in terms of
gender distribution, the rates obtained are as follows: Of a total of 109 women, 4.5% are in the occupational group of “celebrities, artists, actors, writers, singers, radio or television personalities,” 2.8% are in the group of “academic experts, education professionals, teachers or university lecturers (all disciplines), nursery or kindergarten teachers, child-care workers,” and 1.7% are in the group of “health or social service professionals, doctors, nurses, laboratory technicians, social workers, psychologists,” while women are not found in occupational groups such as “government officials, politicians, presidents, government ministers, political leaders, political party staff, spokespersons,” “police, military, paramilitary group, militia, prison officers, security officers, fire officers,” and “science or technology professionals, engineers, technicians, computer specialists”. As for men, of a total of 276 men covered in the news pieces, 12.8% are in the group of “media professionals, journalists, video or film-makers, theatre directors,” 9.3% are in the group of “government officials, politicians, presidents, government ministers, political leaders, political party staff, spokespersons,” and 7.3% are in the group of “academic experts, education professionals, teachers or university lecturers (all disciplines), nursery or kindergarten teachers, child-care workers” while 0.3% are in groups of “activists or workers in civil society organizations, nongovernmental organizations, trade unions, human rights, consumer issues, environment, aid agency, peasant leaders, United Nations,” “retired people, pensioners,” “villagers or residents engaged in unspecified occupations,” and “religious figures, priests, monks, rabbis, mullahs, nuns,” and men are not found in the occupational group of “homemakers, parents, either female or male.”

**Function in the news story**

When the functions (functions in the news story) of the people covered in a total of 410 news pieces from weekly news magazines are evaluated, the following rates are revealed: 28.3% of these people are the “subject” of the news piece (the story is about this person, or about something the person has done, said etc.); 17.6% are “experts or commentators” (the person provides additional information, opinion or comment, based on specialist knowledge or expertise); 11.5% serve to convey the “popular opinion” (the person's opinion is assumed to reflect that of the 'ordinary citizen' (e.g., in a street interview, vox populi etc); it is implied that the person's point of view is shared by a wider group of people); 8.3% are “spokespersons” (the person represents, or speaks on behalf of another person, a group or an organization); 2.9% convey their “personal experience” (the person provides opinion or comment, based on individual personal experience; the opinion is not necessarily meant to
reflect the views of a wider group); 1.2% are “eye-witnesses” (the person gives testimony or comment, based on direct observation (e.g. being present at an event)); and the functions of 0.5% in the story are not known. When these people are evaluated in terms of both their functions in the story and their gender, the following rates are obtained for a total of 109 women and 276 men: 12.8% of women and 27.6% of men are “subjects” in the news pieces; 4.8% of women and 20.1% of men are “experts or commentators;” 1.7% of women and 13.8% of men convey the “popular opinion;” 0.7% of women and 11.1% of men are “spokespersons;” 0.7% of women and 3.5% of men convey their “personal experience;” and 0.7% of women and 1% of men function as “eye-witnesses.” When these people are evaluated in terms of both their gender and the subject of the news piece they are covered in, the following rates are found: Of the women, 6.9% are covered in the news about “arts, entertainment, leisure, cinema, theatre, books, dance;” 4.3% are covered under the subject of “migration, refugees, asylum seekers, ethnic conflicts, integration, racism, xenophobia,” and 3.4% under “medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical researches, funding (apart from HIV-AIDS),” while of the men, 16.4% are covered under the subject of “arts, entertainment, leisure, cinema, theatre, books, dance,” 6.9% under “sports, events, players, facilities, training, policies, funding,” and 6% are covered under “war, civil war, terrorism, state-based violence”. Only 5.9% of women function as “spokespersons” for the subject “medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical research, funding (apart from HIV-AIDS),” and they don’t act as spokespersons for any other subject. As for men, 20.6% are found to act as “spokespersons” for the subject of “other stories on social or legal issues,” 14.7% function as “spokespersons” for the subjects of “foreign/international politics, relations with other countries, negotiations, treaties, UN peacekeeping,” and 14.7% act as “spokespersons” for “other subjects”. Among the women acting as “experts or commentators,” 4.2% cover the subjects of “medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical researches, funding (apart from HIV-AIDS)” and “arts, entertainment, leisure, cinema, theatre, books, dance,” 2.8% cover the subject of “education, child care, nurseries, pre-school to university, adult education, literacy,” while among the men functioning as “experts or commentators,” 9.7% cover the subjects of “war, civil war, terrorism, state-based violence” and “other stories on science or health,” and 8.3% cover “other stories on social or legal issues.” 16.7% of the women convey their personal experience on “sports, events, players, facilities, training, policies, funding” and for no other subject. As for men, 41.7% of them convey their personal experience on “sports, events, players, facilities, training, policies, funding,” 25% on “other stories on social or legal issues,” and 8.3% on “other stories on
science or health.” 20% of the women function as eye-witnesses for the subjects of “war, civil war, terrorism, state-based violence,” and “celebrity news, births, marriages, deaths, obituaries, famous people, royalty,” and for no other subject. As for men, 20% of them act as eye-witnesses for the subjects of “migration, refugees, asylum seekers, ethnic conflicts, integration, racism, xenophobia,” “media, including new media (computers, internet), portrayal of women and/or men, pornography,” and “other subjects.” Of the women, 6.4% function to convey the popular opinion on “other subjects,” 2.1% on “migration, refugees, asylum seekers, ethnic conflicts, integration, racism, xenophobia” and “changing gender relations, roles and relationships of women and men inside and outside the home”. As for men, 34% function to convey the popular opinion on “domestic politics/government (local, regional, national), elections, speeches, the political process,” 17% on “economy-transport, traffic, roads” and 6.4% on “science, technology, researches, funding, discoveries, developments”.

**Family relationships**

In a total of 410 news pieces published in the weekly news magazines constituting the sampling, 67.6% of the news pieces do not include definitions in terms of family relationships, such as one’s wife/husband/son/daughter etc., while 2.7% include such definitions. In those news pieces encompassing such definitions, 3.1% of them are used for women, and only 0.7% are used for men.

**Victim**

Among those people covered as “victims” in a total of 410 news pieces from weekly news magazines, 1% are defined as “victims of accidents, natural disasters, poverty, diseases, illnesses,” 0.7% as “victims of other crimes, robberies, assaults, murders,” 0.5% as victims of “victim of war, terrorism, vigilantism, state-based violence,” while it is not known or can not be decided whether these people are victims or not in 0.2% of the cases. 67.8% of the people covered in the news pieces are not defined as victims. Of the women defined as victims in the news pieces, 0.3% are found to be victims of “victim of an accident, natural disaster, poverty, disease, illness” and “other victims,” while 1% of the men defined as victims are found to be victims of “victim of an accident, natural disaster, poverty, disease, illness,” and 0.7% victims of “victim of other crime, robbery, assault, murder” and “victim of war, terrorism, vigilantism, state-based violence”.

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Survivor

Among those people covered as “survivors” in a total of 410 news pieces from weekly news magazines, 0.1% are covered as “other survivor” while in 0.2% of the cases, it is not known or can not be decided whether these people are survivors or not, and 69.3% are found not to be survivors. Of those defined as survivors in the news pieces, 1% of the women and 0.3% of the men are found to be “other survivors”.

Is this person directly quoted in this story?

In a total of 410 news pieces from the weekly news magazines constituting the sampling of this study, 54.6% of those people stating their opinions are quoted directly, and 15.6% are quoted indirectly. Of those people who act as the subject of the news piece and are directly quoted, 8.5% are women and 22.3% are men; of those who act as the spokesperson in the news piece and are directly quoted, 0.9% are women and 11.6% are men; of those experts or commentators directly quoted, 6.3% are women and 23.2% are men; of those people who convey their personal experience and are directly quoted, 0.9% are women and 4.5% are men; of those who function as eye-witnesses in the news pieces and are directly quoted, 0.8% are women and 0.9% are men; and finally, of those who act to convey the popular opinion and are directly quoted, 1.8% are women, and 17% are men.

Is there a photograph of this person?

In a total of 410 news pieces from the weekly news magazines, there are photos for 32% of the people covered in the news pieces, and there are no photos for 35.9%. In 2.7% of the news pieces, while there is a photo, it is not clear whether the person who is the subject of the news piece appears in it.

Are women central to the news in the story?

Women have been found to be in a central position only in 14.6% of a total of 410 news pieces from the weekly news magazines. The subjects of those news pieces in which women hold a central position are as follows respectively: “foreign/international politics, relations with other countries, negotiations, treaties, UN peacekeeping,” “other stories on the economy,” “medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical researches, funding (apart from HIV-AIDS),” “development issues, sustainability, community development,” “education, child-care, nurseries, pre-school to university, adult education, literacy,” “family relations, inter-generational conflicts, single parents,” “other stories on social or legal issues,”
“arts, entertainment, leisure, cinema, theatre, books, dance,” “media, including new media (computers, internet), portrayal of women and/or men, pornography,” and “beauty contests, models, fashion, beauty aids, cosmetic surgery”.

**Does the story clearly highlight issues concerning equality or inequality between women and men?**

In only 1.2% of a total of 410 news pieces from the weekly news magazines, the story clearly highlights issues concerning equality or inequality between women and men. The subjects handled in those news pieces in which the story clearly highlights issues concerning equality or inequality between women and men are as follows respectively; “other stories on the economy,” “family relations, inter-generational conflicts, single parents,” and “beauty contests, models, fashion, beauty aids, cosmetic surgery”.

**Does the story clearly challenge or clearly reinforce stereotypes about women and/or men?**

In 35.1% of a total of 410 news pieces from the weekly news magazines, it is not known or it cannot be decided whether the news story challenges or reinforces stereotypes about women and/or men. In 2% of the news pieces, the story clearly reinforces stereotypes, and in 1.5% of the news pieces, the story clearly challenges stereotypes about women and/or men. The subjects of the news pieces in which the story clearly challenges/reinforces stereotypes about women and/or men are as follows respectively; “other stories on the economy,” “education, child-care, nurseries, pre-school to university, adult education, literacy”, “arts, entertainment, leisure, cinema, theatre, books, dance,” “media, including new media (computers, internet), portrayal of women and/or men, pornography” and “beauty contests, models, fashion, beauty aids, cosmetic surgery”.

**Further analysis**

In of a total of 410 news pieces from the weekly news magazines, none requires further analysis.

**SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

Women attract attention in means of mass communication for their traditional roles or their gender identities. Despite the fact that a very high number of people have access to means of mass communication and this could result in positive changes for women, the negative
aspects of the content and the presentation serve to reinforce their existing social roles. Today, means of mass communication are one of the institutions which contribute to the production of social gender roles; yet, the presentation of women in means of mass communication can only reinforce their traditional roles, and can not offer new identities for women. In the means of mass communication, women are basically seen either with their traditional roles (a mother, a wife, a housewife, a self-sacrificing woman) or with their sexual identities. In order for a woman to be covered in a news piece, she is usually required to be involved in a tragic event, such as rapes, harassments or tortures (a victimized woman), or she has to be deceived by her husband, or cause a man to break up with his family due to a love affair, or commit suicide. In those news where women are covered with a focus on celebrities or entertainment, non-relevant pictures are presented, and attention is drawn to the sexual identity of women.

When the news pieces evaluated in the study titled “Women in National Weekly News Magazines in Turkey” are examined in terms of their subjects, it is seen that the subjects most covered are “arts, entertainment, leisure, cinema, theatre, books, dance” with a rate of 18.8%, and the least covered subjects are “riots, demonstrations, and public disorder” with a rate of 0.2%. When these news pieces are evaluated in terms of subject and gender, it is found out that women are most covered in news about “arts, entertainment, leisure, cinema, theatre, books, and dance” with a rate of 24.8%, “medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical researches, funding (apart from HIV-AIDS)” (12.8%), and “migration, refugees, asylum seekers, ethnic conflicts, integration, racism, and xenophobia” (7.3%), while women are not covered in news about “economic policies, strategies, models (national, international), “labour issues, strikes, trade unions, negotiations, employment, unemployment,” and “science, technology, researches, funding, discoveries, and developments”. These data are in accordance with the fact that women are basically used as visual materials in the media, and take part in the news for their roles as mothers and wives.

When the news pieces from the weekly news magazines are evaluated in terms of the scope of the story, it is seen that it is the national news pieces (which have importance within my own country) which are covered most with a rate of 62.2%. In the news pieces evaluated, women are covered in those news on a local level with a rate of 60%, in news covering subjects which can be classified as “national and other” with a rate of 21.3%, in news on national subjects with a rate of 12%, and in news on foreign/international subjects with a rate of 6.5%.
In a total of 410 news pieces from five weekly news magazines, 43.1% of those people acting as reporters/journalists are women. This data indicates that women employed in the media mainly hold lower positions such as journalists/reporters.

When the people covered in the weekly news magazines are evaluated in terms of their occupations/positions, it is seen that most (10.2%) are employed in the media sector as “media professionals, journalists, video or film-makers, theatre directors”. When the gender distribution is evaluated among occupations, it is revealed that, among a total of 109 women covered in the news, 4.5% are “celebrities, artists, actors, writers, singers, radio or television personalities,” 2.8% are “academic experts, education professionals, teachers or university lecturers (all disciplines), nursery or kindergarten teachers, child-care workers,” and 1.7% are “health or social service professionals, doctors, nurses, laboratory technicians, social workers, or psychologists,” while none of the women covered in the news pieces holds any of the following professions; “government officials, politicians, presidents, government ministers, political leaders, political party staff, spokespersons,” “police, military, para-military group, militia, prison officers, security officers, fire officers,” “science or technology professionals, engineers, technicians, computer specialists”. These data indicate that women mainly hold professions in fields of education and healthcare, which are considered by the society as “suitable” for women in terms of social gender, besides professions where visuality becomes important, such as artistic occupations.

When the people covered in a total of 410 news pieces from the weekly news magazines are evaluated in terms of their functions in the news story, it is found out that the majority (28.3%) functions as the subject of the news story (the the story is about this person or about something the person has done, said etc). When we look at the gender distribution and function in the story at the same time, among a total of 109 women covered in the news pieces, 12.8% have been covered as the subject, 4.8% have been covered as an expert/commentator, 1.7% have been covered to convey the popular opinion on a certain subject, 0.7% have been covered as spokespersons, and another 0.7% have been covered to convey their personal experience on a certain subject or as an eye-witness. When the news pieces are evaluated in terms of subjects and gender distribution at the same time, the following rates are obtained: women have been the subject of news pieces about “arts, entertainment, leisure, cinema, theatre, books, dance” at a rate of 6.9%, and about “migration, refugees, asylum seekers, ethnic conflicts, integration, racism, xenophobia” at a rate of 4.3%;
they have acted as spokespersons (5.9%) in the news pieces about “medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical research, funding (apart from HIV-AIDS)”; as experts or commentators (4.2%) on the subjects of “medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical research, funding (apart from HIV-AIDS)” and “arts, entertainment, leisure, cinema, theatre, books, dance”; women have conveyed their personal experience (only 16.7%) on subjects of “sports, events, players, facilities, training, policies, funding”; they have acted as eye-witnesses (20%) on subjects of “war, civil war, terrorism, state-based violence” and “celebrity news, births, marriages, deaths, obituaries, famous people, royalty”; they have been covered to convey the popular opinion on “other subjects” (6.4%), and on “migration, refugees, asylum seekers, ethnic conflicts, integration, racism, xenophobia” (2.1%). These data indicate that women are mainly covered as subjects in the news, not as spokespersons, experts, commentators or eye-witnesses, and they are not covered to convey their personal experience or the popular opinion on a particular subject, which demonstrates that women’s opinions are not highly valued. This, in turn, is in accordance with the general understanding of the society concerning women.

In a total of 410 news pieces from the weekly news magazines constituting the sampling, definitions such as one’s wife/husband/son/daughter etc. have been used for women at a rate of 3.1%. In the news pieces, women are defined in such terms (as one’s wife, mother, daughter etc.) much more commonly when compared to men, and covered within the limits of these definitions.

Among the people covered in a total of 410 news pieces from the weekly news magazines, 1% are “victims of accidents, natural disasters, poverty, diseases, illnesses”. When the gender distribution of those people defined as victims is evaluated, it is seen that 0.3% of a total of 109 women have been covered as victims of an accident, natural disaster, poverty, disease, or illness. Besides, only 0.1% of the people covered in a total of 410 news pieces are defined as “other survivors”, and among a total of 109 women, only 1% are described as survivors.

In a total of 410 news pieces from the weekly news magazines constituting the sampling, 54.6% of those people covered in the news pieces are directly quoted, while 15.6% are indirectly quoted. Women constitute 8.5% of those people who function as subjects and are directly quoted, 0.9% of those who function as spokespersons and are directly quoted, 6.3% of those who function as experts or commentators and are directly quoted, 0.9% of those
people who convey their personal experience and are directly quoted, 0.8% of those who function as eye-witnesses and are directly quoted, and 1.8% of those who are covered to convey the popular opinion and are directly quoted.

It has been found out that, of a total of 410 news pieces from weekly news magazines, only 14.6% cover the women as central to the news story. The subjects of these news pieces covering women as central to the news story are basically as follows; “medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical researches, funding (apart from HIV-AIDS),” “education, child-care, nurseries, pre-school to university, adult education, literacy,” “family relations, inter-generational conflicts, single parents,” “arts, entertainment, leisure, cinema, theatre, books, dance,” “media, including new media (computers, internet), portrayal of women and/or men, pornography” and “beauty contests, models, fashion, beauty aids, cosmetic surgery”. This data indicates that women are central only to those news covering subjects considered as fit for the social position and social gender of women. In the weekly news magazines, the news story clearly highlights issues concerning equality or inequality between women and men when the subject is “other stories on the economy,” “family relations, inter-generational conflicts, single parents” or “beauty contests, models, fashion, beauty aids, cosmetic surgery”. In a total of 410 news pieces covered in the weekly news magazines, the story clearly challenges stereotypes about women and/or men when the subject is “other stories on the economy,” “education, child care, nurseries, pre-school to university, adult education, literacy,” “arts, entertainment, leisure, cinema, theatre, books, dance,” “media, including new media (computers, internet), portrayal of women and/or men, pornography,” or “beauty contests, models, fashion, beauty aids, cosmetic surgery”. These subjects are also considered as more “fit/suitable” for the social position and social gender of women.

Finally, women employed in the media sector do not hold higher positions and are not decision makers; they are employed in lower positions and paid lower wages. If a woman is covered in a news piece, subjects and occupations in line with her social position are covered in the news piece; the opinions of women are not highly valued, and women are brought to the forefront for purposes of visuality. The definitions and adjectives used in the news pieces are found to be in line with the rigid value judgements of the society used for men and women in the social system.
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Proceedings submission:

1. title of the submission

Iranian diaspora media: what goals, which audience, what impact?

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6. Abstract

This paper will examine Iranian diaspora media produced primarily in the United States. The proliferation of media by Iranian expatriates - in particular, satellite television channels and radio stations - raises four interesting research questions I will address: (1) What goals do these U.S.-based media outlets seek to achieve? What is their self-declared raison d’etre? (2) Which audiences are these outlets targeting and why? (3) How do media consumers in Iran perceive these outlets? (4) What role do these outlets play vis-à-vis consumers in the original homeland - in this case, Iran - and among expatriates in the new host society? I shall place my discussion of these issues in the context of a literature review focusing on immigrant media and cultural production. Looking at specific expatriate outlets, their content and objectives, I will use qualitative and survey research conducted among Iranians in and outside Iran since 2002 to illuminate consumers’ perceptions of these media. The popularity of these outlets does not necessarily correlate positively to opinions of their credibility or ability to influence public attitudes. My analysis of consumers’ perceptions is significant in light of ongoing debates about how diaspora media may
shape political discourse inside Iran and whether the United States should assist or even coopt particular outlets as agents in public diplomacy.
“What is the use of a house if you have not got a tolerable planet to put it on?”

- Thoreau, 1860

1) Intuitive Site Mapping
Pine Street Lofts and the Bridge Street Neighborhood

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“What is the use of a house if you have not got a tolerable planet to put it on?”

-Thoreau, 1860(1)

I.

The mission is simple: create modern housing that belongs to its climate and region, sustains itself and its owners while supporting community and environment alike(2).

Intuitive Site Mapping
Pine Street Lofts and the Bridge Street Neighborhood

M:OME Modern Sustainable Living
Tom di Santo, Architect
Laura Joines-Novotny, Architect, AIA
California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo

The adverse effects of status quo housing development and (sub)urban planning strategies in California result in over-parked endless sprawl, heat island effect, long commutes, and wide right-of-ways crafted for the vehicle, while ignoring the human scale and experience. The dubious qualities of the suburban tract are well documented; yet, despite the fact that these negative impacts are so obvious and plentiful, we continue to build and plan in this fashion as our primary means for providing new housing. This paper will endeavor to set in motion a paradigm shift in (sub)urban planning that reverses the negative impacts, while creating a more intuitive land mapping process that listens to the land for inspiration.

The models are the M:OME Bridge Street Neighborhood (BSN), a 27 unit mixed-use development in the City of San Luis Obispo, and the M:OME Pine Street Lofts (PSL), a 9 unit mixed-use live:work loft project in El Paso de Robles. Both are in California and both bring
environmentally friendly housing and work/live lofts, as well as diverse living options that appeal to a wide range of personalities and income levels. All of these housing options create an inherent diversity ensuring a rich, varied community.

Both PSL and BSN embrace the ideals of higher density, in-fill development bringing offices, manufacturing, and housing into closer proximity with each other. In-fill development encourages a sense of community because the residents are naturally inclined to interact with each other by means of proximity. Feeling part of a community is important for people. In the increasingly popular user-generated “Sims” games by Maxis and Will Wright, if your character has less than three friends you suffer from loneliness and your character suffers the consequences. The same is true in neighborhoods. Architectural decisions such as common gardens, piazzas, shared parking, and mailboxes increase serendipity, spontaneous meetings, and planned interactions, all of which increase connectivity and the feelings of being part of a larger whole. The whole of the community becomes greater than the sum of its parts, creating a sense of family. Lifestyle shifts allow one to save money on gas for the vehicle and utilities for the home. Entertainment is not bought and sold but lived daily. Walking and biking increase the health and well-being of the occupants.

Another important benefit is the mitigation of peripheral sprawl and the preservation of open space and Ag lands from conversion into suburban growth, mitigating also the force that requires residents to drive further to access work and services. Housing people closer to work, retail and services means more of them are walking and biking around town, reducing green house gases that are purported to cause “global climate change”. The Pine Street Lofts are specifically located across the street from the main train station in town, so the residents can not only access the City of El Paso de Robles without a vehicle, they may also access the state of California as well.

b) view of the Pine Street Lofts looking across Pine Street toward the east elevation, emphasizing public outdoor space.
Many projects embrace these ideals; however, the key move in this project's development is to suspend concern for the creation of property lines, usually the first planning move in a subdivision's life.

The standard modus operandi in a planned urban development or suburban tract community is to first layout roads, utilities and the various lots. Usually, the lots are split into simple rectangles, with trapezoids happening around the cul-de-sac. There is little or no regard for the lay of the land, view corridors, wind roses, optimal solar orientation, hills, creeks, existing mature trees, and site forces or unique features.

In the Bridge Street Development and the Pine Street Lofts, the design process begins with an evaluation of the entire site to understand the forces that fashion the most beneficial urban plan, as well as the most environmentally sensitive endeavor. At the same time, we design the site like we design a house, trying to find the “outdoor living room” of the community. Areas are evaluated to determine optimal locations for open space, commercial work/live space, dense urban residential space, medium density and the lowest density residential spaces, as well as community garden spaces. At the same time, the residences are designed to take advantage of views and primary solar exposure for direct gain in the cold months. Solar shadows are determined such that no residence misses the opportunity for heat gain until three in the afternoon on the 21st of December. Visual congruity between the architecture (with its exclusive-use outdoor spaces) and the community gardens and the community open space is optimized. Topography and site features such as mature trees, rock outcroppings, creeks, steep slopes, and the narrow width of the panhandle in BSN are all considered.
A desire for social sustainability also filters into the design, driving the decision to provide a variety of housing and commercial spaces.
In BSN, the housing diversity creates units ranging from 450 square foot studios with garages and workshops beneath up to 2,700 square foot four bedroom detached houses with guesthouse over detached garage, twenty-seven units in all. In PSL, the units range from 1,000 square foot two bedrooms with 450 square foot commercial/retails space up to 2,100 square foot three bedrooms with 900 square feet of commercial/retail.

The guest unit in BSN is designed to be used by extended family members, nannies, nurses, guests, or as an office or rental to help defray the mortgage expenses. The BSN commercial spaces were designed along the 60-foot wide panhandle, which also acts as the entry onto the site. Inspired by Dutch canal housing, the Gatehouse lofts are designed to benefit artists, artisans, craftsmen, and manufacturers, professionals, or any individual requiring a work/live environment.

**Only after the project has been completely planned and designed architecturally and with special attention paid to all of the aforementioned considerations, such that the design is seemingly inalterable, only then do we begin to subdivide the property.**

d) Intuitive Mapping Urban Design Strategy, showing Bridge Street Neighborhood (dotted) adjacent to old paradigm development: Woodbridge on the right (east).

**This Intuitive Mapping allows the site to broadcast where and how development should occur.** It allows the most sustainable and effectual urban plan to emerge with the arbitrary and invisible property lines taking a back seat as a design consideration. It is a most intuitive approach to urban planning, and yet remains the least common mode of operation for developers and planners because it requires the land plotter to actually think about the multiple layers of a property development ahead of the map creation.

California land speculators and developers have come by their counter-intuitive land plotting process honestly. Marwan Ghandour⁴, in his paper “Representation and Spatial Incorporation of
Iowa, 19th-20th c.,” writes extensively about the strategies incorporated by the U.S. surveyor general from 1785 until the present. These strategies originated from the township system of 1620 New England. In other words, this abstractly conceived and overly quantified land mapping process has been with us throughout our entire existence here in the United States.

The American system of creating the township (6x6 square miles), the 36 sections (1x1 square mile), and the sixteen sub-sections (40 acres each) filters all the way down to the creation of home lots made with a blind eye toward the way space is lived and experienced, as Ghandour writes, “Establishing control of the land without having to set foot in it...” and “...the map enabled the dissociation between the space as lived and the space from which land managers, or the eye of power operates.”

e) sustainable site plan of the Bridge Street Neighborhood.

![Sustainable Site Features Diagram]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 PERMEABLE PAVING MATERIALS</td>
<td>such as turf pavers or decomposed granite for streets and roads to facilitate percolation into the soil for vegetative recovery and base-flow recharge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 CREEK BANK PRESERVATION</td>
<td>and observation of deep creek setbacks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 EDIBLE LANDSCAPING CORRIDOR</td>
<td>reduces trips to grocery store and encourages neighborhood participation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 SITE RESTORATION</td>
<td>re-creating existing habitats to sustain wildlife corridor from open space.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 NEIGHBORHOOD ELECTRIC CARS</td>
<td>NEV’s to be provided to the owners to reduce reliance on gas-powered vehicles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 PEDESTRIAN/BIKE PATH</td>
<td>DIC path to open space.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 COMMUNAL GARDENS</td>
<td>use plant guilds/assembly to act as natural pesticides and soil amendments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 CONTOUR SWALLES</td>
<td>vegetated micro-irrigation contour swales reduce cut and fill and ameliorate site run-off.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 CHEVRON SHAPED ROCK GABION WALLS</td>
<td>for erosion and soil-loss mitigation as well as natural irrigation for the edible orchard.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Opportunities for winter heat gain were ignored while western summer heat and glare were allowed to penetrate directly into the most livable spaces of the house. The large street right-of-way created an enormous separation between the homes and the hills. Some homes back up to the view, ignoring it directly. Others are oriented properly, but the basic floor plan gives the garage door the best views of the hills. If the windows are placed properly for good passive cooling potential from the prevalent site winds, it is purely by coincidence. The landscaping of the

One need look no further than the 1980's Woodbridge development, immediately adjacent to the Bridge Street Neighborhood, to experience the old paradigm of counter-intuitive land planning. By dint of close proximity, it provides an interesting comparison to the Bridge Street Neighborhood. Woodbridge borders the same hills, has a similar topography with similar site drainage issues. It enjoys the same views, has the same creek running through it, and of course, has the same latitude, solar orientation and wind patterns as the Bridge Street Neighborhood. In this project, the lots were drawn first. Each standard "Modified-Ranch" then was plopped onto the site with its large picture window addressing the street regardless of view or solar orientation.
community is, in essence, the standard lawn, requiring an inordinate amount of scarce water supply. There is no coherence with the surrounding hills and the prevalent natural grasses, drought and serpentine soil tolerant native plants. The site drainage was designed to get the water off site as quickly as possible. The water was directed to concrete swales and street gutters, and even parts of the creek were cast in concrete. If there is a clog in the system, they experience flooding from time-to-time. The system was designed in complete contrast to the way Nature handles water by slowing it down, absorbing it into the soil, irrigating as it moves on to the larger creeks and tributaries.

In every one of these instances, the Bridge Street Neighborhood contrasts by listening to the site forces, adapting the plan and architecture to cohere to the site, and to benefit from all it has to offer.

“It's developers who are willing to push new concepts like Bridge Street that ultimately move those ideas into the mainstream.”

Jennifer Seal, Rocky Mountain Institute

f) view looking south down sidewalk and parkway of the Pine Street Lofts. Commercial/Retail spaces below are owned by the residents in the unit above.

II. Site Design Philosophy

"Permaculture is the art and science that applies patterns found in nature to the design and construction of human and natural environments. Only by applying such patterns and principles to the built environment can we truly achieve a sustainable living system. Permaculture principles
are now being adapted to all systems and disciplines that human settlement requires. Architects, planners, farmers, economists, social scientists, as well as students, homeowners and backyard gardeners can utilize principles of Permaculture Design."

Larry Santoyo

The goal is to create a neighborhood based on the principles of permanent culture or 'permaculture', adopting an attitude of sensitivity to the site. The goal of the architecture is to place it lightly on the land by respecting the existing vegetation and habitats. The M:OME definition of a successful design is a self-managed system, regarding both site and architecture. The Bridge Street community of housing and commerce would be harmoniously integrated into the natural setting in a way that supports a healthy micro-community. The neighborhood is a size in which people are able to know and be known by others and where each member feels they are able to influence the community's direction. For example, food can be grown in common in the edible orchards, and the neighborhood decides how the community garden is appropriated to most benefit the residents (as garden, natural open space, play areas or similar).

The houses will rest on landscaping resembling the original site and the surrounding hills. The housing placement forms a common area for a community orchard, gardens, mailboxes, and bike benches that allows residents to interact. In addition, turf pavers and decomposed granite will be used on the vehicular surfaces to allow greater percolation into the water table, and greater sensitivity to the original feel of the site. A nice side-effect of the permeable paving, in lieu of AC paving, is a reduction in the heat build up that black-top streets and parking lots create. In
addition, the permeable paving is coupled with a narrower road width to create our own “woonerf” concept. The Dutch developed the idea of “woonerfs” (loosely translated as “living yard”) to take back their streets for pedestrians, children, and cyclists by decreasing the vehicular right-of-way, and modifying it to something more permeable and tactile. The vehicles naturally slow down, without a sign telling them to do so. We also adopt permeable parking areas in case the spots do not get used for cars; furthermore, we limit the number of parking to the minimum required by the City, because, as Andy Wiley-Schwartz was quoted in DWELL magazine this month, “People just don’t get that if you build faster roads and you build more parking, there will be faster roads and more parking”.

One of the most important issues for the site design of this parcel is the natural flow of water from the surrounding hills through the site. Our proposal is to plant an orchard in the southern catchment ravine to control erosion and capture some of the rainfall for irrigation as it comes down the hill. This addresses the permaculture principle of water catchment and soil fertility as high (in elevation) on the landscape as possible.

h) View of the Pine Street Loft barrel vaults and clerestories for passive heating and stack ventilation cooling.

Because of the serpentine rock at a shallow level on the site, the water sheet flows through the site rather than percolating down. Vegetated contour swales address this problem by acting to harvest seasonal sheet flow of rainfall, which slowly infiltrates and recharges groundwater down slope, thus retaining moisture in the landscape much longer. This is called ‘pattern application’ in permaculture. More than an aesthetic caprice, these contours now direct water flow and nutrient dispersal with maximum efficiency via gravity.
Permaculture principles of ‘edge effect’ are used in retaining the existing vegetation of brambles in the wildlife corridor (a dense blackberry thicket forming a wildlife corridor, and a physical and visual boundary to the northern edge of the site). An edge is an interface between two mediums; in our case this would be the edge between the housing and the neighboring property to the north.

Plant Guilds are made up of a close association of species clustered around a central plant. This assembly acts in relation to the central plant to assist its health, aid in management, or buffer adverse environmental effects. An example would be apple trees with edible mint and nasturtium planted below to naturally prevent apple maggots, adopted in our edible orchards.

III. Building Design Philosophy

“I sometimes dream of... a house whose inside is an open and manifest as a bird’s nest... where to be a guest is to be presented with the freedom of the house, and not carefully excluded from seven-eights of it, shut up in a particular cell…”

Henry David Thoreau\(^9\)

The Bridge Street Neighborhood responds to the need for a house that is warm, friendly, and economical to operate; an efficient machine with integrated environmentally-friendly technologies. A new Victorian, Craftsman or Mission style home with photovoltaic panels, water catchment systems, solar water heaters, and sunshade devices, appears incongruent and anachronistic.

h) View of the Pine Street Loft barrel vaults and clerestories for passive heating and stack ventilation cooling.

i) View of the Pine Street Lofts from the entrance to the El Paso de Robles Railroad Station. This is the first view of Paso from the point of view of train visitors exiting the station.
The inverted gable roof provides the water catchment system, an optimal photovoltaic roof angle, and a unique aesthetic while obscuring from vision the roof equipment. It maximizes natural daylight to minimize reliance on power. In addition, the roof-form extending up and out opens to views of surrounding ridgelines so prevalent on this site. It accentuates the notion of the indoor/outdoor relationship desirable in our climate, and it phenomenologically invites one to enter into the core of its interior, not to mention inviting the welcome winter sun. The project will be built using “Healthy House” materials that incorporate non-toxic materials with little or no outgassing and that are not destructive to the environment in their manufacturing process.

IV.

In conclusion, M:OME intends to demonstrate that it is possible to build a community of houses and workspaces that set a higher standard than the convention. We can live in technologically and socially progressive houses, which take advantage of scientific advances ready and available on the market.

The M:OME team would like to set a precedent and inspire the establishment of other communities such as this throughout our region and beyond. A group of people can come together, buy a piece land, hire an architect to guide them through the design, permits, codes and variances, and create their own version of a micro neighborhood using “intuitive mapping” urban strategies. This then obviates the need for a developer and the additional cost to each of their residences. The Bridge Street Neighborhood and Pine Street Lofts provide a model for this type of community.

j) Early design study of the Pine Street Lofts; east elevation looking across Pine Street. In this design iteration, seven smaller units enjoy the curb appeal of a zero-lot line, zero setback planning strategy along Pine Street.
Endnotes:


2) M:OME mission statement; for more information reference www.mome.org

3) Wright, Will, inventor of Maxis' SIM's user-generated games; for more information reference: http://www.maxis.com/


6) Santoyo, Larry www.Earthflow.com web site information

7) For an elaboration on “woonerfs”, refer to British Architect, Ben Hamilton-Baillie, in his lecture on “woonerfs” to the City of Salt Lake City. For example, he states, “In the Netherlands (where woonerfs originated), 46 percent of trips are made on foot or by bike, and the accident rate there is far lower than in the United States, where only 7 percent of trips are human, not gasoline-powered.” http://www.cvrl.utah.edu/~macleod/bike/mbac/woonerfs.html


9) Krutch, JW, Thoreau; Walden and Other Writings, Bantam Books, NY, 1962

Illustration Notes:

a) overall view of the bridge street neighborhood looking north with Cerro San Luis (Madonna Mountain) in the background. (watercolour by Tom di Santo)

b) view of the Pine Street Lofts looking across Pine Street toward the east elevation. Emphasis is placed on public outdoor spac (render by Chris Talbott)

c) view of the two and three bedroom attached TOWNM:OME, looking north. (watercolour by Tom di Santo)

k) Access to the central piazza happens via the allée between the pine street units.
d) aerial view of the Bridge Street Neighborhood showing Intuitive Mapping Urban Design Strategy (dotted) with Woodbridge Development immediately adjacent and to the right (east), which exhibits a standard abstractly conceived and overly quantified (sub)urban design strategy. (Photo courtesy of the City of San Luis Obispo, watercolour insert by Tom di Santo)

e) site plan of the Bridge Street Neighborhood, showing the Intuitive Mapping Urban Design Strategy as well as the Sustainable Site Features. Notice how the development makes optimal use of the outdoor living room for the community, creating opportunities for the residents to interact serendipitously, yet by design. (watercolour by di Santo)

f) view looking south down the sidewalk and parkway of the Pine Street Lofts. The commercial/retail space below is owned by the occupants of the residential unit above. (render by Chris Talbott).

g) View looking west from Pine Street. Commercial/ Retail spaces below are owned by the residents in the unit above. Access to the central piazza happens via the allée between the pine street units. (render by Chris Talbott).

h) View of the Pine Street Loft barrel vaults and clerestories for passive heating and stack ventilation cooling. (render by Chris Talbott).

i) View of the Pine Street Lofts from the entrance to the El Paso de Robles Railroad Station. This is the first view of Paso from the point of view of train visitors. (sketch by Tom di Santo)

j) Early design study of the Pine Street Lofts; east elevation looking across Pine Street. In this design iteration, seven smaller units enjoy the curb appeal of a zero-lot line, zero setback planning strategy along Pine Street. (watercolour by Tom Di Santo)

k) Access to the central piazza happens via the allée between the pine street units. (watercolour by Tom Di Santo)
Title of submission: The effects of language priming on independent and interdependent self-construal among Chinese university students currently studying English

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Abstract:

Previous research with bilingual Hong Kong university students found higher independent self-construal scores when questionnaires were administered in English than when administered in Chinese. Interdependent self-construal scores were not so affected. The present study explored the language priming effect among mainland Chinese students who were currently studying English and who presumably were less strongly bicultural and less fluent in English. Among freshmen, but not among juniors, independent self-construal scores were lower when the task was presented in English. As before, interdependent self-construal scores were not affected. The discussion focuses on the presence and accessibility of cultural frames, cue strength and foreign language anxiety as moderators of language priming effects.
“Confronting the ‘Others’: Paranormal Popular Culture and Symbolic Representations of the Outsider.”

By

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ABSTRACT

This study in progress is a content analysis of several supernatural and comic-book-themed TV shows and films presenting symbolic narratives about a dominant culture’s inevitable alteration by empowered subcultures, outsiders and alternate-lifestyleed minorities. According to genre theory, such hyperbolic entertainment as science fiction and superhero fiction has always functioned on a metaphorical level, representing the most pressing concerns of the day. When examined on these metaphorical terms, several of the most popular of these films and TV shows – namely the TV programs “Heroes” and “The 4400” and the films “Superman Returns” and “The X-Men” series – all seem to be foregrounding the interaction between hegemonic power structures and challenges posed by previously subordinate cultures. These shows and films, in turn, explicitly endorse these challenges and empowerment of the outsider.
Marbles Lost and Found: Children and the Material Culture of Marbles

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Marbles Lost and Found: Children and the Material Culture of Marbles

In this study the often invisible role of children in the past is brought to the forefront through the material culture of marbles. The project specifically looks at collections of marbles from two historic homes in Charleston, South Carolina in order to understand social hierarchies and play patterns among children, and the relationship among children, adults, and the wider society through the medium of marbles.

Marbles offer an especially good window from which to access the daily activities of children’s vibrant living in the past, because they form an epiphenomenal subculture of toys due to the accumulation of personal property. This aspect shows marbles to be unique among toys and games and provides the needed fuel to create an economic system not found in other children’s activities. This project is the first to consider and synthesize marbles data collected from diffuse sources to examine lifeways of the residents of the sites through the lens of children’s social practices and material culture.
Mystic Laterite: The Role of Gender and Fit in Prehistoric Stone Selection

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Mystic Laterite: The Role of Gender and Fit in Prehistoric Stone Selection

The use of laterite, or red ochre, transcends time and culture; it is the universal material used for human expression and ritual. In this study 78 modified laterite artifacts from the prehistoric Birimi site in sub-Saharan Africa were examined to help answer the question as to how attributes such as thickness and naturally occurring shape contributed to pigment-making stone selection.

Three aspects of stone selection were focused on: (1) analysis of striation patterns was conducted to determine whether there was a correlation between a modified stone’s striation pattern and the degree of grip comfort; (2) the correlation between an artifact’s thickness and degree of fit was analyzed in response to the hypothesis that the thicker the specimen, the less important an ergomatic grip would be; and (3) the role of gender in the selection process was considered to test the hypothesis that there would be variation in the categorization of artifacts by males and females.

Only nine artifacts rendered unanimous ratings: two stones were found to have an intentional ergomatic fit (IEF), two unanimously earned a somewhat intentional ergomatic fit (SIEF), and five were found to have poor ergomatic fit (PEF). SIEF was the most selected category by females (40%), followed by PEF (35%), and IEF (25%). The males’ evaluations differed slightly from the females. Males most often selected (IEF) (36%) by a very small margin over PEF (35%); SIEF was the least selected among the male participants (29%). The results indicate a correlation between striation patterns and ergomatic fit; however, the thickness/grip hypothesis was not supported by the findings, as only 20% of the unanimously evaluated modified stones thicker than 12mm had a poor ergomatic fit. Variation between male and female categorization was supported.
Mystic Laterite: The Role of Gender and Fit in Prehistoric Stone Selection

There is an intrinsic mystical energy in red ochre that transcends not only time, but also culture. It is the universal material used for human expression and ritual; indeed, our ancestors’ red-ochre-painted handprints, large and small, still serve as signatures from the distant past. One might think that an entity with such awesome power would be as rare as a December downpour in the sub-Saharan African town of Gambaga, but this is not the case. This “magical” dust is produced from the earth’s plentiful iron oxides, such as laterite.

My research addresses the question as to which attributes, found in naturally occurring laterite, were desirable in prehistory for the preparation of red ochre paint. I seek to shed light on what prehistoric peoples may have been looking for when selecting stones to grind into their precious pigment powder and the role of gender in the selection process. Three aspects of stone selection were focused on: (1) analysis of striation patterns was conducted to determine whether there was a correlation between a modified stone’s striation pattern and the degree of grip comfort; (2) the correlation between an artifact’s thickness and degree of fit was analyzed in response to the hypothesis that the thicker the specimen, the less important an ergomatic grip would be; and (3) the role of gender in the selection process was considered to test the hypothesis that there would be variation in the categorization of artifacts by males and females.

An assemblage of laterite collected at the Kintampo-Complex, Late-Stone-Age Birimi Site which lies approximately 7 km NE of Gambaga (D’Andrea and Casey 2002), in sub-Saharan Africa was used in my research. The site’s impressive distinction of
containing the earliest occurrence to date of Birimi-pearl-millet finds acts to make investigation into other aspects of the site more significant; indeed, the presence of this sub-Saharan domesticate indicates not only early agriculture, but also implies accompanying early cultural activities. The distinctive material culture consisting of ground stone tools, grooved stones, and bored stones found at Kintampo sites (D’Andrea and Casey 2002) supports this argument.

**Laterite Formation**

Distinct seasonality in the form of a pronounced dry (November-April) and a wet (May-October) season are present in the Gambaga region. These seasonal changes, coupled with tropical temperatures over thousands of years, are ideal climatic conditions for laterite formation (Inco 2004) and the most significant factor in the mineral’s creation.

Laterization is a chemical weathering process whereby groundwater, atmospheric and biologic processes interact through exposed rock faces and fractures in the bedrock to decompose primary minerals and form more stable mineral phases (Inco 2004). An important aspect in the formation of laterite is the leaching of more mobile elements such as silica and magnesium, which are deposited at the foundation of the laterite profile (Inco 2004). Less soluble elements remain, forming an iron cap rich in haematite below which lies a hydrated haematite layer (Figure 1). The further dehydration and concentration of elements forms hard concretionary nodules. Laterite, commonly referred to as red ochre, is a form of this haematite.

**Symbolic and Artistic Use of Laterite**
The artistic use of red ochre can be found in the intricate illuminations of the Middle Ages, works of world-renowned artists, and amongst an amateur’s most humble paintings. It is, however, in its universal use as a paint medium in prehistoric pictographs, jewelry, and body art that its symbolic use is most compelling.

Pictographs created with red pigment are found worldwide. In the United States a barely visible elk (Walker 2002) graces a secluded rock wall in Snake River Canyon, Idaho suggesting its beneficial role to humans. Similarly, culturally specific referents from Ojibwe legends, including an anthropomorphic figure with outstretched arms, bull moose, quadrupedal mammal with long tail, dashes and a large “X,” are seen in one of the North Hegman Lake pictographs of Minnesota. These images insinuate cosmological or religious significance (Callahan 2006). On a cave ceiling in Altamira, Spain (Cave Art 2004) testimony to the landscape in which the artist lived is manifest in the rendering of a powerful bison, with muscles painted in conjunction with the contours of the rock, standing majestically in a 20-50K B.P. pictograph. While these pictographs are of great significance, the hand stencil found in Chauvet Cave, France 30K B.P. (Sabbeth 1999), is perhaps most indicative of the important message of pictographs, for it declares human self-awareness.

The use of red ochre in adornments is evinced as much as 75,000 years ago at the Blombos Cave site, in South Africa, where approximately 40 perforated tick shells (Nassarius kraussianus) believed to be organic beads were unearthed (Henshilwood et al. 2004). The assemblage was found inside the cave, 20 km east of the tick shells’ source, indicating deliberate transport of the shells as articles of worth. More compelling to the value argument is the human modification to the shells, which suggests that they were
used as jewelry. This use was substantiated from the thread-friction patterns present on the inside of the drilled holes and microscopic red-ochre residue detected on and in the beads (Henshilwood et al. 2004). It is significant that these conditions are not found on natural tick shells.

Importantly, red ochre was not only used for decoration of jewelry or the creation of pictographs—it was also used as a deeply human symbolic medium, as exhibited by body treatment of the dead. A telling example of the use of red ochre in symbolic death-rite treatment is found at the Mesolithic site of Vlasac, located in Eastern Europe along the banks of the Danube River. Here, the skeletal remains of Burial 67 compared with those of Burial 6 and 6A well illustrate the virtually certain use of red ochre as a ritual medium (Boric and Stefanovic 2004).

The skeletal remains of Burial 67, an adult female with her fetus still within her, had been covered with red ochre over the groin area. In addition, the deceased’s right hand had been placed on her lower torso (Boric and Stefanovic 2004). To better demonstrate that the red ochre and hand placement were intentional and symbolic one need only compare the grave to the context of Burial 6 and 6A, a mother and her neonate child. In this case, the neonate was placed on its mother’s chest, and, as expected if ochre is a symbolic medium, red ochre was found on the chest area where the child was placed (Boric and Stefanovic 2004) rather than the groin.

Over 65,000 years have passed since the burial of these mothers and their children and still the message remains clear because of the use of red ochre. Indeed, had Burial 67 been found sans ochre, there would most certainly be debate as to the placement of her right hand. Did it happen to fall over her child and groin while she was being buried?
Did it shift due to taphonomic forces? Again, it is the use of red ochre that answers these questions, I believe, definitively. The painting of red ochre in disparate areas in Burials 67 and 6 can best be interpreted by the singular commonality of placement in the area of the child. This phenomenon makes a strong statement: our ancient ancestors used the mineral ritualistically and, I would suggest, had empathy. It is indeed amazing that an inorganic mineral can act as the portal to the past.

The above artifacts illustrate the use of red ochre over time, be it artistic, ritualistic, or both. This prompts the question of why; why was red ochre selected for such uses? By tracing the origin of laterite to its parent mineral, haematite, one may find a clue to its selection. Webster’s Students Dictionary (1962) gives [fr. L., fr. Gr. *haimatites* bloodlike, fr. *haima*, *haimatos*, blood.] as the etymology of ‘haematite.’ Although speculation, one may imagine that prehistoric peoples substituted red ochre for blood in ritual ceremonies, not unlike the use of red wine in many contemporary religions. The importance of blood as a source of life and a means of death, cannot be overstated; considering this, one may posit that red ochre came into prominent use myriad years ago due to its resemblance to blood when ground and liquefied.

**The Birimi Assemblage and Methodology**

The laterite assemblage from the Birimi site has a total of 301 (+-5) specimens. Within the assemblage 98 pieces (33%) have been modified by grinding; the other 203 pieces (67%) have remained unmodified. Within the unmodified pieces 154 (76%) were laterite; 42 pieces (21%) are iron concretions; and 7 pieces (3%) were of an unidentified material. Unidentified material was not utilized in my research beyond counting and
division by color and/or material. Red laterite, 82 pieces (53%) made up a small majority of the unmodified laterite; there were 72 pieces (47%) of yellow laterite.

Raw data made up of color, weight, maximum length, maximum width, maximum thickness, and number of modified faces was gathered, with comments added when needed. I also experimented with grinding techniques, discovering that it was easier to move the large sandstone rather than the smaller pieces of laterite, and that deer antler was not effective as a grinding tool. I had initially planned to focus my research around the symbolic nature of laterite, but after handling so many pieces I began to see the rocks as individual entities—especially in their “feel.” This prompted the question as to how prehistoric people selected stones to grind into their precious pigment powder.

After experimenting with pigment making—in which I combined vegetable oil and urine with the ground laterite—I set aside my arduous task of grinding laterite into powder and targeted my attention on the investigation of ascertaining the desirable attributes present in rocks selected for modification. In addition to the obvious selection of rocks that ground more readily—I found the iron concretion specimen to be among the easiest to grind, the dark red laterite the toughest—I hypothesized that the thicker the specimen, the less important an ergomatic grip would be.

In order to test my hypothesis I enlisted the aid of six participants, three females and three males. Participants ranked the modified laterite pieces by natural, comfortable feel or the degree of “intentional” ergomatic grip. A ranking of 3 was given to the artifacts with the most intentional ergomatic fit; a ranking of 2 indicated that the grip felt somewhat intentionally comfortable; and a ranking of 1 indicated that there was no
discernable intentional ergomatic grip. Although this ranking was completely subjective, I theorized that the results would be pertinent to my hypothesis.

As I continued to handle the specimens more questions surfaced. I felt that hand size and gender might also be factors in rock selection; therefore I compared the results between female and male volunteers. Due to time constraints, only 78 modified artifacts were used in the experiment and the results from one of the volunteers was rendered useless for the study because the evaluation had been done with her left hand. In order to continue the research as planned, I substituted my personal evaluation to maintain the female to male ratio.

Further evaluation was conducted to establish whether there was a correlation between the types of grip unanimously selected by the participants and the striations present on the ground face of the rocks. Each artifact was examined under magnification to ascertain whether (1) striations were present, and, if present (2) if the striations’ direction correlated to the artifacts ranking (Table 1). The criterion used was the pattern(s) of the striations: (a) predictable based on comfortable hold, one direction; (b) more than one direction, but less than three directions; (c) haphazard (Table 2). Finally, I compared these results to the maximum thickness of each artifact.

Results

After analyzing the results I found that only nine artifacts rendered unanimous rating evaluations from the participants. Two stones were found to have an intentional ergomatic fit (IEF), two unanimously earned a somewhat intentional ergomatic fit (SIEF), and five were found to have poor ergomatic fit (PEF). These findings indicate
that both females and males in the past may have used these artifacts, since both groups experienced similar grip comfort.

Females most often selected SIEF (Table 3) when determining grip (40%), PEF was a close second (35%); and IEF elicited 25% of the females’ choice. As hypothesized, the males’ evaluations differed from the females (Table 3). Males most often selected IEF (36%) by a very small margin over PEF (35%); SIEF was the least selected among the male participants (29%). These findings are evidence for the support of the variation between male and female categorization hypothesis.

My hypothesis that an ergomatic grip would be less important in thicker specimens was not supported by the findings, as only 20% of the unanimously evaluated modified stones thicker than 12mm had a poor ergomatic fit. In addition, 100% of the unanimously rated artifacts in the IEF and SIEF categories were thicker than 12mm, suggesting that grip is important in thicker modified stones used for pigment making.

The results from striation analysis indicated a correlation between striation patterns and ergonomic fit. All unanimously selected IEF modified stones were in the striations predictable one direction based on grip category (100%), indicating repeated use in a common manner (Table 2). Unanimously selected SIEF pieces had an equal number of pieces in the predictable one direction striations category (50%) and the greater than one, but less than three directions category (50%). This usage patterning correlates to readjustment of the pieces for comfort. Only unanimously selected PEF artifacts were found in the had no striations category (60%), which suggests the stones were cracked and discarded, or haphazard striations category (20%) which may indicate
that the grinder kept turning the stone in an unsuccessful effort to achieve a comfortable grip.

While my research could have been improved by more stringent controls and evaluation of the entire assemblage, I still believe much was gained. A better understanding of why some laterite pieces appear to have been split, but never ground may now have a limited answer as indicated by such pieces being placed in the PEF category. Using ethnographic analogy, one can imagine breaking a nodule, finding it uncomfortable to hold, and tossing it aside.

Perhaps the most intriguing finding is the discrepancy between female and male assessment (Table 3) of the SIEF category. While SIEF had the highest percentage among females, it ranked lowest among males. This disparity may suggest that in general the females were more willing to compromise or were less decisive than the males. It is also possible that the males were more single-minded or more reluctant to admit that they did not know the answer. Further research is needed to help clarify what this difference between the genders may indicate; indeed, it may simply be caused by the difference in hand size when handling a piece of mystic laterite.
Acknowledgments. Special thanks to Dr. Joanna Casey of the University of South Carolina for the loan of her laterite assemblage for my research, and especially for her continued support and guidance.
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Walker, Sarah
Figure 1
(M. S. Mathews)
## Unanimously Evaluated Laterite Attributes

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<th>Striations present</th>
<th>96-43F</th>
<th>96-1023F</th>
<th>96-222S</th>
<th>96-917S</th>
<th>97-831N</th>
<th>96-1021N</th>
<th>96-1926N</th>
<th>96-1928N</th>
<th>96-1934N</th>
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<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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### Direction of marks

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<th>96-222S</th>
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<th>97-831N</th>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Haphazard</td>
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<td>Max. Thickness &lt; 12mm.</td>
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Table 1
### Modified Attributes and Fit Choice

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<tr>
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<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Striations predictable</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>direction based on hold</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Striations</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 1 direction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; three directions</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Striations haphazard</td>
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<td>0%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximum thickness</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 12mm</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 12mm</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Table 2
### Male-Female Selections

<table>
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<th>SIEF %</th>
<th>PEF %</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Males</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>35</td>
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</table>

Table 3
INTRODUCTION

Athletic shoes have been a part of the apparel industry for decades, evolving to the point of being a billion dollar industry (Prubit and Richie, 2004). For a class project a survey was administered to fifty college aged men to investigate what men look for when purchasing athletic shoes and to investigate factors that influence men’s footwear. This group was chosen for study because they are considered style conscience and are more physically active in today’s society (Hall, 2006b). Throughout this paper you will find the review of literature, methodology and findings with discussion.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The earliest sport shoes were first seen being worn by cavemen in cave drawings. According to Brooke (1971) cavemen developed an athletic shoe in order to protect their feet from the rocky surfaces on which they ran. The Egyptians, dating back to 4,500 B.C., wore athletic shoes made of plaited papyrus. Archeologists even found royal calf
leather sandals in the tomb of Tutankhamen (Brooke, 1971). According to Cheskin (1987) Greeks and Romans wore sandals, and even had a spiked shoe for combat. As for cold climate shoes, the first recorded athletic shoes were worn by the Chinese, and were made of cloth, wood, and animal furs. In Ireland archeologists found shoes that were made of animal hides and braided grass (Cheskin, 1987).

A review of literature was performed revealing characteristics identified as being of importance to men in selecting athletic shoes: comfort, style, price and size (Hall, 2006a; Hall, 2006b; Pribut and Richie, 2004). Comfort is one of the main characteristics that are most preferred by men. It is vital to locate the shoe that fits to your individual needs. Style, another characteristic, is one of the leading factors in purchasing athletic shoes. Sometimes a man can overlook comfort for style and fashion. A great deal of what people purchase can depend on what the celebrities are wearing or what is considered “in” in the recent magazines. They do not think about the shoe being good for them or what will be an ideal purchase to best fit their needs. Shoe designers are trying to make comfort and style in a single shoe, which will lead to consumer satisfaction (Hall, 2006a).

Although price is a factor, it is not the underlying reason for young men purchasing a particular shoe. Athletic shoes are an item on which most men splurge. One should focus on a shoe that can support their feet when they are involved in sporting activities. Sometimes people go to the sales rack when purchasing an athletic shoe, however those shoes in particular may have hard soles from being placed on display too long. Soles are one of the most vital parts of an athletic shoe and it is not good for one’s feet to wear shoes with a dried out sole. According to Hall (2006a), high-quality athletic
shoes could cost someone $100 or more and it all depends on the style, comfort level, and the brand name of that particular shoe.

Another characteristic to consider when purchasing the right shoe is size. The size of a shoe is different from the size of a person’s foot. Athletic shoe stores are supposed to carry a Brannock device. This device measures the length and width of the feet. It is important to measure the customer’s foot on this device because it measures both the foot size and shoe size. Feet need room within the athletic shoe for comfort and performance. It is always good to try on shoes with socks to see how it feels since most people wear socks when wearing their athletic shoes. If the shoe is tight or uncomfortable while one is trying it on, then it will likely be uncomfortable after the purchase.

Hall (2006b) identified five general types of shoes men need to consider when making a purchase decision: motion control, stability, cushioned, lightweight training, and trail shoes. Motion control shoes are those that are the most inflexible and strong. The motion control shoe clings tight to the foot so that the foot is not moving around and is less likely to cause an injury. Stability shoes are supportive, firm, and durable. Average weight men that do not do a great deal of activities find that this shoe offers just the right support.

Cushioned shoes are best for individuals who need additional support in their shoe and do not use their foot in a great deal of movement. Lightweight training shoes are extremely light and are intended for many types of high-speed training or racing. Runners who do not have motion control troubles will find that this type of shoe is ideal for them. Trail shoes are the final category and are great for bad weather because they
have an added stability and are very durable. It is good to own trail shoes to give your sport shoes a break, so they will last longer. (Hall, 2006)

**METHODOLOGY**

The purpose of this paper was to survey college aged men to identify the factors influencing athletic shoe purchases. Based on topics of importance in the literature review the following questions, along with demographic questions were included in the survey:

- When one purchases an athletic shoe, what is the brand are you most likely to chose?
- What style do you prefer?
- What qualities do you look for in athletic shoes?
- How much do you typically spend on athletic shoes?
- What color do you prefer for athletic shoes?
- Is comfort of importance? If so, how important?

Surveys were administered at the library of a mid-sized university and in restaurants frequented by college students. Time of day and day of week were varied. Responses were analyzed for frequency percentages.

**FINDINGS**

The sample stated that brand name was a major factor in their athletic shoe choices and they expressed being brand loyal. According to the men surveyed, fashionable brands include Adidas, Nike, New Balance and Asics. Through this research Nike was shown to be by far the most popular shoe on the market today.
the fifty men that took the survey 40% of the men preferred Nike. The Nike is the leading
footwear among men. They strive to provide a competitive edge among the athletic shoe
industry. Nike footwear was worn more in the daytime with casual clothing and can be
seen at night or for fitness purposes. Asics made up 22% of men’s athletic footwear.
Asics was most used for running or walking then for casual wearing. Asics has been
around since the 1940s and is known for being a great sport shoe. Reebok was preferred
by 24% of the men’s athletic footwear. Adidas makes up 14% of the findings; it is the
least worn athletic shoe by men in the sample.

The athletic shoes studied were seen in various colors. Colors preferred by the
sample were white, silver, black and grey. The most consistent colors for this age group
seem to be grey, consuming 36% of the sample. White (34%) was the next most popular
color followed by black (14%). Black may have been selected least often because it is
hard to match with a great deal of clothing.

Most athletic shoes are worn three different heights: high top, medium tops, and
low tops. The most popular style worn by men in the sample was the low tops. Low tops
were worn by 48% of the sample. This type of shoe was worn during the day and at
night. It serves many purposes such as running, walking, casual, and even fitness.
Medium top shoes were the next, with 34% of the sample choosing this height. High tops
went out of fashion for a while but are proving themselves and are coming back into
style. They were not worn much by the sample (18%).

The sample was asked what kind of quality they look for before purchasing a
certain athletic shoe. Most men wanted their shoes to be durable, long-lasting, and they
wanted to be able to wear them in any weather condition.
Men look at comfort and style as the most important feature that they want the shoe to possess. Style is a major factor depending on what their friends or celebrities are wearing. Style is always changing and is important to men that want to stay up on the latest trends. Even though men are becoming more stylish and like to have a good looking shoe, comfort still was a big concern for the men being surveyed.

Thirty percent of the sample purchased athletic shoes for wear day to day. The remaining 70% purchased athletic shoes for a certain athletic activity. This contradicts Pribut and Richie (2004) who state that fashion is as big a trend as function and the shoes are rarely purchased for the sport intended.

Price range was also a question asked to the men surveyed because price is sometimes a major factor to men (Hall 2006b). Price was not really a factor for these men. Most said that they would purchase a shoe they liked or felt would meet their needs regardless of the price. They would rather spend a lot of money on a shoe that will lower the risk on getting hurt.

**CONCLUSION**

Designers and product developers who create men’s shoes must be well informed to keep their target market pleased. They must study their market’s behavior to learn what best suits them. Using information such as discovered in this exploratory study, in conjunction with other consumer and market behavior can assist designers and product developers to better understand their customers. In conclusion, men’s athletic shoes have evolved into an item of function and fashion and are the shoe type most wanted and worn
by men. They are used to express personality, show style and provide comfort when walking, running or playing any number of sports.
REFERENCES


ABSTRACT

Means of mass communication convey the news under the male dominance and within the male discourse. This situation prevailing all around the world is not different in Turkey. Women cannot have a say in the management of the mass media and mostly work in lower positions. Women take part in the news either as a mother or as a wife and these news are only about violence, harassment, rape, accident, illustrated magazine, health, nutrition, child etc. They are not the ones who are being consulted or whose ideas are requested.

This study is restricted with the chief news bulletins of the state TV channel TRT 1, the first news channel NTV, the first private TV station Star TV and Channel 7 which has a different broadcasting attitude (that is showing respect to religious, spiritual and moral issues). By recording the chief news bulletins of the channels for a week, the news about women are going to be examined by content analysis method.

The aim of the study is to determine the position of the women who are employed in the staff, which prepares the chief news bulletins, and to determine how the women are dealt with in news bulletins.
In the light of this examination, in the sample chief news bulletins of national TV channels:

- The sex distribution of the people (anchor, announcer or presenter, reporter, off voice) who took part in the news production process
- The topics of TV news bulletins and the topic distribution of the news about women
- Under which topics men and women are mentioned in the TV news bulletins
- The sex, age and social position of the people mentioned in the TV news bulletins
- Whether the people mentioned in the TV news bulletins are victims or survivor in respect to their sexes,
- The sex, age and social position of the individuals who were consulted on the news topics will be examined.
WOMEN IN TELEVISION NEWS IN TURKEY

The concept of “social gender” is one of the most important concepts used in women’s studies. Two different gender concepts are found in the literature of social sciences. One is biological sex, and the other is the concept of social gender. Biological sex means the classification of people as “men” and “women” depending on their physical differences. Social gender, on the other hand, defines the different roles and behaviours of men and women within the society (Suğur, 2006, p 3).

The patriarchal understanding prefers to perceive being a woman and being a man as opposite ends, and tries to differentiate gender roles with a clear-cut separation. As a rule, there is a list of expectations for men consisting of “do”s and “be”s while the same list of expectations consists of “don’t”s for women. Similarly, what women are expected to do/be, men are forbidden to do/be. Men are expected to be tough, dominant, powerful, judging, determined, successful, independent, ambitious, active and effective solution finders, while women are expected to be benign, accommodating, weak, obedient, irresolute, unsuccessful, dependent, helpless and passive. This system has, for the sake of predetermined gender roles, divided into two those characteristics which make all of us a whole in terms of being human beings, assigning one half to men and the other to women, and thus, making us limited individuals lacking the other half of themselves (Navaro, 1996, p 29).

Every individual experiences the process of socialization to become a member of the society (s)he lives in, to fit in that society and to earn himself/herself a position in it. The individual gains/forms an identity through this process of socialization, in which the family, friends, the social environment, the school and means of mass communication all play a role. The socialization process assigns different identities to men and women in terms of their gender roles. One of the most basic elements of socialization is communication. The means of mass communication, which we all are involved with during our daily lives, play an important role in the socialization process as well.

Means of mass communication encompass various codes and indications related with the process of communication. These codes and indications, which are related with the value
judgements establishing the cultural content of society, are held together thanks to tradition, and meanings are built through traditions as well. Means of mass communication provide examples for the society, offer alternative perspectives, socialize people according to these perspectives, and reflect the society which they live in. Each of these means (newspapers, the radio, the television, the cinema, magazines and the Internet) has different features of their own; yet, what they have in common is that they are all available for mass access/utilization (Burton, 1995, p 39).

We all have a social gender, which is influential on every aspect of our lives. Those processes which produce and reproduce social genders never come to an end. Despite the fact that the social gender is not an identity which one is truly aware of, it is continuously produced in environments such as the media, workplace and our homes, depending on the structures of meanings and messages around us. The media has a particular importance in this process due to the fact that the television is the main and most common means of entertainment and information for a large section of society, and people spend a substantial part of their lives watching TV, and reading newspapers or magazines. The media conveys the images of men and women as far as social genders are concerned. These images reflect those cultural values and expectations which shape gender roles. They define what is noteworthy, and what the society should see and hear. The descriptions/definitions of men and women by the media can help to create social gender definitions largely shared by the society, to reinforce and maintain these definitions, or to change them (Kaypakoğlu, 2004, p 93).

The most important function of the means of mass communication, which play an influential role on our socialization, is to inform us: to convey the news. Conveying the news is an activity of the public area, and all of this activity belongs to men. The non-presence of women in the public domain has naturally caused this activity to be dominated solely by men, in terms of both the addressed mass and the subject matter. Not only the news are constructed by and about men, but they are also created from a male perspective. And this goes beyond the people or institutions producing the news, determining the overall discourse of the news (Fiske, 1989, p 284).

Rakow and Kranich claim that the news employ a male narrative style, and thus, women are not considered as the directly addressed audience of the news. According to them, the woman who is the subject/topic of the news is regarded not as a speaking subject/person, but as an
image that supports the news (Rakow and Kranich, 1991, p 12). As can be understood from these views, it is seen that the male perspective has dominance when news are evaluated in terms of social gender. While those news, carrying patriarchal traces and being conveyed to men and women from this perspective, are broadcasted as the facts themselves, social identities of men and women are reproduced.

Means of mass communication convey the news under male dominance, and within male discourse. This situation prevailing all over the world is not different in Turkey. Women do not have a say in the management of means of mass communication, and they are often employed in minor positions. Women usually take part in the news as a wife or mother, as the subject of the news pieces about violence, harassment, rape, accidents, gossips and sensations, health, nutrition, children, etc. Women are often not present as consultants or opinion-providers.

The main aim of this study is to determine the position of the women who work as an announcer, reporter or an off voice in chief news bulletins and to identify the function of these women in the news story (subject, spokesperson, expert or commentator, personal experience, eyewitness, popular opinion and other).

To achieve this aim, the chief news bulletins of the chosen television channels have been examined by content analysis method and the study entitled as “Global Media Monitoring Project” which was conducted in the year 1995, 2000, 2005 on radio, television, and newspaper news was taken as a base in this study. The study is restricted with the chief news bulletins of the Turkish state TV channel TRT 1, the first news channel NTV, the first private TV station Star TV and Channel 7 which has a different broadcasting attitude (that is showing respect to religious, spiritual and moral values). The news bulletins, which were examined, were broadcasted between 29 January and 2 February 2007 in Turkey. The chief news bulletins of the television channels, which make up the sampling, were recorded during five days and all of the news except for sports news, weather forecast and the advertisements were included in the analysis. The number of the news analyzed is 317 in Channel 7, 364 in NTV, 284 in Star TV, 229 in TRT 1, which makes up a total number of 1194.
This analysis includes the following 15 questions and items:

Item number, subject, scope of the story, role, gender, age, occupation or position, function in the news story, family relationships, victim, survivor, Are women central to the news in this story?, Does the story clearly highlight issues concerning equality or inequality between women and men?, Does the story clearly challenge or clearly reinforce stereotypes about women and/or men? and further analysis.

482 of 1188 people who take part in the chief news bulletins broadcasted for five days in the television channels constituting the sampling are women while 706 of them are men. The rates given in the study were not calculated by using the total number of the people. The percentages for women and men were calculated within each group.

**Subject**

According to subject analysis of the television news, it has been seen that the subjects of “war, civil war, terrorism, state-based violence” are in the first place with the rate of 15.7%. Following subjects are respectively “disaster, accident, famine, earthquake, flood, hurricane, plane crash, car crash” with the rate of 10.7%, “non-violent crime, bribery, theft, drug-dealing, corruption (including political corruption/ malpractice)” and “other stories on social or legal issues” with the rate of 7.8%, “other subjects” with the rate of 6.3%, “medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical research, funding, (apart from HIV-AIDS)” with the rate of 5.3%, “economic policies, strategies, models (national, international)” with the rate of 4.9%, “foreign/international politics, relations with other countries, negotiations, treaties, UN peacekeeping” with the rate of 3.9%. The subjects which are less included in the television news are respectively the news on “science, technology, research, funding, discoveries, developments”, “migration, refugees, asylum seekers, ethnic conflict, integration, racism, xenophobia” with the rate of 0.2%, “national defense, military spending, military training, military parades”, “consumer issues, consumer protection, regulation, prices, consumer fraud and other stories on the economy”, “development issues, sustainability, community development” with the rate of 0.3%, “human rights, women’s rights, children’s rights, gay-lesbian rights, rights of minorities” with the rate of 0.5%. When the news were analyzed in terms of gender it has been seen that the women were mostly included in the news subjects on “war, civil war, terrorism, state-based violence” with the rate of 12.4%, “disaster, accident, famine, earthquake, flood, hurricane, plane crash, car crash” with the rate of 12.2%, “non-violent crime, bribery, theft, drug-dealing, corruption, (including political
corruption/malpractice)” with the rate of 7.7%, “other subjects” with the rate of 6.8%, “other stories on social or legal issues” with the rate of 6.6%, “medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical research, funding, (apart from HIV-AIDS)” with the rate of 6.4%, “economic policies, strategies, models (national, international)” with the rate of 3.9%. It has been also seen that the women were not included in the news subjects on consumer issues, consumer protection, regulation, prices, and consumer fraud. The news subjects in which the women were less included are “other stories on crime and violence” with the rate of 0.2%, “national defense, military spending, military training, military parades”, “science, technology, research, funding, discoveries, developments”, “other stories on science and health”, “development issues, sustainability, community development”, “migration, refugees, asylum seekers, ethnic conflict, integration, racism, xenophobia” with the rate of 0.4%. However, while the men were mostly included in the news subjects on “war, civil war, terrorism, state-based violence” with a rate of 18.1%, “disaster, accident, famine, earthquake, flood, hurricane, plane crash, car crash” with the rate of 9.6%, “other stories on social or legal issues” with the rate of 8.4%, “non-violent crime, bribery, theft, drug-dealing, corruption, (including political corruption/malpractice)” with the rate of 7.9%, “other subjects” with the rate of 5.9%, “economic policies, strategies, models (national, international)” with the rate of 5.5%, “riots, demonstrations, public disorder” with the rate of 5%, they were not included in the subjects on “science, technology, research, funding, discoveries, developments, migration, refugees, asylum seekers, ethnic conflict, integration, racism, xenophobia”. The news subjects in which the men were less included are “poverty, housing, social welfare, aid to those in need and other stories on the economy” with the rate of 0.1%, “national defense, military spending, military training”, “military parades, development issues, sustainability, community development” with the rate of 0.3%, “education, child care, nurseries, pre-school to university, adult education, literacy”, “human rights, women's rights, children's rights, gay & lesbian rights, rights of minorities” with the rate of 0.4%.

Scope of story
According to the scope of the news stories broadcasted on the television channels, it has been seen that they were mostly “national” with a rate of 49.9% and respectively “local” with a rate of 23.8%, “national and other” with a rate of 16.4%, “foreign and international” with a rate of 9.9%. The women were mostly included in “local” news with a rate of 46.5%, and respectively in “national” news with the rate of 28.4%, in “national and other” news with the rate of 15.4%, in “foreign, international” news with the rate of 9.8% while the men were
included mostly in “national” news with a rate of 52.1%, in “local” news with the rate of 20.7%, in “national and other” news with a rate of 17.1%, in “foreign, international” news with the rate of 10.1%.

**Role**

When it comes to anchors, announcers or presenters who announce the chief news bulletins which were recorded during five days, it has been seen that one man in Channel 7, one man and one woman in NTV, one woman in Star TV and TRT 1 were employed as anchor, announcer or presenter. While in the 31.3% of the news, there was a reporter beside the anchor, in the 39.6% of the news there was a person in the news (interviewee, commentator, analyst or spokesperson whom the story is about). 32.1% of those reporters were women while 30.9% were men and 15.8% of the people in the news were women while 55.8% were men.

**Gender-Age**

Of the people who were included in a total of 1194 news broadcasted for five days on the television channels constituting the sampling 59.1% were males whereas 40.4% were females and 0.5% of them were not classified (not known). As for the ages of those people, it has been revealed that 29.4% of them were unidentified, 27.9 were between 19-34, 24.5% were between 35-49, 14.5% were between 50-64, 1.8% were 65 and older, 1.1% were between 13-18 and 0.6% were between 0-12.

**Occupation or Position**

When the occupation or position of the people in the television news was analyzed, it has been revealed that “government officials, politicians, presidents, government ministers, political leaders, political party staff, spokespersons” were mostly included in the television news with a rate of 8.5%. The other people included in the news were respectively those whose occupations were not stated with a rate of 7.7%, “criminals or suspects” with a rate of 3.4%, “government employees, public servants, bureaucrats, diplomats, intelligence officers” with the rate of 3.3%, “celebrities, artists, actors, writers, singers, radio or television personalities” with a rate of 1.9%, “health or social service professionals, doctors, nurses, laboratory technicians, social workers, psychologists” with a rate of 1.8%, “media professionals, journalists, video or film-makers, theatre directors” with a rate 1.7%. “Unemployed” people with a rate of 0.1%, “sex workers and prostitutes” with a rate of 0.2%,
“retired people, pensioners” and “agriculture, mining, fishing, forestry workers” and “science or technology professionals, engineers, technicians, computer specialists” with a rate of 0.3%, “sportspeople, athletes, players, coaches, referees” with a rate of 0.6%, “academic experts, education professionals, teachers or university lecturers (all disciplines), nursery or kindergarten teachers, child care workers” with a rate of 0.7% were less included in the news. As for the gender distribution of the people in the television news, out of 482 females appeared in the news, the occupations of 4.9% were not stated, 2.3% were “celebrities, artists, actresses, writers, singers, radio or television personalities”, 2.1% were “home-makers and parents”, 1.7% were “health or social service professionals, doctors, nurses, laboratory technicians, social workers and psychologists”, 1.5% were “office or service workers, non-management workers in office, store, restaurant and catering”. None of the females appeared on the news was a “government employee, public servant, bureaucrat, diplomat, intelligence officer”, “police, military, para-military group, militia, prison officer, security officer, fire officer”, “science or technology professional, engineer, technician, computer specialist”. However, out of 706 men appeared on the news, 21.6% were “government officials, politicians, presidents, government ministers, political leaders, political party staff or spokespeople”. 8.3% were “criminals or suspects”, 3.8% were “media professionals, journalists, video-filmmakers, or theatre directors”, 3% were “trades people, artisans, laborers, truck drivers or construction, factory, domestic worker”, 2.5% were “celebrities, artists, actors, writers and radio or television personalities”, 2.1% were “business person, executives, managers, entrepreneurs, economists, financial experts or stockbrokers”.

**Function in the news story**

When the functions of the people covered in a total of 1194 news were analyzed, it has been revealed that 13.8% of them appeared as spokesperson, 11.7% appeared as subject, 7.4% appeared as popular opinion, 3.4% appeared as expert or commentator, 2.8% appeared as eyewitness, 0.5% appeared as personal experience. The function of 0.1% is unknown. When the functions of the people appeared in the news were analyzed according to their gender, it has been noted that out of 109 women, 7.6% were subject, 3.2% were popular opinion, 2.3% were eyewitness, 1.5% were expert or commentator, 1.1% were spokesperson, 0.4% were personal experience. However, out of 706 men, 33.3% were appeared as spokesperson, 21.7% appeared as subject, 15.4% appeared as popular opinion, 7.2% appeared as expert or commentator, 4.6% appeared as eyewitness and 0.8% appeared as personal experience. When the topic distribution in each function was examined according to the gender, it has been seen
that women appeared as subject were included in the news topics related to “medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical research or funding (apart from HIV-AIDS)” with a rate of 5.7%, 5% of them were included in the news topics related to “disaster, accident, famine, earthquake, flood, hurricane, plane crash or car crash” and 2.9% of them included in the news topics related to “non-violent crime, bribery, theft, drug-dealing or corruption, (including political corruption/malpractice)”. As for the men appeared as subjects; it has been found out that 17.9% of them were included in the news topics related to “non-violent crime, bribery, theft, drug-dealing or corruption, (including political corruption/malpractice)”, 16.4% of them were included in topics related to “war, civil war, terrorism or state-based violence” and 5.7% of them were included in topics related to “violent crime, murder, abduction, kidnapping, assault or drug-related violence”. While 1.8% of the women who were appeared as a spokesperson on TV news were took part in the news topics that are not classified (other subjects) and 1.2% of them took part in the topics related to “arts, entertainment, leisure, cinema, theatre, books or dance”, 18.2% of men took part in topics related to “other stories on social or legal issues”, 14.5% of them took part in the topics related to “war, civil war, terrorism or state-based violence” and 13.3% of them took part in the topics related to “economic policies, strategies or models (national, international)”. 4.9% of the women appeared as expert or commentator were included in the news topics related to “medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical research, funding (apart from HIV-AIDS)”, “other epidemics, viruses, contagions, BSE, SARS and other stories on science or health”. However, 17.1% of the men appeared as expert or commentator were included in the news topics related to “war, civil war, terrorism, state-based violence”, 9.8% of them were included in the topics related to “other stories on social or legal issues”, “medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical research, funding (apart from HIV-AIDS)” and 4.9% of them were included in the topics related to “other epidemics, viruses, contagions, BSE, SARS”. While the women appeared on the television news as personal experience were mostly included in the topics related to “other stories on celebrities, arts, media” with a rate of 33.3%, 33.3% of men appeared as personal experience were included in the topics related to “economic indicators, statistics, business, trade, stock markets” and 16.7 of them were included in the topics related to “riots, demonstrations, public disorder” and “other stories on celebrities, arts and media”. Women appeared as eye-witness were mostly included in the topics related to “education, child care, nurseries, pre-school to university, adult education, literacy”, “medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical research, funding (apart from HIV-AIDS)”, “beauty contests, models, fashion, beauty aids, cosmetic surgery” with a rate of 6.1%
whereas 18.2% of men were included in the news topics related to “disaster, accident, famine, earthquake, flood, hurricane, plane crash and car crash”, 15.2% of them were included in the topics related to “other stories on crime and violence”, 12.1% of them were included in the topics related to “non-violent crime, bribery, theft, drug-dealing, corruption, (including political corruption/malpractice)”. While 4.5% of the women appeared as the popular opinion in the news were included in the news topics related to “war, civil war, terrorism, state-based violence”, “disaster, accident, famine, earthquake, flood, hurricane, plane crash and car crash”, 1.1% of them were included in the topics related to “gender-based violence, harassment, domestic violence, rape, trafficking, genital mutilation”, “medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical research, funding (apart from HIV-AIDS)”, “arts, entertainment, leisure, cinema, theatre, books and dance”; 20.5% of men were included in the topics related to “disaster, accident, famine, earthquake, flood, hurricane, plane crash, car crash”, 14.8% of them were included in the topics related to “war, civil war, terrorism and state-based violence”, 9.1% of them were included in the news topics related to “economic indicators, statistics, business, trade, stock markets”.

Family Relationships

In the 1194 recorded news chunks, the phrases such as wife, husband, his/her daughter, his/her son etc. related to family relationships were not observed in the rate of 38.3%, whereas these phrases were observed in the rate of 0.6%. The identifications were only used for the women with a rate of 1.5% in the television news where such phrases were used. The identifications were not used for men.

Victim

1.6% of the people appeared on 1194 television news broadcasted on the TV channels were “victims of an accident, natural disaster, poverty, disease, illness”, 1.1% of them were “victims of other crime, robbery, assault, murder etc.”, 0.2% were “victims of non-domestic sexual violence or abuse, sexual harassment, rape, trafficking” and “victims of discrimination based on gender, race, ethnicity, age, religion”, 0.1% were “victims of war, terrorism, vigilantism, state-based violence” and “unidentified victims”. 35.7% of the people appeared on the news were not appeared as victim. As for the gender distribution of the people who were appeared as victims on the television, it has been revealed that while the women were “victims of an accident, natural disaster, poverty, disease, illness” with a rate of 3.4%, “victims of other crime, robbery, assault, murder” with a rate of 1.1% and “victims of non-
domestic sexual violence or abuse, sexual harassment, rape and trafficking” with a rate of 0.4%; the men were “victims of other crime, robbery, assault, murder” with a rate of 1.7%, “victims of an accident, natural disaster, poverty, disease, illness” with a rate of 0.6% and “victims of war, terrorism, vigilantism, state-based violence” with a rate of 0.23%.

Survivor

0.1% of the people appeared on 1194 television news were “survivor of an accident, natural disaster, poverty, disease or illness”, 38.5% of them were not a survivor, 0.3% were “unidentified survivors”. As for the gender of the survivors; 0.6% of women were “unidentified survivors”, 0.2% of men were “survivor of an accident, natural disaster, poverty, disease or illness”.

Are women central to the news in this story?

Out of 1194 TV news, only 1.9% were defined as woman centric. The news which were defined as women centric were respectively about “disaster, accident, famine, earthquake, flood, hurricane, plane crash, car crash”, “medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical research, funding (apart from HIV-AIDS)”, “violent crime, murder, abduction, kidnapping, assault, drug-related violence”, “gender-based violence, harassment, domestic violence, rape, trafficking, genital mutilation”, “media, including new media (computers, internet), portrayal of women and/or men, pornography”, “other stories on celebrities, arts, media”, “riots, demonstrations, public disorder”, “non-violent crime, bribery, theft, drug-dealing, corruption, (including political corruption/malpractice)”.

Does the story clearly highlight issues concerning equality or inequality between women and men?

Out of 1194 television news, only 0.1% has clearly focused on the issues of equality or inequality. The issues, in which equality or inequality were clearly focused, were only about “disaster, accident, famine, earthquake, flood, hurricane, plane crash and car crash”.

Does the story clearly challenge or clearly reinforce stereotypes about women and/or men?

It has been found out that while in 27.7% of 1194 TV news broadcasted on the TV channels, the statements reinforcing stereotypes about women and/or men cannot be decided; in 0.5% of them the statements clearly reinforce stereotypes and in 0.5% of the news, the statements
clearly challenge stereotypes. The stories that clearly challenge or clearly reinforce stereotypes about women and/or men respectively are about “gender-based violence, harassment, domestic violence, rape, trafficking, genital mutilation”, “violent crime, murder, abduction, kidnapping, assault, drug-related violence”, “other subjects”, “poverty, housing, social welfare, aid to those in need”, “medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical research and funding (apart from HIV-AIDS)

Further Analysis
None of the 1194 TV news broadcasted for five days in the TV channels constituting the sampling needs further analysis.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION
It is possible to state that means of mass communication and especially television have an important place in both gender’s (women and men) lives. Television is significant in terms of affecting people’s opinion and attitude. However, the things which are reflected via television are not the reality itself, rather they are the reality which is presented after a kind of selection process. This process involves certain and primary ideology and produces theories about gender.

Feminity and masculinity have been cultural identities which are formed separately in each social system. Woman has been defined as dependent on man in terms of capacity and authorization and inferior to him. This definition shows the center of the authority. Television is important in terms of circulating the information, news and entertainment in this process. Means of mass communication do not reflect the world as it is, they reproduce and duplicate it. On the other hand, this duplication and reproduction are closely associated with limits of the social formations and institutional ideologies. The production of means of mass communication is fulfilled within the framework of certain ethical rules. Therefore, what information is to be revealed and which subjects are to be highlighted are an outcome of social rules. The inequality in the representation of woman and man depend on the social definitions about sexes rather than the person or the institution that produces the message. In other words, gender is a phenomenon formed culturally and changes according to time and the society in which it occurs. Briefly, gender exists in where we live, namely in our social address. In terms of acquiring the consciousness of decoding the patriarchal ideology which produces the gender ideology in favor of men, determining the amount of time women appear
on chief news bulletins on television, in which subjects they are included and their function in the news story gains importance.

When the news analyzed in the study “Women in Television News in Turkey” were examined in terms of their subjects, it has been revealed that the mostly appeared subjects were “war, civil war, terrorism, state-based violence” with a rate of 15.7% and the least appeared subjects were “foreign/international politics, relations with other countries, negotiations, treaties, UN peacekeeping” with the rate of 3.9%. As for the distribution of the subjects in terms of gender women appeared mostly in the subjects about were “war, civil war, terrorism, state-based violence” with a rate of 12.4%, “disaster, accident, famine, earthquake, flood, hurricane, plane crash, car crash” with the rate of 12.2% and “non-violent crime, bribery, theft, drug-dealing, corruption (including political corruption/ malpractice)” with a rate of 7.7%. They did not appear in the subjects about “consumer issues, consumer protection, regulation, prices and consumer fraud”. It can be stated that women are mostly used as visual material in media and they appeared most in the subjects of media and art.

When the scope of the news stories was examined, it has been revealed that the stories are mostly national with a rate of 49.9%. Among the news examined women appeared on local news with a rate on 46.5%, on national news with a rate of 28.4%, on national and other news with a rate of 15.4% and on foreign and international news with a rate of 9.8%.

32.1% of the reporters on 1194 news broadcasted on the channels examined were women. This data shows that women working in the media works mostly in lower positions as reporters. When the occupation and the positions of the people on the news broadcasted on the television were analyzed, it has been revealed that out of 482 women 4.9% have an unknown job, 2.3% were “celebrities, artists, actors, writers, singers, radio or television personalities”, 2.1% were “housewives and parents”, 1.7% were “health or social service professionals, doctors, nurses, laboratory technicians, social workers, psychologists” and 1.5% were “office or service workers, non-management workers in office, store, restaurant and catering”. However, none of them were “police, military, para-military group, militia, prison officer, security officer, fire officer”. Due to the fact that women appear less on the television news and those who appear on the news took part in limited positions, this data proves that men are dominant in the social power areas such as politics, business life and education and gender discrimination in social power areas are still in favor of man and also it
makes it evident that men have higher positions in chief news bulletins just as they have in social system.

When it comes to the functions of the people appeared on 1194 television news, it has been revealed that 7.6% of women appeared as subject and women were included in the news topics related to “medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical research, funding (apart from HIV-AIDS)” with a rate of 5.7% and “disaster, accident, famine, earthquake, flood, hurricane, plane crash, car crash” with the rate of 5%. The function of men and women on the news supports the discrimination between genders. As a result, it has been determined that women appear less on television as subject, expert or commentator, eye-witness, popular view and spokesperson compared to men.

On the 1194 news broadcasted on television, the definitions about family relationships were used for women with a rate of 1.5% whereas they were not used for men.

In 1194 television news, women were seen as victims on the issues of “disaster, accident, famine, earthquake, flood, hurricane, plane crash, car crash”, “gender-based violence, harassment, domestic violence, rape, trafficking, genital mutilation”, “violent crime, murder, abduction, kidnapping, assault, drug-related violence”, whereas men were the “victims of violent crime, murder, abduction, kidnapping, assault, drug-related violence”, “disaster, accident, famine, earthquake, flood, hurricane, plane crash, car crash”, “war, civil war, terrorism, state-based violence”. None of the women in the news were defined as survivor. In the category of whether the news stories are women centric or not, 1.9% of the news were woman centric and their subjects were “disaster, accident, famine, earthquake, flood, hurricane, plane crash, car crash”, “violent crime, murder, abduction, kidnapping, assault, drug-related violence”, “gender-based violence, harassment, domestic violence, rape, trafficking, genital mutilation”, “medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical research, funding (apart from HIV-AIDS)” and “media, including new media (computers, internet), portrayal of women and/or men, pornography”.

Finally, in this study, it has been revealed that the news topics mostly consist of politics and celebrity, arts and media; that the people who were subjects of the news and appeared as popular view were mostly men; that the women centric subjects were not included enough in the chief news bulletins; that the woman centric news topics consist of “disaster, accident,
famine, earthquake, flood, hurricane, plane crash, car crash”, “medicine, health, hygiene, safety, disability, medical research, funding (apart from HIV-AIDS)” which can be proofs of weakness and that the definitions and adjectives used in the news are in line with the common judgments for women and men in the social system.

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The demise of the family meal? Evidence from the Antipodes

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Abstract

Popular discourse suggests that family meals are becoming increasingly rare and that their disappearance is contributing to the rising level of childhood obesity and to diminished family functioning, with negative psychosocial outcomes for children and adolescents. Evidence from research studies on the function of family mealtimes has failed to support such strong claims. What little is known about the social, cultural, nutritional and psychosocial impact of family meals is based on the mealtime practices of American families. This paper presents data from a survey of 625 adolescents drawn from schools in the metropolitan region of Perth, Western Australia. Using an online questionnaire, adolescents were asked about their current family meal practices and their ideas about family meals, as well as about their own activities, their health and well-being, and their sense of family connectedness. Relationships between various demographic factors, family and individual level variables, health indicators and eating practices are presented and issues regarding the methodology are described.
The image of the ideal family meal pervades our everyday life from television advertising and programming to literature and beyond. This image presents a ‘family’ sitting down at a table being served food by a mother wreathed in smiles. It is a traditional, nostalgic image of a cocooned family, safe from the disorder and uncertainty of the outside world. This image is continually validated by a media focus that gives credence to the importance of family meals as a cornerstone of society, connecting individual/s with community and effecting socialization.

Nevertheless, despite these enduring images, there is growing national and international concern regarding the apparent demise of the family meal. Moral panic and fear has set in as eating moves from being a social to a more individual practice (Fischler 1980: 947). The loss of the family meal has been linked to psychological, social and physical effects resulting in, for example, low self esteem, family dysfunction, social unrest and obesity. However, little research exists on the continuing significance, or otherwise, of the family meal as a site where ‘community’ and communication occur.

This paper presents findings from research aiming to address the significant lack of knowledge regarding the family meal and its role in the current Australian context. This research indicates that concerns about the demise of the family meal are premature, although the form it takes may not necessarily conform to the nostalgic image to which we are exposed.

The literature on meals is divided into three main categories: socio-cultural, psychological and nutritional. The cultural encompasses aspects such as gender and
labour divisions, the influence of class, the constitution of a ‘proper meal’ in terms of food and preparation as well as types of activity, and the impact of the meal on belonging (Beardsworth & Keil 1997; Grieshaber 1997; Hupkens et al. 1998; Lupton 2000; Murcott 1982, 1997, 2000).

The psychological literature has some overlaps, in particular with the meal as a key facilitator of socialisation. Psychological treatises on the meal tend to focus on socialization, health and mental health of adolescents and the development of self-esteem, processes of family communication, and issues of intimacy and trust (Compañ et al. 2002; Coveney 1999; Eisenberg et al. 2004; Erwin et al. 2002; Neumark-Sztainer et al. 2004; Soliah et al. 2003).

The nutritional literature focuses on the influence of the family meal on food intake and its nutrition quality, childhood obesity and child-parent interactions around food (Burke et al. 2001; Campbell & Crawford 2001; Gibson et al. 1998; Oliveria et al. 1992).

Just as definitions of ‘family’ have become more fluid and inclusive, so too has the definition of ‘meal’ (Mäkäla 2000). What it is, how it varies with different life phases and what impact this has on the social fabric of our communities is unknown. Most of the above studies are based on white, American, middle-class families and the few Australian studies which exist have produced contradictory findings (Skatssoon 2003). Campbell and Crawford (2001: 23) suggest that ‘in the Australian context we have few insights regarding the family food environment in which our children learn their food habits, or
how this might differ across social groups’. There has been no attempt to bring together findings on food and family research from a range of disciplines, despite the fact that ‘such an integration has the potential to throw light on a number of issues from different methodological angles’ (Coveney 2002: 114).

Part of the definitional problem in identifying the ‘family meal’ involves the conflation of actual practice with ideal representation. Murcott (1997) argues that representations of the family meal reflect an ideal to which people aspire, rather than a reality, and suggests we need ‘to separate reports of frequency from articulations of an idealised image’ or ‘actual activities’ from ‘images of family living to which people aspire’ (Murcott 1982:693). 

The current research was undertaken by a multidisciplinary team consisting of a psychologist, two sociologists and a nutritionist to try to begin answering some of these questions: What, where and how are people eating their evening meals? How is this related to age, class, ethnicity, gender, family composition, and employment status? What is considered to be a ‘family meal’? Who prepares and cooks food in the household? Does food intake differ between those who do and don’t engage in ‘family meals’? Is eating ‘family meals’ related to psychosocial well-being?

Research Plan, Methods and Technique

After considerable deliberation about the most appropriate methodology, a compromise position was arrived at which saw Year 10 students from eight secondary schools in the
Perth metropolitan area invited to participate. Being at a critical stage of development in terms of their own nutritional choices, eating habits and health/obesity concerns, the adolescents constitute a relevant sample. Schools were selected to provide a range of socio-economic backgrounds. For convenience of application and to ensure all students (regardless of access to computer and internet access at home) were able to participate, schools were asked to include the survey as part of the Year 10 Health or Science program. Participants were encouraged to complete an online questionnaire. Measures of family connectedness, health and well-being were also included.

**Sample**

The sample consisted of 314 males (50.2%) and 311 females (49.8%), making a total of 625 Year 10s, 90.4% of whom completed the web-based version and 9.6% the paper-based. We estimated the socioeconomic status of the participants generally through SES bands based on median weekly household income by suburb (2001 ABS data). 40.2% of participants were from schools in suburbs in the high band, 13.4% in the medium and 46.4% in the low.

**Household Characteristics**

The average number of people living in respondents’ houses was 4.5; 92.6% were living with mothers and 1.8% with stepmother, 71.8% with fathers and 9.3% with stepfathers. 9.0% had relatives other than siblings living in the house. Father/stepfather was employed in 92.0% of households, and mother/stepmother employed in 68.7%. Of respondents, 42% were the eldest child in the family, and 35% the youngest.
The cultural diversity of the sample broadly reflects that of the population in general. The vast majority of the sample was born in Australia (78.6%), with 3.7% of the sample being from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander background. The top six other countries of birth were England (14.9% of other countries), Singapore (9%), New Zealand (8.2%), and Malaysia, Scotland and South Africa (all 5.2%). A large proportion of the sample (73.1%) spoke English at home. The top six other languages spoken at home were Vietnamese (11.4% of other languages), Cantonese and Chinese (7.8%), Serbian (7.2%), Macedonian (6%) and Italian (5.4%).

Family meals: experiences and expectations

In terms of general eating habits, a majority of respondents reported that they ate and drank whatever they wanted, although almost as many were a little careful about eating habits. Few reported that they were ‘sometimes’ or ‘always’ on a diet.

Table 1: Distribution of responses regarding usual eating habits (N=625)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Count (Percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I eat and drink what I want, whenever I want</td>
<td>274 (43.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am a little careful about what I eat and drink</td>
<td>284 (45.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am sometimes on a diet</td>
<td>53 (85%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am almost always on a diet</td>
<td>14 (2.2%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Just over half (52.7%, N=329) reported that they always ate breakfast on weekdays with just over 80% (81.6%, N=510) eating breakfast on the weekends.
We asked participants to provide as much detail as they could about the meal they ate the previous night. When coded for the type of food eaten, 72% ate "home-made" meals, 10% instant meals at home (such as instant noodles or frozen complete meals) and 22% fast food such as McDonald’s, Hungry Jacks, fish and chips, Chicken Treat etc.

Interestingly, over a quarter (27%) of the adolescents reported that they had decided what they were going to eat that night. 15% prepared their own evening meal, but for the majority it was the mother (50%) or father (14%) who had prepared the meal.

Participants were asked to provide more detail about the meal they ate the previous night – what it consisted of, where it was eaten, and whether all household members ate it in the same place.

Meals consisted of a wide variety of foods eaten – from the well balanced to the less nutritional (e.g. ‘ice-cream’ as a meal). The art of ‘home cooking’ does not seem to have disappeared, with meals including ‘veggie bake and lamb chops’; ‘freshly baked pasta with cheese sauce, fried pork schnitels [sic] with a cream sauce, freshly baked capsicum [sic] with a bit of garlic and oil’; ‘crumbed fish, mashed potato, fresh peas, fresh corn, fresh carrot, salad’; the ubiquitous ‘spaghetti with meat sauce’; and more exotic options such as ‘stir fry (noodles, chicken)’; ‘satay chicken (sauce from packet) and rice with onions capsicum and carrots’; ‘lamb curry with potatoes in it and rice with safron [sic] in it’; and the eclectic ‘chiken [sic] curry with rice salad n fries’ or ‘rice, scrambled eggs with pepperoni, bok choy with potato’. There were also the more traditional ‘chops, chips, salad and 2 rolls’ and ‘sausages mashed potatoes and peas’.
Of the 579 responses to the question, ‘Where did you eat your meal last night?’ almost half ate at a dining room table, with another quarter eating in the lounge and family rooms. A small group (6%) ate in their bedrooms.

Table 2: Distribution of responses regarding eating site for last night’s meal (N=579)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eating Site</th>
<th>Responses (N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dining room table</td>
<td>279 (48.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lounge room</td>
<td>100 (17.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchen</td>
<td>57 (9.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family room</td>
<td>48 (8.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedroom</td>
<td>35 (6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car</td>
<td>5 (0.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Backyard</td>
<td>4 (0.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Park</td>
<td>1 (0.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>50 (8.6%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

76.7% reported this was at the same place as everyone else, and 78.6% that the meal was eaten at the same time as everyone else.

We were also interested in activities undertaken during mealtme (or while eating). As Table 3 indicates, talking was engaged in by almost eight out of ten participants, and while the TV was on in 61.3% of households, only about three quarters of these respondents were actually watching it.\(^i\)
Table 3: Activities while eating (total numbers and percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Did you talk with others while you were eating? (N=579)</td>
<td>449 (78.1%)</td>
<td>126 (21.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was the television on while you were eating? (N=579)</td>
<td>355 (61.3%)</td>
<td>224 (38.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If the TV was on, were you watching television? (N=347)</td>
<td>253 (72.9%)</td>
<td>94 (27.1%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

70% of the sample perceived their meal the previous night as a ‘family’ meal. Their reasons were mainly based around the sociality of the event – that everyone was collected for the meal event (48.7%). However, almost 40% used a nutritional definition of the family meal, suggesting it was a family meal because it was home cooked or included meat and vegetables.

Table 4: Previous night’s meal was a family meal because (respondents could tick more than one option; N=645 responses)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Everybody was there</td>
<td>195 (30.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We were all sitting at a table</td>
<td>119 (18.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The meal was cooked at home</td>
<td>141 (21.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The meal included meat and veggies</td>
<td>117 (18.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The television was off</td>
<td>47 (7.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>26 (4.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the 30% who felt it was not a family meal, again the focus was on the social aspect of not everyone being together (see Table 5), with the meal not being cooked at home not a
major factor (although a number of the ‘other’ answers indicated that since different family members were eating different foods, this was what precluded it from being a ‘family meal’).

Table 5: *Previous night’s meal was not a family meal because* (respondents could tick more than one option; *N*=164 responses)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not everybody was there</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>35.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We were not sitting at table</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>21.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The meal was not cooked at home</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The meal did not include meat and vegetables</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The television was on</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non family members were there</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of course our aim had been to identify not only current eating patterns, but the degree to which these reflect ideals of the family meal and whether having family meals was important to adolescents. In response to the question, ‘Is having family meals important to you?’ 55.2% of the 625 gave affirmative answers, and 44.8% negative. This almost equal split is fascinating, and we suspected that it reflected a gender difference, but of those who said that family meals were important 49% were male and 51% were female – almost equal proportions.

Of the 215 who said yes (see Table 6), the most common theme in their explanations in the qualitative section of the question, was framed around the opportunity provided by
the meal for communication with other family members. This was related to the second most frequent theme, that of spending time together.

Table 6: *Why family meals are important (N=455; participants could give more than one response)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>all together/bonding</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>63.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>catch-up/talk about issues</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>50.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>love/like each other/family important</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it’s what families do</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>food tastes nicer</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not specific</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fun/happy times</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stay healthy</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no response</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don't know</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>need food</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>misc</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following few examples of written responses indicate the overwhelming similarity of the discourse.

Yes, because it’s the only time everyone gets to sit down and catch up especially [sic] during the week.

Yes because you can discuss problems to [sic] your parents.

Because we can spend quality time together and talk about what is on our mind.

Because we all sit down and talk.

It gives us a chance to converse and communicate as a family.

Because you can [sic] talk about the events that took place in that day and have some family time together.
It’s comfy and nice to have the family all together. Having a family meal in the evening is very important to me because I get to talk to my family all together at the same time. We also try and solve problems we may be having. We have a good time and we can all relax while enjoying a good meal.

Those who did not feel the family meal was important gave answers which clustered around the general theme of not caring, or not seeing the point, although one in ten found mealtime an opportunity to take a break from the family or to enjoy their own solitude.

One in ten found they had other opportunities for family time or to talk, and that the family meal itself was less important for this aspect of family life.

Table 7: Those who felt it was not important (N =266; participants could give more than one response)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>don't care</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>24.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not specified</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see and talk to my family enough</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>just a meal</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>too busy</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more important things to do</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dislike/hate my family</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don't know</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prefer to be alone</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I'm used to it</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>overrated</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rather not eat with my family</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no response</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don't need everybody there</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>just don't feel like it</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don't like people watching me eat</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The qualitative responses for the negative were far less forthcoming with many providing single or a few words in answer. Some examples follow:

No it doesent [sic] matter.
Because.
No.
Why is it important.
Because its [sic] nothing just eating dinner.
Because I see my family members during the day and I need some space which is at dinner time.
Not really because you get annoyed [sic] with your family. They ask to [sic] many questions.
Because I dislike my sister.
BECAUSE IT IS JUST EATING.

Health and Well-Being

In general, the adolescents reported that their health was good or very good with only about 16% indicating that it was ‘fair’ or ‘poor’, although there was moderately high medicine and alcohol use for this age group. Reported use of other drugs was low.

When asked to report on their feelings of stress, anxiety or depression during the past week, less than 10% of the sample reported frequent occurrence of such feelings, but another 25% had experienced these feelings ‘a few times’. Physical activity levels were very good for about 90% of the group, averaging between one and two hours for the
reporting days. However, there was also a reasonably high level of television viewing throughout the day, with between two and three hours of viewing for the majority of the adolescents. Just over 40% of the adolescents also had part-time jobs, averaging just over 12 hours per week.

The adolescents also had reasonably positive views of themselves, especially in terms of their achievement at school, with more than 93% of those responding describing themselves as ‘average’ to ‘above average’ in this area. More than half (54.8%) thought that looks were ‘important’ and just under half (44.5%) thought that they were at least ‘good looking’, with about a quarter of the group (27.6%) indicating that they were below average in this regard.

*Family Connectedness*

A strong finding of the study was the degree to which the adolescents felt that they were connected to their families. More than 70% indicated that family members were ‘supportive of each other during difficult times’ and more than 65% felt that their family members were ‘very close and get along very well’. However, this did not necessarily translate into enjoying ‘doing things together’, with a slightly reduced proportion of the sample (57.8%) endorsing this type of connectedness and just over a quarter of the sample (26.1%) indicating that their families didn’t really enjoy doing things together. However, when adolescents were having problems, parents and other family members were consulted ‘quite a bit’ or ‘very much’ by 51.4% and 47.5% of the sample,
respectively. Friends were consulted only slightly more (57.2%). By contrast, teachers were avoided by 57% of the sample.

Conclusion

These results indicate that the moral panic about the demise of the family meal is premature. Our findings fall in between a recent poll by a pasta sauce manufacturer which indicated, ‘meal times have become a recipe for food rejection, stress, stand-offs and bribery’ with 95% of children rejecting home-cooked meals (Skatssoon 2003), and a Meat and Livestock Australia commissioned study (2003) which indicated that 86% of families sit down to an evening meal and the television is switched off 60% of the time. Similar to Neumark-Sztainer and co-workers’ (2000) focus group based research on family meal patterns of adolescents attending seventh and tenth grade in the US, we found a great diversity in family meal patterns, including both the ‘sit down regular meal’ and the ‘eat and run’ scenario. We were surprised that almost half of the respondents reported eating around a dining room table, a more traditional image of family interaction than many might expect. Likewise it appears the gendered division of labour is still common, although significant proportions of fathers and of adolescents themselves were preparing meals (one in three of our sample). Home made meals were common, with almost three quarters of our sample reporting eating a meal cooked at home the previous night.

Our findings also support Neumark-Sztainer and colleagues’ conclusion that watching television is a relatively common, though by no means universal, activity while eating a
meal. Concerns about the impact of television watching suggest that if everyone’s eating is done in front of the television set without the scrutiny of adults, ‘children might never learn to cut and chew neatly, how to notice what it is that other people need or are saying, or any of the other marks of being “well brought up”’ (Visser 1991: 55). Our study indicates that while the television may be on, not everyone is watching it, and for those who are, this does not preclude communication – 80% reported talking during the meal. It is this communication aspect which seems to define it as a ‘family meal’ for the majority of adolescents. While Neumark-Sztainer and co-workers (2000) found that key reasons for not eating a family meal were busy schedules, dissatisfaction with family relations and a dislike of the food being served at family meals, many of our respondents challenged the value of the ‘family meal’ itself.

Our findings appear to support Ottes’ (1991: 105) argument that meals potentially assemble groups and ‘may signify unity and sharing’, with almost 75% of our sample indicating that they ate in the same place as other family members on the night in question, and over 70% reporting they ate together 4 or more times a week. Certainly many valued the family meal as an opportunity to come together and share with other members of their families. However, for almost equal numbers, the ideal of the family meal meant little, and was seen as unimportant to them.

The family meal has long been considered a strong marker of, and a vehicle for, promoting family connectedness, being an opportunity to develop a sense of family belonging and a site for transferring not only a food heritage (Soliah et al 2003), but other
aspects of socialisation. The findings of the current study go some way to dispelling the myth that traditional notions of the family meal no longer exist. It also suggests that socialisation can still occur in non-traditional meal practices.

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i We also asked about daily TV watching, and found that respondents reported watching on average close to 4 hours of television a day. But students also overwhelmingly (89.1%) reported undertaking some physical activity such as Phys Ed classes, walking, running, football/soccer/hockey, netball/basketball over the past week, averaging an hour on week days and two hours on weekends. This indicates that students are not simply sedentary television and video game viewers.

ii This answer indicates the methodological difficulties of inviting adolescents to participate in a school setting where the question of their consent is perhaps a moot point, since teachers agreed that their classes would participate. Since this was one of the compulsory questions, past which students could not move on the WEB based survey until they had entered something, this student simply hit random keys on the keyboard in order to move through the questionnaire. The various methodological issues arising from the research design will be taken up in a separate paper.
Running Head: Freedom through Sustainability

TITLE: Freedom through Sustainability: How Permaculture Can Loosen the Shackles of Hegemony

TOPIC AREA: Sustainable Development

PRESENTATION FORMAT: Paper Sessions

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Sustainability—it’s a new word for an old concept, a more pleasant and innocuous word that elicits no conspicuous and tolerable counterpart against which to be pitted. Last year it was “green”: green power, the green party, the green movement. The opposite of green is…purple. The opposite of sustainability is…the inability to remain. Now that should sound a few alarms. Recent interviews conducted on a West coast college campus found that three out of four students would consider joining an extracurricular club named “The Sustainability Club,” while one out of four would consider joining “The Green Club” (Interview, Eddy, 2006). It looks like two can play at the game of reification, and “climate change” may have met its match.

Sustainability also has a philosophical opposite: hegemony—“control or dominating influence by one person or group over others, especially by one political group over society or one nation over others” (Encarta Dictionary, 2007). In order to fully comprehend hegemony, one must fully comprehend its necessary opposite, subjugation; they are but two sides of the same coin. A note on logic: the absence of hegemony does not equal the opposite of hegemony (The Fallacy of the Alternative Syllogism: p or q, p, therefore not -q), although that is how “real” freedom is typically portrayed by the hegemonic power (Hurley 2000).

Contrary to one’s initial estimation, freedom and hegemony have everything to do with sustainability. Millions of Americans have seen “An Inconvenient Truth,” the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) has publicly released myriad studies verifying rapid deterioration of local and global resources as well as the disquieting recent reduction in biodiversity; and “Greenhouse gasses” is a household term. The alarm has sounded, and markedly little has changed. The factories continue polluting, developers
continue clear cutting, and miners continue mining. This is because the decisions that must be made in order to preserve our planet and our species are not up to the people; they are up to the CEOs and/or Boards of Directors of a few massive corporations whose only moral is profit above all else, and they have more influence over the lawmakers than any group of citizens (McChesney, 2004). “History is the long and tragic story of the fact that privileged groups seldom give up their privileges voluntarily” (King, 1963, p. 3).

Freedom is “a state in which somebody is able to act and live as he or she chooses, without being subject to any, or to any undue, restraints and restrictions” (Encarta Dictionary, 2007). Yet these profit machines keep us consuming our future; we shop at Wal-Mart out of economic necessity for low priced goods. Now that the king of part-time minimum-wage jobs (Wal-Mart) is the nation’s largest employer (Ehrenreich, 2001), each time they hire an employee they create another citizen dependent on the rock bottom prices that only unregulated overseas manufacturing can create: a customer. At minimum wage, conventional methods of green living and eating organic are an unobtainable philosophical pipe dream (Ehrenreich, 2005). Research is now indicating that choosing to eat organic can save more than just the planet, “Organic milk, produced without synthetic chemicals, hormones or antibiotics, is the best choice for kids and families, according to Dr. Alan Greene, one of the nation’s leading pediatrician” (Temple, 2006, p. 1). Regrettably the ability of most families to eat healthfully is crippled by low wages and high prices:

A recent study by researchers at the University of California-Davis reported that U.S. shoppers who consistently choose healthy foods spend nearly 20 percent
more on groceries. The study also said the higher price of these healthier choices can consume 35 to 40 percent of a low-income family's grocery budget. That's bad news for public health. (Harrison, 2005, p. 1)

Living restrained by your inability to afford safe and healthy foods for your family is not freedom. The economic subjugation of the populace is a tool of hegemonic powers.

Hegemony is a theory of social control developed by, among others, Italian Marxist philosopher Antonio Gramsci. Gramsci asserted that capitalist systems are not unlike socialist systems, rather like Marx's oft-maligned concept of false consciousness, they offer the illusion of personal freedom thereby allowing the system to maintain discrete control over citizens. This control is exerted via the enforcement of social norms defined by the power elite (see, for example, Bodley, 2003). Using what boils down to a massive public relations campaign, the powers that be appease a nation's citizens by dangling the dream of a perfect "free" life just out of their reach, never permitting such a dream to come to fruition. "Social control, in other words, takes two basic forms: besides influencing behavior and choice externally, through rewards and punishments, it also affects them internally, by molding personal convictions into a replica of prevailing norms," noted Joseph Femia (1987) in his book Gramsci's Political Thought (p. 24). The creation of the illusion of freedom gives the masses little reason to question it, thereby simplifying the task of persuading them of who they should be, and where they will fit into society.

Michele Foucault was a French philosopher, sociologist, and intellectual who popularized many progressive ideas about why civilizations act toward their citizens as they do. Among other things, Foucault's early work focused on the "mentally ill,"
specifically how they are separated from society to be relieved of their “issues” (Fillingham, 1993). Foucault observed that most mental patients were never cured of their ailment, and often no one could identify their malady. Foucault determined that many of the “insane” were only social deviants; a collection of people whose ideas didn’t conform to the rest of society. The community separated the social deviants from the general public to prevent a sort of contamination of ideas.

Utilitarian philosopher Jeremy Bentham recognized the handiness of social self-censorship, inspiring his architectural concept the panopticon; it is a simple prison structure which facilitates the exertion of extreme control over its occupants with minimal effort and involvement by the authority. According to Lydia Fillingham (1993) in her book *Foucault for Beginners*, the panopticon consists of a circular structure that contains many small rooms for occupants that are visible from a large central watch tower which has darkened windows, thereby yielding it impossible for the occupants to know whether they are being watched (p. 126). Aware that they could be being observed at any time, Bentham hypothesized that the occupants would begin to self censor and self control. Welcome to an early version of George Orwell's "Big Brother". According to Bentham, the conceptual representation of the panopticon as a prison of simple self-enforcement could be implemented in "factories, schools, barracks, hospitals and madhouses," according to (Fillingham, 1993, p. 126). According to Parenti (2003), panopticism is already an enforcement tool in most American workplaces, be it in the form of closed-circuit television (CCTV) “security” cameras, mystery shoppers, or point of sale (POS) data surveillance.

It is a chilling prospect that an 18th century philosopher was proposing that in
order for society to function smoothly, it required constant self-censoring and control. It is even more disturbing however, when one realizes that the modern "free" United States is operated in much the same way. Citizens now aware that various three letter agencies can listen to their phone calls, read their emails, and review their internet searches in the name of "security," but for whom? According to Christian Parent (2003), author of *The Soft Cage: Surveillance in America from Slavery to the War on Terror*:

9/11 was only fuel to a fire already raging out of control. The state’s drive to tag, monitor, and criminalize, and the media’s compulsion to summon fear at every turn, are matched or surpassed only by the aggressive proliferation of commercially based identification, registration, and tracking. (p. 3)

The tool of terrorism shaped by a massive public relations campaign and fostered by the Department of Homeland Security has eased the American grip on civil liberties. Welcome to American Hegemony.

Prolific author on the subject of American hegemony, Noam Chomsky (2003), wrote:

Those at the center of power relentlessly pursue their own agendas, understanding that they can exploit the fears and anguish of the moment. They may even institute measures that deepen the abyss and may march resolutely toward it, if that advances the goals of power and privilege. They declare that it is unpatriotic and disruptive to question the workings of authority—but patriotic to institute harsh and regressive policies that benefit the wealthy, and subordinate a frightened population to increased state control. (p. 217)
Chomsky described America as an imperialistic giant that will stop at nothing to gain more power. "The goal of the imperial grand strategy is to prevent any challenge to the 'power, position, and prestige of the United States,'" wrote Chomsky, quoting Dean Acheson (Chomsky, 2003, p. 14). He offers the United States' war in Iraq as an example. When the United States was attempting to rally worldwide support for its new war, there was little enthusiasm for such a conflict. As a result, the U.S. chose to go against the will of the United Nations, veto their resolutions, and attack Iraq nonetheless.

Washington 'made it clear that it intends to do all it can to maintain its preeminence, “then announced that it would ignore” the UN Security Council over Iraq and declared more broadly that “it would no longer be bound by the [UN] Charter's rules governing the use of force” (Chomsky, 2003, p. 13).

Chomsky contends that the United States is actually controlled by the very rich elite of the nation, a clique with goals that are somewhat unclear other than their inherent need for power and prestige. "Controlling the general population has always been a dominant concern of power and privilege, particularly since the first modern democratic revolution in seventeenth-century England...it is necessary to safeguard a system of elite decision-making and public ratification—'polyarchy,' in the terminology of political science—not democracy" (Chomsky, 2003, p. 5). Chomsky's belief is that America's capitalist economy is a hegemonic system, designed to keep the citizens in their place and out of the way producing more consumers who in turn continue to purchase from corporate America, empowering the elite to control and manipulate the world as if it were their personal play-thing. In Walter Adamson's book (1980) *Hegemony and*
Revolution, Gramsci is quoted,

Socialists must not replace order with order. They must bring about order itself.

The Juridical norm that they want to establish is the possibility of the complete realization of one's human personality for every citizen. With the realization of this norm, all established privileges collapse. (p. 19)

We have lost our way as a result of hegemony, and its progeny, globalization. An alarming side effect of globalization is the hefty collateral damage that resource extraction has upon the environment. Vast quantities of resources are required to fuel the first world's ever expanding "need" for new possessions. Jared Diamond (2006) discusses this in his book Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed,

Environmental practices of big businesses are shaped by a fundamental fact that for many of us offends our sense of justice. Depending on the circumstances, a business really may maximize its profits, at least in the short term, by damaging the environment and hurting people (p. 483).

The environment isn't the only victim, humans are just beginning to feel the squeeze of the rapid depletion of our natural resources, notably crude oil reserves. While it is outside of the scope of this paper to delve far into the oil industry as a subject, it is critical to note that oil as a commodity is currently driving the entire western economy. Diamond (2006) writes:

The world's major energy sources, especially for industrial societies, are fossil fuels: oil, natural gas, and coal. While there has been much discussion about how many big oil and gas fields remain to be discovered, and while coal reserves are believed to be large, the prevalent view is that known and likely reserves of
readily accessible oil and natural gas will last for a few more decades (p. 490). Revolution is a tricky business. So long as the whole of American society believes that they are “free” and that life is all about attaining more and more, it is will prove onerous to compel them to demand extreme change simply to be able to breathe in 30 years. Unfortunately, hegemony begets hegemony. No sooner does a revolution of thought take place than a new hegemony is created and new systems of societal control are put in place. However, revolution itself is a necessary part of human existence, and periodic revolution allows humankind to institute positive change. Creating a society that is empowered is a feat that would require much effort on the part of everyone involved. While there is no easy solution to the problem of hegemony and sustainability there is an alternative way of living that holds hope for the future. This alternative is Permaculture.

Permaculture is a holistic approach to everything, particularly food production. Old problems are evaluated from new angles, and no possible solution is dismissed due to its privatives. Permaculture is a vehicle to freedom, and an alternative to hegemony. The concept converges on freeing the individual from their dependence on the hegemonic cycle of subjugation and destruction. Small self-contained communities that can sustain themselves are the name of the Permaculture game. Permaculture erects a new small society which liberates the individual from the shackles of slavery to one’s essential needs, and the subtle prison of Hegemony.

Modern agricultural methods in industrialized nations, while successful in producing food in large volume, have significant flaws that render them unfeasible for sustained use. The vast amount of chemical fertilizers applied in an attempt to combat
soil depletion, the immense amount of land assigned to single crops for ease of harvest, and the typically great distances between farm and market are factors which conspire to result in enormous ecological damage in the wake of our unending quest for “more”. Consequently, alternate models of food production are entering the world stage; one of the most promising models emerging recently is Permaculture.

*Permaculture* was coined by Bill Mollison in 1959, when observing the forests of Tasmania. He explored the concept of this man-made system along with one of his students, David Holmgren, together developing “a set of techniques for holistic landscape designs that are modeled after nature yet include humans” (Hemenway, 2000). Permaculture studies the mechanics of forests and utilizes the “underlying principle which makes them work,” specifically, “a web of beneficial relationships between the different plants and animals, and between them and the rock, soil, water, and climate of their habitat” (Whitefield, 2002).

Permaculture takes into consideration both biological and social science, with a primary focus on the ability of human systems to sustain themselves without damaging the environment surrounding them. Another discussion of the subject states:

It recognizes, first, that all living systems are organized around energy flows. It teaches people to analyze existing energy flows (sun, rain, money, human energy) through such a system (a garden, a household, a business). Then it teaches them to position and interconnect all the elements in the system (whether existing or desired) in beneficial relationship to each other and to those energy flows. When correctly designed such a system will, like a natural ecosystem, become increasingly diverse and self-sustaining. (Wasser, 1994)
This precept of energy flow also applies to the planning of a Permaculture site, which is typically laid out into five (in some systems, six) zones, placed in proximity to a centralized location (like a house) based on the needs for attention; Zone 1 includes those systems requiring the most attention, Zone 2 less so (vegetable gardens, compost bins, beehives, and other relatively independent parts of the plot), and so on, with Zone 5 being wilderness outside of the plot, which is interfered with as little as possible. In this way, the layout of the plot is designed to make it require minimal investment of time for a maximum production.

Permaculture focuses primarily on food production, with other beneficial aspects and tenets of society emerging from the core concepts. The design concepts are taken from nature’s blueprint and the beneficial interaction of life in a given ecosystem, such as a forest; this has led to the term “forest garden” being commonly applied, “the careful design of relationships among them – interconnections – that will create a healthy, sustainable whole. Interconnections are what turn a collection of unrelated parts into a functioning system, whether it’s a community, a family, or an ecosystem” (Hemenway, 2000). A typical permaculture site possesses a wide variety of food plants with varying production times, to ensure as close to a year-long food supply as possible between stored nuts and dried fruit for the winter, with fresh food for most of the rest of the year.

The creation of sustainable behaviors in humans is a major tenet of Permaculture which is summed up by Mollison, “one should only carry out necessitous acts, that non-necessitous behavior tends to be very destructive” (1981). This summarizes the principles of cultural reform enmeshed in permaculture; focusing on energy efficiency and seeking less harmful solutions than those currently used (e.g. petroleum).
significant element of Permaculture considers the desirable qualities that can be achieved by community planning; using the same regard for energy flow found in the zones listed above. This is found in both building design (taking advantage of sunlight for extra heating, minimizing waste water and energy, and otherwise improving the efficiency of a given building) and community layout (designing a town to prevent suburban mentality and reduce or eliminate the need for a commute, as well as to create food production within the city rather than requiring imports). The core concepts of utilizing energy to the fullest and reducing or eliminating dependence upon imports through cooperative relationships between elements of a system are the heart of what makes permaculture a highly sustainable social philosophy.

Sustainability has a number of definitions, the most applicable to Permaculture being “the ability to meet the needs of the present without compromising the needs of the future.” This is what sets Permaculture apart from the typical “anti-growth” image of green activism, as it acknowledges the need for development of new technologies and new suitable areas for habitation; however, the concept of sustainability seeks to focus on technologies that do not carry the heavy costs associated with our dependence on fossil fuels, but focuses centrally on necessities, to pare back the use of luxuries and reduce the consumption of the populace. A sustainable system is one that can support itself without relying on external scarce commodities; scarce, in the economic sense, being anything that is not available in sufficient quantity for all needs for it to be met. In short, the core concept of Permaculture is ensuring that a system does not have dwindling returns; it refuses to compromise the long-term life of a system in exchange for short-term affluence.
There are intricacies associated with Permaculture that proponents of the established agricultural systems will argue. A Permaculture plot would be exceptionally difficult if not impossible to automate with today’s technologies, requiring hands-on attention to grow and harvest; however, this is offset by the vast difference in energy input between the two, as explained by Bill Morrison:

[my friend] told me that the older Chinese agriculture (weeding by hand) produced, under very intensive conditions, using natural manures, about three times as much energy as it consumed. Then they modernized…I think he said that they put 800% more energy in and got a 15% increase in yield. And then as they continued to pour in more energy, the yield decreased. By now they are into the same kick that we have. They only get 4% to 6% of that energy out again (1981).

This is why current forms of agriculture are considered unsustainable. The immense quantity of energy required by a modern farm, which is often supplied by fossil fuels and other limited and dangerous sources, far outweighs that of the mild manual labor required for a Permaculture site in both sheer quantity and in regards to efficiency of output. The math in Morrison’s example is staggering; if prices on some necessity without substitute (standing in for the food being made) were to change from three dollars per unit of some substance to twenty dollars for an equal amount, there would be an incredible protest. And yet because of the exclusion of that energy cost, so that all that is heard is “crop yields are up by 15%,” it is silently accepted as being the best system we have.

Unfortunately, this waste of energy and dependence upon an artificial inflation of
production carries a heavy cost. The soil is depleted of nutrients, the runoff accumulates, and the damage to the environment ramps up with every passing day. As the fields become less productive, more are hacked out of the landscape. In South America and Africa, this is done by burning and clear-cutting jungle and forest, eliminating biodiversity and causing erosion in the tropical climates. Rather than consider that perhaps the method of choice is not the best, farms “stay the course” towards ecological destruction.

A success story from New Mexico is that of Roxanne Swentzell. Under the guidance of permaculture designer Joel Glanzberg, over the course of four years she changed her barren land north of Santa Fe—described by herself as “no trees, no plants, no animals, just pounded-down dirt and lots of ants” (Hemenway, 2000)—to a permaculture garden,

[bringing] immense biodiversity to a once-impoverished place. Here in the high desert was almost too much water and shade. Food was dropping from the trees faster than they could harvest, and birds that no one had seen for years were making a home in the yard. (Hemenway, 2000)

Permaculture is a promising solution to a danger posed to the modern world, that of over-consumption and ecological failure. Depleting oil supplies, nonsustainable agricultural practices, and greenhouse gas-induced climate change threaten human societies, if not human life as a whole, with collapse and possible extinction. The danger may not be within this decade, or even several decades, but the evidence suggests that a solution must be sought, and as traditional wisdom holds, an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. Permaculture has been shown to work, with
Freedom through Sustainability

minimal labor on the part of the garden’s owners; it is an efficient way to produce food as well as a potential means to restore some of the damage wrought upon this planet.

Hegemony has presently locked society into the cycle of environmental destruction, and continues to thwart attempts to create a sustainable future. The only prospect of a sustainable future requires freedom from the hegemonic power. This freedom can be germinated through Permaculture.
REFERENCES


Historical Text Archive Database.


http://www.permaculture.net/about/brief_introduction.html.


*Introduction to permaculture* (1981)


APPENDIX

To address the issue of supplying sustainable organic produce on campus we will be creating our own Permaculture site proposed to be placed between two buildings on campus, Kulshan Hall and Cascade Hall. This site was chosen because of the proximity to the science building, Kulshan Hall. The site also currently has a seasonal pond which could be easily extended and converted to a pond more suitable for the long-term permaculture site we envision. The pond is essential because it will supply water in a sustainable manner by using grey water—water from showers, sinks, and washing machines obtained from the college buildings—as well as natural rainwater collected from buildings across campus. (Hemenway, 2000)

The plants in Zone 1 of the plan will consist of blueberry bushes, blackberry bushes, and raspberry bushes. These were all chosen for their fruit producing qualities as well as their ability to flourish in rainy Northwest Washington. Also in Zone 1 roses will be grown to produce rose hips. (Hemenway, 2000) In the center of the garden, seasonal vegetables would be grown, including, but not limited to, rhubarb, spinach, chard, kale, chives, and wild strawberries, all to be used for food production. (Whitefield, 2002)

The plants in Zone 3 would be fruit and nut trees such as apples, to be the majority of our trees because of their heartiness and the storage life of their fruit. Also grown will be plums and pears, though making up a lesser part of the garden because of the reduced yield and difficulty to develop in extremely rainy weather. Also crab apples, for preserves. (Whitefield, 2002)
Planted throughout the garden on the ground among these plants will be herbs, like fennel and lavender, as well as vegetables, like broccoli and cauliflower, grown to attract insects that feed on pests. (Wetherbee, 2004) The majority of the plants, however, would be in Zone 2 as well as the center of the permaculture site. Legumes would also be used because,

The fixation of nitrogen by some plants is critical to maintaining the health of soil as it converts the inert atmospheric form of nitrogen into compounds usable by plants. Legumes, as used in this study, are an important group of plants as they have the ability to fix nitrogen. (Nature, 2006)
COST ANALYSIS

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<th>Farm</th>
<th>Number Needed</th>
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Grand Total                                           497.58
Title: Teaching Spirituality Across Disciplines: A Social Science Approach

Topic Area: Social Work & Cross-disciplinary

Format: Workshop

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Abstract

I began an exploratory study of spiritual development as it relates to college major. The specific majors that I will be looking at are Social Work, Religious Studies, and various non-declared majors (specific students in English 291 Advanced Writing). The way this study came about was that I decided to teach a course on Spirituality in Social Work. At the time I didn’t think I would get enough students (15) in order for the class to have the necessary enrollment for it to be taught as an experimental course. So I decided to cross-list my social work course with a Religious Studies course (Rel. 304). Much to my great surprise forty-three (43) students signed up for the course and we had to close the enrollment to prevent more students from enrolling.

At this point I decided to split the course into two sections: (1) social work; and (2) religious studies and advanced English. So I ended up with twenty-one (21) students in my social work course and twenty-three (23) students in my combined religious studies/English course. It was at this point that I realized that I could conduct a study in spiritual development, which the course content would cover, and I could examine if there were any differences related to major, in terms of spiritual development. I also plan to use one of my other social work courses (SWK 307 Human Behavior and the Social Environment) as a control group. At this point I have conducted the pretest on all three groups and will conduct the posttest at the end of the semester. I will then be in a position to report my findings at the Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences. I am also in the process of conducting a review of the literature in conjunction with my co-author.
Uganda and Brazil’s success in combating the HIV/AIDS epidemic indicates that a sustained political commitment to providing basic HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment services is a crucial element in making progress toward reducing transmission rates. Initiatives promoting free universal access to antiretroviral (ARV) therapy, the “abstain, be faithful, and always use condoms” (ABC) method, increased nongovernmental organization (NGO) participation in policy making and implementation, and the scaling-up of pharmaceutical production in the public and private sectors have dramatically reduced infection rates; Uganda has reduced its HIV/AIDS prevalence rate from approximately 18.3% in 1992 to 6.7% today, while Brazil’s 2006 prevalence rate is only 0.5%. Identifying the context within which such political commitments and achievements occur is imperative in targeting and reversing negative trends in China, India and the vast majority of sub-Saharan Africa, and thus in preventing an escalation of the pandemic that already has claimed over 22 million lives.
Factors Influencing Frequency of Visits Between Incarcerated Mothers and their Children*

By

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Factors Influencing Frequency of Visits Between Incarcerated Mothers and their Children

The number of individuals incarcerated in America’s prisons, jails and other facilities has increased dramatically in recent years. Harrison and Beck (2003) reported that the US prison population increased at an average rate of 45,000 incarcerations per year since 1995. 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.

Increasing numbers of incarcerated individuals have implications for families and children as well as for individual prisoners and society. 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. has 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).

Separation of children from incarcerated parents can be seen to have social and psychological as well as physical dimensions. Despite the physical separation of incarceration, it is sometimes still possible for incarcerated parents and their children to maintain a relationship via visits, phone calls, letters and other contacts. Indeed, research (Mumola, 2000) on a national sample of incarcerated parents found that 40% of fathers and 60% of mothers reported contact of some kind (i.e., visits, phone calls, letters) once a week, while somewhat more, 62% of fathers and 78% of mothers, had contact of some kind once a month. Most striking, however, was the finding that the majority, 57% of fathers and 54% of mothers, reported having had NO visits with their children while incarcerated in state prison. Anecdotal reports from parents, educators and childcare workers tend to suggest that incarceration of parents has negative consequences for children, and that harm to children can be reduced by contacts between children and their incarcerated parents. Indeed, research on incarcerated mothers and their children (Hu, Engel, & Yuen, 2006) found that children who have more visits with their incarcerated parents have less reported school difficulties and fewer behavioral/emotional problems.

Little is known about, and thus research is needed, to identify the factors that determine how often an incarcerated parent has contact with his/her child(ren). Such information might have practical implications for prison programs and policies, as well as community and social service programs.

Women who engage in illegal activities that lead to imprisonment have been found to have had numerous and severe negative life experiences that might be interpreted as risk factors for incarceration, experiences such as running away or becoming pregnant as a teen, domestic/family violence, alcohol/drug abuse, and homelessness (Yuen, Hu & Engel, 2005).
The present study is designed to identify and clarify factors that determine the frequency of contacts between incarcerated mothers and their children. We hypothesize that various life experiences, risky behaviors, “risk factors”, substance use/abuse history and treatment, and family and community resources influence the frequency of contacts between incarcerated mothers and their children. Thus, incarcerated mothers who report less contact with their children are expected to report more negative experiences (i.e., “risk factors,” etc.) over their lifetime than mothers who report more contact with their children.

METHOD

To obtain information about the life experiences of incarcerated mothers and their contacts with their children while in prison, 51 women incarcerated in a community residential transition program in the State of Hawaii were interviewed extensively. As a result, qualitative and quantitative data were obtained on a sample of incarcerated mothers, related to life histories and development, needs and well-being, family/community resources, and the frequency and types of contacts with children they had while in prison. For the purposes of this research, contact was operationally defined as in-person visitation between mother and child, as opposed to other kinds of contacts such as mail and/or telephone. Of 51 incarcerated women interviewed, 40 were mothers. Incarcerated mother – child pairs were divided into two groups based on reported frequency of visits with/from a particular child: (1) mothers who were visited infrequently (rarely or never, less than once per month) and (2) mothers who were visited frequently (once per week or more often). Data were analyzed via Chi-square and t-tests to test for differences between groups and identify variables that might influence later frequency of contacts with children when mother is incarcerated.

RESULTS

Demographic Characteristics

Of the 40 mothers in the study, thirty were found to have infrequent (rarely or never, less than once per month) visits, while 10 were found to have frequent (once per week or more often) visits.

Thirty-three percent of infrequent visit mothers reported being born out-of-state, compared with 50 percent of frequent visit mothers. Twenty-three percent of infrequent visit mothers reported having less education than a high school degree, compared with 30 percent of frequent visit mothers. Fifty-three percent of infrequent visit mothers reported never having married, compared with 40 percent of frequent visit mothers. (See Table 1).
Table 1. Demographics of Incarcerated Mothers Reporting Infrequent vs. Frequent Contact (Visits) With Their Children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Infrequent</th>
<th>Frequent</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth Place</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-state (HI)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out-of-state</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than high school</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GED/high school degree</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than high school</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never married</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ever married/other</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Chi-square tests found no differences significant at p<.05.

Incarcerated Mothers and Risky Behaviors

An incarcerated mother’s history of “risky behaviors” may relate or be predictive of later frequency of contact with children when incarcerated. As hypothesized, higher percentages of infrequent-visitation mothers compared with frequent-visitation mothers reported having run away from home (77% vs 60%), dropping out of school (53% vs 40%), using drugs (100% vs 90%), and experiencing teen pregnancy (80% vs 70%). Contrary to the hypothesis, a higher percentage (100%) of frequent-visitation mothers reported using alcohol than (93%) infrequent-visitation mothers. While differences were not found to be significant at the p < .05 level, such findings could be interpreted to support the conclusion that an incarcerated mother’s history of risky behaviors may affect her later frequency of contact with her child. (See Table 2).

Table 2. Risky Behaviors of Incarcerated Mothers Reporting Infrequent vs. Frequent Contact (Visits) With Their Children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Infrequent</th>
<th>Frequent</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Running away from home</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dropping out of school</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using drugs</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using alcohol</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teen pregnancy</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Chi-square tests found no differences significant at p<.05.
Risk Factors of Incarcerated Mothers

Various factors (“risk factors”) often associated in the literature with incarceration, such as experiencing home/family violence, sexual abuse, homelessness, or foster care, may relate to or in some way be precursors of frequency of visitation for incarcerated mothers and their children. Consistent with our hypothesis, higher proportions of infrequent-visitation mothers, compared with frequent-visitation mothers, reported experiencing home violence (50% vs 40%), domestic violence (83% vs 80%), sexual abuse (53% vs 23%), and homelessness (43% vs 30%). In contrast, a higher proportion (30%) of frequent-visitation mothers experienced living in a foster home than did (10%) of infrequent-visitation mothers. While differences were not found to be significant at the p < .05 level, such findings could be interpreted to support the conclusion that an incarcerated mother’s history of risk factors may affect her later frequency of contact with her child. (See Table 3).

Table 3. Risk Factors of Incarcerated Mothers Reporting Infrequent vs. Frequent Contact (Visits) With Their Children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Infrequent</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Frequent</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home violence</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic violence</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Abuse</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homelessness</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lived in a foster home</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Chi-square tests found no differences significant at p<.05.

Substance Use/Abuse History and Treatment of Incarcerated Mothers

Results describing incarcerated mothers’ substance abuse history and treatment are presented in Table 4. Compared with frequent-visitation mothers, higher proportions of infrequent-visitation mothers reported that their parents’ use of alcohol affected their life, that their own use of alcohol affected their life, that their own use of drugs affected their life, and that they participated in various alcohol and drug treatment, counseling, education and related programs. In eight cases, differences were found to be significant at the p < .05 level. Such findings add support to the conclusion that substance use/abuse has an impact on subsequent frequency of visitation with children.
Table 4. Substance Abuse History and Treatment of Incarcerated Mothers Reporting Infrequent vs. Frequent Contact (Visits) With Their Children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Infrequent</th>
<th></th>
<th>Frequent</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s Parent’s use of alcohol affected life</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s Parent’s use of drugs affected life</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s use of alcohol affected life*</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s use of drugs affected life*</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participated in alcohol . . .</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detoxification unit*</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program in which you live in a special facility*</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counseling while not in a facility*</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-help group or peer group counseling*</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education or awareness program*</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any other program*</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participated in drug . . .</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detoxification unit</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program in which you live in a special facility</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counseling while not in a facility</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-help group or peer group counseling</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education or awareness program</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance drug</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any other program</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: Chi-square tests indicate differences significant at p < .05.
Family and Community Resources of Incarcerated Mothers

Table 5 reports the results of comparing infrequent-visitation mothers with frequent-visitation mothers on various family and community resource variables. Approximately the same proportion (97% vs 100%) of both groups reported having their mother as a primary caregiver when they were children. However, only 67% of infrequent-visitation mothers reported that their father was a primary caregiver when they were a child, compared to 80% of frequent-visitation mothers. It may be that incarceration “runs in families” and that incarceration of a parent, sibling, or spouse/significant other may be a risk factor for incarceration, and secondarily a factor influencing frequency of visitation during incarceration. In each case, a higher proportion of infrequent-visitation mothers, compared to frequent-visitation mothers, reported having had their own father incarcerated (13% vs 0%), having a sibling incarcerated (37% vs 10%), and having a spouse or significant other incarcerated (37% vs 10%). It also appears that a higher proportion of infrequent-visitation mothers, compared with frequent-visitation mothers, get mental health treatment in the community, i.e., get counseling or therapy (67% vs 40%), medication (33% vs 20%), or are treated in a mental hospital (20% vs 0%). Although differences were not found to be significant at the p < .05 level, the data suggest that family background and community resources may also have an impact on subsequent frequency of visitation with children.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother’s primary caregiver:</th>
<th>Infrequent</th>
<th>Frequent</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>No. 29</td>
<td>% 97</td>
<td>No. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>No. 20</td>
<td>% 67</td>
<td>No. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandparent</td>
<td>No. 6</td>
<td>% 20</td>
<td>No. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Relative</td>
<td>No. 2</td>
<td>% 7</td>
<td>No. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foster Care</td>
<td>No. 2</td>
<td>% 7</td>
<td>No. 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s Family Incarcerated:</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>No 0</td>
<td>% 0</td>
<td>No 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>No 4</td>
<td>% 13</td>
<td>No 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siblings</td>
<td>No 11</td>
<td>% 37</td>
<td>No 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse/Significant Other</td>
<td>No 11</td>
<td>% 37</td>
<td>No 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>No 1</td>
<td>% 3</td>
<td>No 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandchildren</td>
<td>No 0</td>
<td>% 0</td>
<td>No 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s Physical Health Good or Better</td>
<td>No. 28</td>
<td>% 93</td>
<td>No. 10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Family and Community Resources of Incarcerated Mothers Reporting Infrequent vs. Frequent Contact (Visits) With Their Children
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother’s Emotional Health</th>
<th>24</th>
<th>80</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>60</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>75</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good or Better</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mother’s mental health treatment:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Counseling or therapy</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medication</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental hospital</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Chi-square tests found no differences significant at p <.05.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Interpretations and generalizations from this study should take into account several limitations in data and analysis. In this study, incarcerated mothers and their children were sampled in mother-child pairs, to control for child related visitation variability. This resulted in a total sample of 40 mother-child pairs, reflecting 40 different children. Because 12 of the mothers reported on visitation with two children, on some variables they could be double-counted. Further analysis and/or additional research is needed to insure that this has not biased the data and/or conclusions. Similarly, this study could be considered to suffer from small sample sizes. While the direction of differences in percentages of the two groups can be interpreted to support the hypothesis that various life experiences, risky behaviors, substance use/abuse history and treatment, and family and community resources influence the frequency of visitation between incarcerated mother and her child, the degree of differences between groups may not be significant, statistically or practically. Additional research with larger sample sizes might avoid this problem.

In conclusion, risky behaviors such as running away from home, dropping out of school, using drugs and teen pregnancy, risk factors such as experiencing home violence, domestic violence, sexual abuse, and living in a foster home, substance use/abuse history and treatment, and various family and community resource variables appear to influence the frequency of visits between incarcerated mothers and their children.

REFERENCES


Imagine it’s the first day of school. You’re a sixth grade student. You walk into a new classroom in a new school, meeting the teacher, greeting old friends, and getting into a new routine, perhaps very different from what you did during summer break. As students settle into their seats, the teacher writes a question on the board and asks you to write in your journal, “How did you spend your summer vacation?”

Many Americans have an idyllic image of summer as a carefree, happy time when “kids can be kids” and enjoy such experiences as summer camp; time with family; vacations; and trips to museums, parks, and libraries. While this picture holds true for wealthier kids, summer break looks very different for poorer children. Wealthier children and youth typically access a wide variety of resources that help them grow both academically and developmentally over the summer, but poorer children often struggle to access basic needs such as healthy meals and medical care. Summer is thus a time when the rich get richer, and the poor get poorer.

Some of this difference is due to public policy. Although policies guarantee that all children and youth have access to public education and school-based resources from September to June, guaranteed access to summer resources is rare. This paper analyzes the current landscape of public policies that directly or indirectly support summer
learning opportunities for young people in kindergarten through twelfth grade. Based on this review, we draw several conclusions.

First, policies supporting summer learning opportunities are scarce. Despite a clear need for summer programs, particularly for disadvantaged children and youth, surprisingly few policies target summer specifically as a time to advance learning, support healthy development, and keep kids safe while the school doors are closed.

Second, current policies tend to conceive of summer programs narrowly as falling into one of six domains, from education or child care to delinquency prevention. Policies do not necessarily encourage coordination or collaboration among programs across these domains, and they do not match programmatic realities. Many summer programs have broad goals that do not neatly fit into any one of the six policy domains. A summer program provider that wants to sustain itself must be savvy enough to navigate across the policy domains and combine funding streams to support its activities.

Third, private philanthropy plays a larger role in summer programming than in afterschool programming. For nearly every policy area we examined, public funds are more likely to support afterschool than summer programming. One solution many local communities have devised to help programs navigate the policy and funding arena is to create an intermediary organization. Such organizations help drive the policy agenda, streamline funding opportunities, facilitate networking among providers, and provide training and technical assistance. Public policy that effectively supports the growing field of summer programming has yet to be developed.

Finally, while this paper examines only public policies supporting summer learning opportunities, it appears, on the surface, that families are paying for the majority of summer experiences available to children and youth. Our review suggests that middle- and upper-income youth participate more in enrichment opportunities and camps paid for by family contributions, while lower-income youth tend to participate in summer school or summer programming that is focused on academic remediation rather than on enrichment.

In order for summer program providers to meet the full scope of youth and family needs, we argue for:

- A more coordinated approach to public funding and policy development and implementation at the local, state, and national levels
- Explicit language drawing attention to summer as a critical time for young people’s learning and development
- Greater emphasis on programming for disadvantaged children that mirrors the types of experiences available to middle- and upper-income youth

The findings of our review offer insight into new policy directions that would result in sustainable and equitable expansion of summer learning opportunities for all young people.

The Summer Learning Gap

Why should we care about what kids do during summer break? Since 1906, numerous studies have analyzed the impact of summer break on student learning. A meta-analysis of 29 such studies found that all students, regardless of income level or race, generally score lower on standardized math tests at the end of the summer than they do on the same
tests at the beginning of the summer (Cooper, Nye, Charlton, Lindsay, & Greathouse, 1996). Students generally suffer the greatest losses in factual and procedural knowledge, including an average setback of more than two months of grade-level equivalency in computation skills (Cooper, et al., 1996).

Summer learning loss in reading, however, is more acute among low-income students. While middle- and upper- income children tend to stagnate or make slight advances in reading performance during the summer, low-income children experience an average loss in reading achievement of over two months (Cooper, et all, 1996). The differences in summer learning losses are often rooted in family and community influences and access to resources. Summer learning losses in reading are a main cause of the widening achievement gap in reading between lower- and higher-income youth; in fact, recent research shows that summer learning differences at an early age substantially account for achievement-related differences later in students’ lives, such as whether they complete high school and attend a four-year college (Entwisle, Alexander, & Olson, 1997; Heyns, 1978; Alexander, Entwisle, & Olson, 2006).

In addition to these academic setbacks, many young people face a broader set of risks due to lack of adequate adult supervision during the summer. Young people who are unsupervised during out-of-school time are more likely than those who benefit from constructive activities supervised by responsible adults to use alcohol, drugs, or tobacco; to engage in criminal or other high-risk behaviors; to receive poor grades; and to drop out of school (Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1994; Newman, Fox, Flynn, & Christeson, 2000). Researchers examining childhood obesity among kindergarten and first-grade children found that growth in body mass index is faster during summer vacation than during the school year, especially among children who are African-American, Hispanic, and already overweight (von Hippel, Powell, Downey, & Rowland, 2006). This finding suggests that summer experiences that provide children with nutritional meals and opportunities for physical activity could help reduce unhealthy weight gain.

Another concern is access to quality programs and childcare. In a public opinion survey conducted by Public Agenda, parents, particularly low-income parents, consistently cite summer as the most difficult time to find quality programming and care for their children. Fifty-eight percent of parents say summer is the hardest time to make sure their child has things to do, followed by 14 percent for afterschool hours and 13 percent for the weekend (Duffett, Ellenbogen & Falk, 2004).

**How Summer Programs Help**

The positive impact of summer learning programs is as well documented as the need for such programs. A meta-analysis of 93 summer school program evaluations provided convincing evidence that summer programs have a positive impact on the knowledge and skills of participants (Cooper, Valentine, Charlton, & Nelson, 2003). Studies have also shown that the most beneficial programs are comprehensive ones that holistically address children’s needs (Halpern, 2005). Such programs not only boost student achievement but also positively affect student behaviors, self-esteem, and confidence. Some afterschool research found that programs that promote increased self-esteem and confidence for students had positive effects on standardized test scores in math and reading, while those focusing primarily on homework completion did not result in increased academic
achievement. Evaluations have also shown that well-designed summer programs keep children safe and healthy, increase connections to the workforce and community service, and develop and nurture new skills and talents.

When examining academic achievement over the summer in particular, two randomized studies of summer programs are worth mentioning. A 2006 study by the Urban Institute and Mathematica found that elementary students attending the BELL (Building Educated Leaders for Life) summer learning program showed improved reading performance and increased interest in reading. Participating students improved their reading skills by approximately one month of grade equivalency; they also took part in more academic activities, read more books, and were more encouraged by their parents to read (Chaplin & Capizzano, 2006). Similarly, findings from a randomized three-year longitudinal study of the Teach Baltimore Summer Academy Program suggested that students returned to school having gained close to one-half year in reading comprehension and vocabulary after at least two summers of regular attendance (Borman & Dowling, 2006).

**Time to Address Summer Program Policies**

If the need for and impact of high-quality summer learning opportunities is so unequivocal, we would expect public policy to address summer programming in a fairly comprehensive way. What are the strengths and limitations of current local, state, and national policies that respond to the research on summer learning loss and the significant needs of children and families during the summer?

In the past decade, there has been tremendous growth in federal support for out-of-school-time programming. In fiscal year 2006, Congress appropriated over $981 million for the 21st Century Community Learning Centers program, up from $453 million in 2001 (U.S. Department of Education, 2006). The No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 also includes a major emphasis on closing the achievement gap through in-school and out-of-school interventions.

There is also evidence that the field of summer programming is growing. Estimates suggest that the number of public schools offering summer programs has doubled over the past 25 years (Borman, 2001). The total number of children attending public schools during the summer is estimated to be 5 million, or close to 10 percent of public school children (Gold, 2002). Evidence about participation of children in summer programs run by other public agencies such as recreation departments is difficult to find, as are statistics about the growth of nonprofit and for-profit summer programs. However, the American Camp Association estimates that the number of day camps has increased by 90 percent over the last twenty years and that more than 11 million children currently attend day and resident camps each summer (Sundius, 2006).

**Framework for Analysis**

Our analysis focused primarily on federal policies that are used to support summer programming for children and youth from kindergarten through twelfth grades. In some cases, as information was available, we went deeper into investigating how federal policies were communicated and implemented at the state and local levels.

We defined a *summer program* as any academic, enrichment, early childhood, recreational, youth development, or workforce development program operated during the
summer by schools, camps, community- and faith-based programs, and government agencies. This definition guided our policy search by providing parameters. For example, what types of policies provide young people with workforce development experiences, or with enrichment experiences?

We defined public policy as the laws, regulatory measures, courses of action, and funding priorities concerning out-of-school time in general and summer opportunities in particular (Kilpatrick, 2000). We examined the research literature, actual pieces of legislation, and testimonials provided by programs to better understand the purposes of each policy and how each policy was implemented in practice. In all, we examined over 80 sources and analyzed nearly 40 policies. We also reviewed nearly 50 summer learning program models and interviewed staff from four organizations that received Excellence in Summer Learning Awards in 2006 from our organization, the Center for Summer Learning at Johns Hopkins University. While we certainly did not examine every policy that could be used to support a summer program, we selected policies based on the following criteria:

- Is the policy or funding source cited frequently in the literature or in interviews with program providers as a major source of funding for summer programming?
- Are the words summer, summer learning loss, or summer program explicitly used in the legislation?
- Does the policy support a major emphasis of summer programming, such as enrichment, academic achievement, childcare, or crime prevention?

If the policy met one of these three criteria, we included it in this analysis.

At the beginning of the study, we anticipated encountering difficulties in identifying federal policies that focused on summer programming or summer learning loss in particular. With a few notable exceptions, our hypothesis was correct. We found few examples of public policies that explicitly supported summer programs, and fewer yet that recognized summer learning loss or the summer resources gap. In some cases, summer learning loss was mentioned in relationship to some other issue, such as the need for extended time for learning. Surprisingly few of the education policies we examined actually addressed key findings of the research literature on summer learning loss. We also found little emphasis on the need to provide learning opportunities in the summer-related policies, with the exception of those that were specifically focused on education.

**Surveying the Summer Policy Landscape**

Based on our review, we grouped the policies we examined into six general categories or domains according to their primary purpose:

- Education
- Childcare and development
- Health and nutrition
- Employment development and service learning
- Delinquency prevention
- Informal and cultural learning

We chose these categories because they seemed to represent the full spectrum of types of programs available to youth over the summer. The policies typically fit very easily into one category without crossing purposes with another. Even though many summer
program providers address several or all of the six categories, our review revealed a lack of coordination and comprehensiveness in the design and implementation of policies supporting summer programs. The following sections provide details of the results of our analysis of the six domains. Each section ends with our recommendations of ways that domain’s policies could be revised to better meet the needs of the children most in need—though finally our conclusion is that the very existence of these rigid categories is part of the problem with current policies affecting summer programming.

**Education**

Summer program providers tend to conceive of education broadly as any activity that supports and advances young people’s learning and development. In contrast, public policies often narrowly define *education* as advancement in reading and math. Notably, all of the education policies we examined targeted low-income or low-performing students. Few seem to approximate the types of experiences available to middle- and upper-income youth during the summer. In some cases, the only option available to low-income youth is remedial summer school—whether or not the children require remediation.

In this section, we examine the following policies:

- The No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), with a particular emphasis on the 21st Century Community Learning Centers Program and the Supplemental Educational Services Provision
- State and local policies on summer school
- State and local efforts to modify school calendar
- The proposed STEP UP Act, one of the few policies we found whose primary purpose is to stem summer learning loss in order to help close the achievement gap.

The NCLB policies discussed in the section were the most frequently cited policies in our literature review; they were generally the first public policies mentioned when we asked programs how they were funded.

**No Child Left Behind**

The No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) has two provisions that specifically support out-of-school-time interventions: the 21st Century Community Learning Centers program and the Supplemental Educational Services provision. Minor enhancements to both of these provisions could dramatically catalyze growth in summer learning programs that would mirror the growth in afterschool programming in the past decade. Additionally, many state and local education agencies use NCLB resources to support summer school or extended-year programs.

**21st Century Community Learning Centers.** A rare exception to the compartmentalized nature of most funding streams that support summer programs, the 21st Century Community Learning Centers program (21st CCLC) is designed to support a wide array of youth development and academic enrichment activities for low-income youth in low-performing schools. Both afterschool and summer programs are eligible for funding through 21st CCLC. Enrichment activities during non-school hours must be designed to complement a child’s regular academic programs (White House Office of
Management & Budget, 2006). For fiscal year 2007, the program was authorized to receive $2.5 billion, but only $981 million was actually appropriated by Congress (Afterschool Alliance, 2006). Approximately two-thirds of the grantees operate programs during the summer; somewhere between 40 and 65 percent of Title I schools report that they use 21st CCLC to support all or a portion of their summer programming. (as cited in Winship, Hollister, Horwich, Sharkey, & Wimer, 2005)

Although two-thirds is a relatively high percentage of grantees operating summer programs, interviews with grantees and state administrators suggest that summer programs are the first to be eliminated when programs are forced to make substantial cuts, which typically coincides with the end of the 3–5 year funding cycle (Szekely & Padgette, 2006). As funding “sunsets,” programs are forced to decide between maintaining services during the school year or continuing summer programming.

**Supplemental Educational Services Program.** The Supplemental Educational Services program (SES), a more recently developed federal policy, can be used to support tutoring for struggling students during non-school hours. Under NCLB, a Title I elementary or secondary school that has not made “adequate yearly progress” for three years is required to provide supplemental educational services to help eligible students increase their academic achievement, especially in reading, language arts, and mathematics. Opportunities must be provided in out-of-school settings, including before or after the regular school day, on weekends, or during the summer. Low-income students who are determined by the local education agency to require Title I support are eligible; within this group, the lowest-achieving students have priority. Parents can choose a supplemental service opportunity for their child from a list of providers approved by the state education agency.

Though SES appropriately targets the neediest children and youth, several features limit its effectiveness in addressing summer learning. Most importantly, the non-regulatory guidance for SES clearly states that the intent of the program is to provide tutoring services during the school year rather than the summer (U.S. Department of Education, 2005). In addition, parents must choose a provider in the fall of each school year, making it unlikely that they would reserve the voucher for summer tutoring. Third, a typical SES voucher ranges from approximately $800 to $1,400 per year, which is not sufficient to provide both afterschool and summer support (Sunderman & Kim, 2004).

A report by Public/Private Ventures reveals additional challenges in the implementation of SES. Large numbers of eligible students are not being served, often because parents are not getting timely or adequate information about SES and thus have limited opportunity to make informed decisions about the program or providers (Public/Private Ventures, 2005). The U.S. Department of Education estimates that in the 2003–04 school year, only 18 percent of eligible students received the free services. Though locally operated afterschool and summer programs could serve as known and trusted institutions for service delivery, they face hurdles that have prevented many from becoming providers. Administrative requirements, difficult recruiting environments, and the financial reimbursement mechanism SES employs keep such smaller organizations scarce among SES providers (Public/Private Ventures, 2005).

Our interviews with qualified SES providers reveal that few programs currently use SES funds to support their summer programs. However, several providers expressed
interest in using SES dollars more flexibly to promote comprehensive year-round programming. A variety of reforms listed under Recommendations below would help more providers use SES funding, though the cumbersome reimbursement mechanism could remain an obstacle.

**State and Local Summer School Policies**

Although 21st CCLC and SES stand out as the most prominent NCLB funding sources for out-of-school-time programs, many state and local agencies tap other NCLB resources and Title I funds to support summer school programs. To date, summer education policies at the local and state levels have concentrated nearly exclusively on providing remedial summer school for students who fail to meet promotion requirements (Zinth, 2006). Many elected officials and education policymakers view summer as a logical and convenient time for remediation only. A 2006 survey by the Education Commission of the States revealed the following findings:

- Thirty-five states and the District of Columbia have *summer remediation policies* in either statute or administrative code; 18 states have multiple remediation policies, which are frequently targeted at different age groups or subject areas.
- Twelve states operate summer remediation programs designed exclusively to ensure their students are *reading* at proficient levels. These policies are typically found at the elementary level and are especially common for students between kindergarten and third grade.
- Thirteen states explicitly include both *mathematics and science* as subjects in their remediation policies. An additional seven states and the District of Columbia include mathematics but not science.
- Ten states have policies that *target specific districts, schools, or students in specific schools* for remediation. These districts or schools are identified for various reasons: not making adequate yearly progress under NCLB, the size of the district’s population, or measures of poverty in the population.
- Nine states operate summer remediation programs explicitly designed to *help high school students meet graduation requirements*. In addition, two states have policies relating to remediation of future or current high school graduates who intend to attend or are currently enrolled in a college or university. (Zinth, 2006)

Summer school is widely viewed as an alternative to social promotion or in-grade retention. Nearly all of the 100 largest school systems in the country offered remedial summer instruction for failing students (Borman, 2001). Some districts also offer summer enrichment courses, but these programs are smaller and typically fee-based, so that participation can be limited. While some evidence suggests that summer remediation leads to short-term achievement gains, research shows a number of shortcomings in such an approach, including:

- **Limited opportunities for enrichment.** Remedial programs do not typically provide opportunities for enrichment, despite evidence that the gap in reading achievement between low-income and middle- or upper-income students is primarily due to the fact that more affluent children have access to enrichment opportunities during the summer (Allington & McGill-Franzen, 2003; Rothstein, 2004).
• **Limited “dosage” and duration.** Policies typically limit summer remedial programs to three or four hours a day for up to four weeks. The research literature suggests that most high-quality summer programs run for six hours or more for six to eight weeks, combining academic instruction with enrichment opportunities (Borman & Dowling, 2006; Chaplin & Capizzano, 2006).

• **Inability to meet the needs of children and families.** Despite the fact that parents consistently cite summer as the most difficult time to find adequate activities for their children, many families are unable to take advantage of summer school programs because limited hours of operation don’t meet their need for full-day childcare.

One example of a local summer policy initiative that seeks to foster more comprehensive programming in conjunction with its formal summer school policy is Chicago’s Keep Kids Learning effort. Developed as a partnership between the mayor’s office and the Chicago Public Schools, the pilot initiative involved 11 schools in the Englewood community in 2006. The initiative extended Chicago’s three-hour mandatory summer school program to address both academics and enrichment for six weeks, six hours a day. The program included students in mandatory summer school who wanted an extra three hours of enrichment, as well as students who weren’t required to attend any summer school at all but wanted to participate. Preliminary data from the pilot suggests positive benefits for students, teachers, and parents (Carran, Brady & Bell, 2006). Keep Kids Learning, along with other citywide models such as those operated by LA’s BEST in Los Angeles and TASC (The After-School Corporation) in New York City, offer insights into how local and state policy makers can connect formal summer school initiatives to more comprehensive models of summer programming.

### School Calendar Modifications

An alternative to summer school involves modifying the school calendar. In recent years, many local school districts have pursued year-round schooling as an effort to redistribute the standard 180 days of school into various calendar formats. Such efforts often result in shorter, more frequent breaks from school rather than a prolonged summer vacation. One reason for calendar modification is economic: More students can use existing school buildings. Another is an increasing desire on the part of educators to provide more instructional time prior to standardized tests, which are typically administered in February or March. Many states and school districts have sought to begin the school year in late July or early August, a process sometimes referred to as “calendar creep.”

Calendar modification faces serious opposition from the tourism industry and some parent groups. In general, parent groups cite valuable family time and a needed break from school as their primary reasons for opposition. Parent groups are currently comprised mainly of families who are fortunate enough to take advantage of summer as an ideal time for such enrichment opportunities as family vacations; summer camps; and trips to museums, parks, and libraries. Opposition efforts have been successful enough to inspire several states to enact or consider laws prohibiting schools from beginning prior to Labor Day.

However, the most critical flaw in many calendar-modification policies is that they do not result in more time spent learning. Research on the benefits of vacation redistribution suggests that such a strategy may have far less potential impact on student
achievement and development than actually expanding the number of days and hours that students are involved in constructive learning activities (Cooper et al., 2003).

The Proposed STEP UP Act

Despite the growth in summer school at the state and local levels, there are no current federal policies that focus exclusively on summer as a time to improve children’s academic or developmental outcomes. In response, Senators Barack Obama (D-Illinois) and Barbara Mikulski (D-Maryland) proposed the Summer Term Education Programs for Upward Performance (STEP UP) Act in 2006. STEP UP would provide grants for “summer opportunity scholarships” to local educational agencies, for-profit educational providers, nonprofit organizations, or summer enrichment camps. The scholarships, available for students in grades K–3, would entitle each student to the equivalent of 30 full days of instruction.

The criteria in the proposed legislation would mandate that summer opportunity programs:

- Employ research-based educational programs, curricula, and practices
- Provide a curriculum that emphasizes reading and mathematics
- Be aligned with the standards and goals of the school year curriculum
- Measure student progress in the skills taught, disaggregating the results of student assessments by race and ethnicity, economic status, English proficiency, and disability category

The proposed legislation addresses several of the shortcomings of traditional remedial summer school policies by providing programs of longer duration that can be administered by a greater variety of providers. However, the implementation would need to be carefully structured so that the targeted young people would receive services that mirror the enrichment experiences available to middle- and upper-class youth.

Recommendations

Our analysis revealed many opportunities to build on existing summer-related education policies to more fully support high-quality summer learning programs for children and youth. At the state and local levels, policymakers should develop more proactive and collaborative approaches to summer school policies that focus on enrichment in addition to remediation. Policymakers should consider how best to leverage smaller investments in remedial services and create incentives for delivering comprehensive, full-day programs.

On the federal side, full funding at the authorized level for the 21st Century Community Learning Centers and structural changes to the Supplemental Educational Services provision of No Child Left Behind should be priorities for policymakers who seek to facilitate sustainable and equitable expansion of summer learning opportunities. Fully funding 21st CCLC, as well as including incentives to encourage providers to pursue year-round programming, would allow communities to build comprehensive, multi-year efforts. Year-round service delivery would also enhance the effectiveness of SES in building and sustaining comprehensive summer learning programs that include math and literacy learning. SES language could be changed to refer to summer as a preferred time for service delivery. SES should also require state and local education agencies to notify parents of SES opportunities at least twice a year, with the second
notification happening as the end of the school year approaches. In addition, making the reimbursement mechanism more flexible would allow smaller community-based providers to access SES funding.

**Child Care and Development**

Many families in high-poverty communities face an urgent need for childcare during the summer. Mezey, Greenberg, and Schumacher (2002) estimate that 15 million U.S. families are eligible for state childcare assistance, yet only 14 percent actually receive it. More than one in ten children regularly spend time in self-care, either alone or with a sibling younger than 13, during the summer months (Capizzano, Adelman, & Stagner, 2002). While this percentage is consistent with self-care during the school year, the number of hours per week increases from 4.8 during the school year to more than 10 hours during the summer.

The quality and type of childcare also varies widely based on parent income. Higher-income families more frequently enroll their children in organized activities, such as camps; they also pay far more for summer care than they do for care during the school year (Capizzano, Adelman, & Stagner, 2002). Lower-income families, by contrast, devote a larger percentage of their income to childcare generally (Matthews & Ewen, 2006) but pay less for summer care than they do for care during the school year. Since higher-income and lower-income families are equally likely to pay for care over the summer, these findings suggest that economically disadvantaged children receive lower-quality summer childcare and engage in fewer enrichment activities (Capizzano, Adelman, & Stagner, 2002).

The two primary federal policies that address the need for childcare for low-income families during the summer are Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) and the Child Care and Development Fund (CCDF).

**Temporary Assistance to Needy Families**

TANF, which was funded at $17.278 billion in fiscal year 2005, has four primary purposes, one of which is to end the dependence of needy parents by promoting job preparation, work, and marriage. (White House Office of Management and Budget [OMB], 2006b). Since preparing for or holding down a job can leave children home alone, states often use TANF funds to provide subsidies to parents for out-of-school-time care for their children. States can also choose to transfer up to 30 percent of their TANF funds into the Child Care and Development fund to increase the overall amount of funding directed toward childcare (White House OMB, 2006a).

**Child Care and Development Fund**

CCDF is the largest federal childcare subsidy program, funded at $4.8 billion in fiscal year 2005. Eligible recipients of CCDF subsidies are children under the age of 13 residing with a family whose income does not exceed 85 percent of the state’s median income and whose parents work or attend a job training or educational program. One goal of the subsidies is to expand parental access to a range of childcare options, including arrangements that promote development and learning (Finance Project, 2001). The policy does not make specific recommendations, however, about the structure of learning and developmental activities in the childcare setting.
Approximately 1.78 million children per month received CCDF childcare services in 2005. This number has remained relatively consistent since 2000 (Center for Law and Social Policy, 2006). State agencies often use a portion of CCDF funds to operate summer programs in cooperation with local departments of social services. County and city social service departments often contract with community-based organizations that run camp programs, such as YM/YWCAs and Boys and Girls Clubs, to provide summer care. Contracts are awarded to providers in low-income neighborhoods that otherwise lack summer program options, typically providing enough funding to subsidize the cost of participation. These summer programs are open to all children, not just those who qualify for subsidies. By awarding contracts in this fashion, states are able to increase the supply and quality of care while extending the benefits of CCDF to a wide range of children and families.

**Recommendations**

Although neither TANF nor CCDF are specifically designed to advance young people’s learning and development during the summer, these policies do provide critical resources for summer programming. Our interviews with summer program providers suggested that only a few were able to use childcare subsidies to enhance their programming. A primary reason is that providers must be licensed to access subsidized childcare program dollars. Many summer day camp providers are exempt from licensing requirements because they operate as recreational programs for fewer than four consecutive months. Though some public and private agencies, such as 4-H, YMCAs, and Boys and Girls Clubs, become licensed in order to receive subsidies, many enrichment camps that cater to upper-income families are not licensed and are therefore inaccessible to lower-income kids.

Several strategies could improve the quality of investments in summer care. The Center for Law and Social Policy recommends that policies prioritize full-year care and early learning opportunities for disadvantaged children. Integrating childcare and pre-kindergarten programs has the potential to provide opportunities in the face of cuts to state childcare programs. While state policies do encourage programs to offer full-day, full-year opportunities, they do not require, coordinate, or fund such activities (Schumacher, Ewen, Hart, & Lombardi, 2005). Most state programs are part-day, part-year programs intended to benefit a limited number of four-year-olds based on family income.

Policymakers should consider strategies to generate greater awareness among summer program providers about the uses of CCDF and TANF. Incentives for summer day camps to become licensed and widen their recruitment efforts to include children from disadvantaged and diverse backgrounds should be included in the legislation. Policies should explicitly discuss the need for continued learning and enrichment over the summer months; they should prioritize funding for organizations that collaborate effectively to increase the opportunities available to children and youth. For example, a partnership among the public school, community-based organizations, and the public library could result in a well-rounded experience that incorporates a wide variety of learning experiences, while maximizing and combining funding streams, such as those that fund library summer reading programs.
Health and Nutrition

The third category of summer-related policies we considered relates to the health and well-being of young people, specifically with regard to food and nutrition. In the face of alarming statistics about the rise of childhood obesity across the country, summer programs should provide children with good nutrition and physical activity. Numerous studies show that good nutrition is a vital component of a child’s education: It stimulates a student’s learning, improves school attendance and behavior, and contributes to cognitive development (cited in Finance Project, 2000). Good food is also a meaningful incentive for children and youth to attend out-of-school time programs.

We focus specifically on nutrition in this section to the exclusion of physical fitness programs simply because we found no large funding stream specifically dedicated to sports and recreation during the summer. Even local parks and recreation departments, according to our research, use most of their summer funding for upkeep of facilities, providing only limited programming in the form of sports leagues that function only a few hours a week. More comprehensive programs usually result from partnerships with local community-based organizations. Several of the policies we discuss elsewhere in this paper, including 21st Century Community Learning Centers (under Education) and Byrne Grants (under Delinquency Prevention), have physical fitness or recreation as an “allowable use” of funds in summer programs. Such programs, however, were not frequently cited in the literature as a major source of summer funding and are not explicitly dedicated to summer programming. In contrast, the nutrition policies we explore below are focused on summer and are frequently discussed as a source of guaranteed funding for summer programs that choose to enroll. All of the providers we interviewed accessed summer nutrition programs relatively easily.

The nutrition policies we explore below are all administered by the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA). The unique feature of the USDA policies is that they were created to address the gap in nutritional resources that students experience when school is out—a rare example of a policy that targets summer specifically as a time when young people experience a loss in access to needed services.

School Lunch and Summer Food Programs

The National School Lunch Program (NSLP) and the Summer Food Service Program (SFSP) provide funding for state agencies to reimburse providers for meals and snacks served to children during the summer. Eligible providers include public and private schools, nonprofit school authorities, residential childcare institutions, local governments, national youth sports programs, and private nonprofit organizations. For children with family incomes below 130 percent of the federal poverty line, meals are free. Children whose family income is between 130 and 185 percent of the poverty line receive meals at a substantially reduced price. These are entitlement programs, meaning that all eligible children are entitled to receive meals. An advantage of entitlement programs is that providers do not have to compete for funding, since the amount of funding available to them is not capped.

SFSP is the single largest source of funds for local providers that want to serve meals as a part of their summer program. The program is designed to ensure that low-income children and youth remain healthy, engaged, and mentally and physically fit during the summer months. In order to be considered as an SFSP site, programs must either serve a student population of whom at least 50 percent are eligible for free or
reduced-price meals or operate in a geographic area where at least half of the children are eligible (Food Research and Action Center [FRAC], 2006).

Unfortunately, the abundance of reporting and paperwork required by both the SFSP and the NSLP has deterred many summer programs from applying. Only 18 of every 100 children who participate in the free and reduced-price meals program during the school year receive meals over the summer. Participation rates in these programs have been on a steady decline for the past seven years. If states could increase participation so that just two-fifths of eligible children received meals over the summer, an additional $188.8 millions dollars would be directed to states for summer nutrition (FRAC, 2006).

**Newer Options for Summer Nutrition**

USDA has adopted two policy changes that have made progress in addressing the underutilization of its summer nutrition funding. One solution has been to offer a Seamless Summer Food Option, under which schools offer summer meals as a continuation of NSLP without having to fill out additional paperwork.

A second policy change has been the implementation and growth of the Simplified Summer Food Program (SSFP), formerly known as the “Lugar Pilot.” Congress created this pilot program to reduce paperwork and maximize reimbursement. The SSFP eliminates time-consuming accounting procedures and allows sites to earn the maximum reimbursement as a standard for all meals. As a result, sponsors complete less paperwork and gain potentially higher reimbursements (FRAC, 2006). Since the program’s inception in 2001, the thirteen original “Lugar states” increased summer nutrition participation by 41.3 percent, while non-participating states fell 11.9 percent (FRAC, 2006). In Ohio, the *Cincinnati Enquirer* reported that the Cincinnati Public Schools partnered with the Children’s Hunger Alliance and the city’s Recreation Commission to serve 163,000 free meals to children in the summer of 2006, up from 19,500 the summer before (“163,000 free meals,” 2006).

**Recommendations**

Summer nutrition programs strengthen existing summer programs and make them more attractive to children from low-income families who need the extra meals. Young people who receive free meals typically do so through a summer program that addresses more than simply their nutritional needs, so that they receive additional educational or health benefits by participating. A rare exception to the rule, these federal nutrition programs are designed and implemented to benefit children and young people specifically during the summer. The documented success of the Simplified Summer Food Program, or Lugar Pilot, suggests that the program should be expanded to include providers currently enrolled in other summer nutrition programs. Expanding this program would streamline administrative burdens while maximizing reimbursement and participation rates.

**Employment Development and Service Learning**

The summer months offer many of the nation’s teens 16 and older an opportunity to gain valuable first-time experience in the labor market as well as connections to community businesses. In summer 2006, an average of 8.5 million young people aged 16–19 were either working or actively looking for work (Sum, McLaughlin, & Khatiwada, 2006).

To respond to the summer influx of young job seekers, the nation’s employers have typically expanded their hiring of teens. Local governments often provide funds to
help government agencies and nonprofit organizations hire additional teens during the summer. In addition, workforce development and service learning opportunities expose youth to experiences that prepare them for productive adulthood. Summer programs provide these opportunities in a variety of ways, including service learning that combines community service with classroom instruction; school-to-career activities such as career fairs, interviewing opportunities, and job shadowing; and work-based learning.

In the past, summer was explicitly recognized as an optimal time for youth employment, and public policies directed funding to summer jobs. In recent years, however, the focus on summer jobs has been diluted, at least at the federal level. Though some state and particularly local governments have attempted to make up the difference, they have not been able to compensate for the decline in federal funding. One promising initiative is such service-learning opportunities as AmeriCorps, offered by the Corporation for National and Community Service.

Federal Youth Employment Programs
Subsidizing summer youth employment for youth ages 14–21 was a major youth investment strategy of the federal government from the 1970s through the 1990s. One of the primary reasons for this investment was the research that revealed the impact of summer learning loss. Policies encouraged local areas to combine “learning and earning” by offering an academic component within their summer youth employment programs (M. Pines, personal communication, November 11, 2006). Several major national youth programs, including YouthBuild and the Youth Conservation and Service Corps, redesigned their programs to incorporate an academic component, particularly GED preparation for students who had dropped out of high school.

In 1998, the passage of the Workforce Investment Act (WIA) represented a change in youth service delivery that resulted in less federal emphasis on summer employment programs. Rather than providing a direct funding stream specifically for summer jobs, WIA funds summer employment as one of ten possible services: tutoring, alternative secondary school services, work experience and internships, occupational skills training, leadership development and community service opportunities, transportation and childcare support, adult mentoring, follow-up services, and guidance and counseling (Finance Project, 2003). This focus on integrated services was an attempt to more closely connect education and employment. Although program providers are not required to provide all ten services, local Workforce Investment Boards must ensure that all ten are available to eligible youth.

Federal funding for youth education and training has been on the decline: from $996 million in fiscal year 2005 to $951 million in fiscal year 2006 and a proposed $851 million for fiscal year 2007 (White House OMB, 2006c). Teen summer employment rates have shown a corresponding decline, falling from 45.2 percent in 2000 to 37.1 percent in 2006 (Sum, McLaughlin, & Khatiwada, 2006).

State and Local Jobs Programs
Many state and local governments have responded to federal cuts by increasing their investment in summer jobs. New York City, for example, operates one of the largest summer youth employment programs in the nation. During the summer of 2005, the city spent approximately $48.4 million on summer youth employment programs, using $24.6 million from city taxes and only $6 million in WIA funds (New York City Department of Youth and Community Development, 2005). Since 1999, New York City has nearly
tripled its own investment in summer youth employment programs to compensate for the loss in federal support. Cities across the country, where mayors and communities value summer jobs programs because they keep older youth productively engaged and out of trouble, have followed suit.

Other localities recognize the value of summer youth employment programs but are not as well positioned to provide summer jobs without federal support. In fiscal year 2006, the Maryland Summer Youth Connection program authorized use of a mere $150,000 in Cigarette Restitution Funds, an amount that met only a small proportion of the need in Baltimore City, a primary recipient of such funding given its high concentration of young people in poverty. Baltimore contributed $7 million, raised mostly through private donations, to provide summer work experiences to 7,000 young people between the ages of 14 and 21. The city anticipates the need to secure additional funding, as participant numbers are expected to increase (Baltimore Workforce Investment Board, n.d.).

**Summer Service Learning**

Service learning can be defined as providing “thoughtfully organized experiences that integrate students’ academic learning with service that meets actual community needs” (RMC Research Corporation, n.d.). Several agencies and policies support summer service learning opportunities, including WIA, as a part of the leadership development and community service elements, and NCLB. Title I of NCLB, for example, recommends that service learning can be part of a school reform strategy offered before and after school, as well as during the summer, to provide an enriched and accelerated curriculum (RMC Research Corporation, n.d.).

The primary agency responsible for administering service learning programs, however, is the Corporation for National and Community Service (CNCS), a public-private partnership. The AmeriCorps and Learn and Serve America programs funded by CNCS provide opportunities for youth, college students, and educators to engage in rich service-learning experiences over an extended period of time during summer break as well as other times during the year. Two primary goals of CNCS are to engage more college students in service and to encourage more K–12 schools to incorporate service-learning curricula. Roughly half of the Corporation’s annual program budget, which was $828 million in 2006, supports the AmeriCorps and Learn and Serve America programs (http://www.nationalservice.org).

The Summer of Service Act, introduced by Senators Dodd (D-Connecticut) and Cochran (R-Mississippi) and Representative DeLauro (D-Connecticut) in both Houses of Congress on November 15, 2006, would add to CNCS’s program offerings by providing an additional $100 million in federal funding in the first year to engage middle school students in intensive and structured community service during the summer. Participating youth would have the opportunity to earn $500 in educational awards after completing 100 hours of service, offering an additional earning incentive for participation (Innovations in Civic Participation, 2006). This legislation would help bridge the gap in programming available to middle school students over the summer, engaging youth in work-like experiences before they are eligible to participation in a summer jobs experience under WIA.

**Recommendations**
Though WIA is designed to provide disadvantaged youth with educational and work opportunities, and despite the efforts of state and local governments to supplement federal funding for summer jobs, low-income and minority youth are not keeping pace with their higher-income peers. While young people residing in families with annual incomes above $75,000 are employed at a rate of 51.9 percent, low-income Asian- and African-American youth are employed at rates of 16.8 percent and 17.4 percent, respectively (Sum, McLaughlin, & Khatiwada, 2006). The higher the family income, the more likely that a teen in that family is to have paid employment. Thus, young people who are already at a disadvantage have less work experience and fewer connections to employers than more privileged, higher-income peers. This disparity has grave implications for the future employment prospects of lower-income and minority youth. If federal policies continue to minimize the importance of summer youth employment, many youth may finish school with little or no connection to the workforce.

One strategy to increase investment is greater coordination among policies that emphasize both summer employment and service learning. Coordinating NCLB, WIA, and CNCS resources, directing them to agencies that are able to offer service-oriented work experiences, could make the best use of existing funds and better connect education and workforce efforts. Some summer jobs programs already involve young people in academics, service learning, and workforce development simultaneously. For example, the Met program in Providence, Rhode Island, connects its students at six small high schools with mentors and service-oriented internship opportunities in the community (The Big Picture, n.d.). Such models merit additional attention and support.

**Delinquency Prevention**

Another frequently cited reason for investing in summer programs, particularly in programs for older youth, is the increase in crimes committed by or against young people during non-school hours. In the area of delinquency prevention, we examined both local and federal programs.

**Local Initiatives**

Several local governments cite crime statistics as one of the primary reasons they invest in summer jobs programs. Our policy review identified several communities, including Chicago, Washington, Denver, and San Francisco, where well-publicized events involving youth violence over the summer months contributed to the development of summer programs and policies focused on positive youth development.

One example is the Summer Scholars Program in Denver, Colorado. In 1993, Denver experienced a period of escalating youth violence, dubbed the “Summer of Violence” by the local media, characterized by a series of gang-related shootings that took the lives of several innocent victims. Legal remedies included expanding prosecutors’ powers to deal with juvenile offenders, but “home-grown” violence prevention programs such as Summer Scholars focused on giving younger youth opportunities to interact with caring adults in a supportive, enriching environment as an alternative to engaging in risky behaviors. Over its 11-year history, Summer Scholars has provided over 11,000 low-income children, ages 5 to 11, with high-quality reading and writing instruction as well as enrichment and athletic activities such as swimming lessons. Strong partnerships with the Denver Public School System and the Denver Department of Parks and Recreation support Summer Scholars in its mission to offer
literacy and youth development to low-income children. Financial support comes from both public and private funds, including more than 1,500 individual donations (Summer Scholars, n.d).

**Department of Justice Initiatives**

The largest source of funds to support summer delinquency prevention resides with the Office of Justice Programs (OJP) in the Department of Justice (DOJ). In 2004, OJP provided approximately $2 billion to states and localities in support of efforts to prevent and control crime, improve the criminal and juvenile justice systems, increase knowledge about crime and related issues, and assist crime victims. Afterschool programs, which broadly defined can include summer programs, are eligible to receive funding under several of OJP’s grant programs.

The Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA) also supports out-of-school-time programs by providing funding, training, technical assistance, and information to state and community criminal justice programs and by emphasizing the coordination of federal, state, and local efforts. The BJA’s Byrne Memorial Justice Assistance Grants program funds state and local efforts to reduce illegal drug activity, crime, and violence and to support the work of local police departments. While community-based and statewide prevention programs, which may include afterschool and summer efforts, are two of the specific activities that can be supported by the grant, such programs must compete for scarce resources with other priorities, including adjudication, corrections, and treatment programs, as well as efforts to improve programs and systems.

Additionally, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention provides some funding to support programs engaged in preventing and reducing delinquency, including afterschool and summer programs. Allowable program activities include mentoring, gang prevention, substance abuse prevention, and youth development. For example, the Ella J. Baker House, a faith-based youth services agency in the Dorchester area of Boston, operates summer and afterschool programs as part of its larger mission to reduce youth violence and help at-risk youth achieve literacy and access jobs. The Baker House relies in part on the Juvenile Accountability Block Grant through a partnership with the Boston Police Department.

**Recommendations**

The delinquency prevention policies we examined direct relatively small amounts of funding to summer and afterschool programs. The grants are highly competitive and often include restrictions on allowable activities that make it difficult for afterschool and summer programs to compete. In its guide to federal funding sources for out-of-school-time programming, the Finance Project (2003) identified only three DOJ programs that permitted “academic enrichment” as an allowable activity. This restriction flies in the face of research suggesting that one of the most fundamental strategies for preventing delinquency is to re-engage young people in learning and help them understand the critical role that education plays in achieving their life goals (Noguera, 1996, 1997, 2001). Since summer programs have demonstrated results in using academic enrichment to motivate young people to pursue higher levels of academic achievement (McLaughlin, 2000), our findings suggest that summer programs should be more fully used as part of a delinquency prevention strategy during a time of year when other educational resources are scarce.
**Informal and Cultural Learning**

A rich array of policies at the federal, state, and local levels recognize the critical role that the arts, libraries, museums, and other informal learning institutions play over the summer months. These disciplines and institutions are an important part of the fabric of summer learning opportunities for young people and their families, consonant with the belief that summer is a unique time when children can explore their interests, talents, and skills. They also reflect the types of learning experiences available to middle- and upper-class youth during the summer. Interestingly, these policies do not appear to target disadvantaged youth, but rather seem designed to reach young people from families of all income ranges.

While the arts is a learning discipline in and of itself, we include it in this section because our analysis revealed that arts learning is often connected to and delivered through museums and cultural institutions in the context of summer programming. Though policies and funding streams that support the arts, libraries, museums, and other informal learning institutions are too numerous and varied to list, our research revealed several agencies that lead the way in providing arts and informal learning experiences over the summer, particularly the National Endowment for the Arts, the Institute for Museum and Library Sciences, and the National Science Foundation. We chose the three initiatives we discuss in this section because of their focus on summer specifically, or on summer and afterschool programming in particular.

Despite the funding available from these federal agencies, our interviews with program providers indicated that they used other sources for programming centered around the arts and informal learning. Nearly every provider regarded arts and informal learning as essential ingredients for summer programming, particularly for engaging and retaining youth. However, most providers funded those opportunities either through another grant with a different primary purpose—for example, through a 21st Century Community Learning Center grant, whose primary purpose is education—or through private philanthropy. In fact, though we did not emphasize private philanthropy in other sections of this report, philanthropy seemingly plays a large role not only for arts programs but for all summer programming—much larger, in fact, than it does in afterschool programming. The role of philanthropy in summer arts and informal cultural learning provides an example of a larger issue on which we will elaborate in the conclusions section of the report.

**Summer Library Reading Programs**

For over a century, public libraries have played a critical role in providing summer learning opportunities to young people in the United States. At a time of year when many public institutions close their doors to children and families, more than 122,000 public libraries provide summer reading programs and a variety of educational activities to enrich communities. Today, 95 percent of all public libraries in the United States operate summer reading programs (Fiore, 2005). Youth participation rates vary by community but generally range from 10 to 20 percent of the eligible youth population. Multiple studies explain the positive benefits of library summer reading programs (Heyns, 1978; Allington & McGill-Franzen, 2003). In fact, a recent study found that volume of summer book reading was positively related to fall reading achievement independent of prior reading and writing skills and student background characteristics (Kim, 2004).
Summer reading programs offered by libraries are supported by several funding sources at the federal, state, and local levels. Federal grant dollars are available through the Institute for Museum and Library Sciences under the provisions of the Library Services and Technology Act, which is administered by each state. In addition to general library funds, most public library systems raise significant private philanthropic support annually for their summer reading programs. In fact, we found that many public library systems relied nearly exclusively on private funds—from local foundations, corporate sponsors, local chambers of commerce, and friends of the library foundations—to support summer reading programs.

While such broad-based support is generally viewed as positive, it also presents a number of challenges in terms of the prospects for expanding access to library summer reading programs. The reliance on private grant dollars creates significant planning challenges for libraries, as they often have to prepare to operate programs prior to receiving all of the necessary funding. This uncertainty potentially limits young people’s access to reading programs. Given the research on the potential benefits of such programs and the relatively low cost of additional outreach activities, policymakers should consider strategies for increasing public investment in these programs.

One such strategy is the development of partnerships. We identified several promising models that integrated school district and public library summer reading programs in order to increase participation and coordination. In many cases, such integration reduced duplication of effort and ensured that librarians knew what books the schools required for summer reading and were able to promote the summer reading programs in the schools.

Informal Science Education Initiatives
Informal science education initiatives are currently being championed as one strategy to help increase the nation’s global competitiveness in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM). One of the most important sources of funding for informal science institutions at the federal level is the National Science Foundation (NSF). For fiscal year 2006, NSF provided $25 million in competitive grants for informal science education designed to increase interest, engagement, and understanding of STEM subject matter on the part of individuals of all ages and backgrounds. NSF also funds projects that advance knowledge and practice of informal science education.

NSF defines informal learning as learning that happens throughout people’s lives in a highly personalized manner based on their particular needs, interests, and past experiences. This type of multi-faceted learning is voluntary, self-directed, and often mediated in a social context (Falk, 2001; Dierking, Ellenbogen, & Falk, 2004); it provides an experiential base and motivation for further activity and subsequent learning. The NSF’s Informal Science Education (ISE) program invests in the development of experiences that encourage informal learning in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM). It promotes public engagement with and understanding of STEM content through such means as exhibitions, media projects, and educational programs. ISE projects reach audiences of all ages and backgrounds across the nation in museums,
theaters, community centers, and many other settings, including outdoor environments and people’s homes.

Much of the funding granted by NSF for youth ISE focused on afterschool and summer programs. Funding for the program is connected to revenue derived from H1-B visas issued to workers from foreign countries to fill U.S.-based jobs in technical fields. The rationale for the program is to invest in programs that prepare young people in the U.S. to eventually fill those positions, thereby reducing the need for H1-B visas in the future. We found this approach to using summer programs as a means for fostering greater career and educational development in STEM very compelling. One limitation of the program is that it provides only about $25 million in total funding for approximately 50 grants each year across the country. Another is that the funds aren’t necessarily reaching the neediest youth.

**Summer and the Arts**

The National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), according to its 2005 annual report, offers several grants that either directly or indirectly support summer opportunities:

- **Access to Artistic Excellence** funds projects that encourage and support artistic creativity, preserve our diverse cultural heritage, and make the arts more widely available in communities throughout the country.
- **Learning in the Arts for Children and Youth** funds projects that help children and youth acquire appreciation, knowledge, and understanding of and skills in the arts. The focus is on children and youth in the general age range of 5 to 18. Included in this area is the Summer School in the Arts program.
- **Challenge America—Reaching Every Community** funds simple, straightforward local projects that involve experienced professional artists and arts professionals in small or mid-sized communities where opportunities to experience the arts are limited by geography, ethnicity, economics, or disability. (National Endowment for the Arts, 2005)

The Summer Schools in the Arts program, included in Learning in the Arts for Children and Youth, provides up to 50 grants per year, ranging from $15,000 to $35,000, to nonprofit organizations and agencies. The intent of the grant program is to offer “rigorous, challenging summer arts education programs that enable children and youth to acquire knowledge and skills in the arts as well as gain lifelong interests in the arts and culture” (NEA, 2006). While this program explicitly focuses on summer, the amount of funding is small, and the number of organizations, and therefore youth, affected is very low. In 2005, only 24 organizations received funding through this grant program.

**Recommendations**

The most striking distinction about informal and cultural learning policies, compared to the other policy areas we researched, is that they reach a broad cross-section of youth, rather than a subset of youth who have been targeted as low-income or low-achieving. However, public funding streams for informal and cultural learning tend to be very small,
albeit numerous, so that few young people can benefit. Families have increasingly used their own income to provide cultural learning experiences for their children during the summer, but public funding has yet to do the same for disadvantaged youth.

More coordinated policymaking and funding could, in this case as in many others, lead to better use of scarce dollars. Partnerships between public libraries and public schools to coordinate summer reading programs, for example, leverage scarce resources at the local level. State departments of education, school districts, and public library systems need to encourage more such collaboration between public libraries and schools. States should provide incentives for collaboration and discourage competing or parallel programs that operate in isolation from one another in local communities. Federal and state funds should be dedicated to fostering stronger partnerships that promote free voluntary reading programs in schools and public libraries.

**Increasing Summer Opportunities for All Youth**

Summer is a unique time of year in our culture. Despite occasional perceptions that the typical school-year calendar is outdated, many Americans feel strongly that summer is a time for rest, relaxation, and rejuvenation. Kids expect summer to look and feel different from the school year; parents look for summer opportunities that ensure their children are well cared for while having fun; and working parents need access to programs that allow them to continue working with minimal interruption.

So how do we honor our cultural beliefs and simultaneously respond to the research on summer learning loss? What can we do to ensure that summer programs are able to meet the expectations of children and families while offering learning experiences that help close the achievement gap? How can policies be redesigned to support high-quality programming?

The very existence of public policies to support children and families during out-of-school time is encouraging. Funding for summer programs cuts across many federal departments and programs, serving many purposes. We applaud the intent of and support for the public policies in each of the six areas we discussed; however, a more coordinated approach to public policy and funding would better leverage scarce dollars. In order for summer program providers to meet the full scope of youth and family needs during the summer months, policies should more explicitly focus on summer as a critical window of time for young people’s learning and development—and as a time when families have particular need for safe and enriching childcare options. A comprehensive approach to summer programming should place particular emphasis on providing programming for disadvantaged children that mirrors the types of summer experiences available to middle- and upper-income youth.

**Coordinated Opportunities**

Each of the six policy areas examined in this report meets a critical need over the summer, but resources could be leveraged much more effectively if the policy areas were better coordinated. Without such coordination, we will continue to see the development of “niche” programs that provide specific interventions to special populations at the expense of programming for the broader population of youth and families in need of services.

However, it may be unrealistic to expect the interagency collaboration necessary to identify and streamline funding priorities and to develop shared agendas at the federal level. An alternative is to support the development of local, state, and national intermediary organizations that focus on coordinating summer learning policies and funding streams and on supporting the work of summer providers.

An intermediary organization “operates in a position between the youth-serving organizations they assist and a body of knowledge, skills, contacts, and other resources. They take
a deliberate position as brokers and facilitators, functioning both as representatives and as agents of change” (Wynn, 2000, p. XX). Some intermediary organizations focusing on out-of-school-time or summer learning already exist. At the national level, they include the Afterschool Alliance, the Center for Summer Learning, the National Institute on Out-of-School Time, and the National Afterschool Association. A few of the state intermediary organizations are the Minnesota Commission on Out-of-School Time and the New Jersey School Age Care Coalition. Some of the many local organizations are The After-School Corporation in New York City, the After-School Institute in Baltimore, the DC Youth Investment Trust Corporation, and LA’s BEST.

Whether their focus is local, state, or national, intermediaries typically meet a variety of needs: They help to shape the vision and define the field; build consensus; aggregate demand; convene stakeholders and provide a forum for networking and professional exchange; collect and disseminate relevant research, information, best practices, and resources; facilitate communication among providers, researchers, and policymakers; locate funding sources and raise funds to support programs; track and advocate for policy change; define quality standards for how programs should operate; develop competencies for program staff; assess program quality; work directly with summer program providers to deliver training and technical assistance; and develop and pilot new program approaches. In short, intermediaries offer “expertise, outside support, legitimation, and clout” (Schorr, 1997, quoted in Wynn, 2000).

Intermediary organizations can often act more nimbly than government agencies in responding to the needs of the field. As a given public agency shifts priorities and program resources wane, an intermediary can assess opportunities to “fill the gap” and redirect programs to alternate sources. Another advantage is that intermediary organizations are mission-driven around a particular issue, so that they can bring together seemingly disparate stakeholders and resources—for example, museums, schools, and libraries—to align them toward a common purpose. Finally, because summer learning is so closely connected to private philanthropy, many intermediaries have the distinct advantage of being networked to private philanthropists, foundations, and other community resources, so that they can leverage investments in ways that public agencies are often unable to do. Though the level and quality of support intermediary organizations provide varies and is somewhat dependent on the amount of their funding, providers generally have a favorable view of intermediaries as needed resources. Providers often must neglect the functions listed above in favor of meeting the immediate needs of young people; thus, intermediary organizations fill an important need.

Though the functions intermediary organizations fulfill are important for developing and sustaining the field over time, few intermediaries currently focus on summer as a priority, and fewer yet take summer programming as their primary focus. If intermediaries are part of the solution to coordinating funding for summer programs, policymakers need to recognize their immense value to the field, include these entities in legislative language, and make them eligible to receive technical assistance and training grants (Blank et. al, XXXX). Policymakers and private funders can work together to increase the amount of funding set aside for the functions provided by intermediaries. Simultaneously, intermediaries, the research community, and practitioners should work together to define appropriate measures for gauging the success of an intermediary’s efforts. At present, few resources suggest ways to measure the success of, for example, advocacy or training efforts. Such measures would provide much needed guidance and benchmarks for organizations serving in this capacity, thus improving their effectiveness.

Comprehensive Opportunities

Another challenge for policymakers is addressing the needs of working families by supporting full-day, year-round programming for kids. From a public funding perspective, summer has traditionally been an afterthought—secondary to afterschool, with little recognition of the
difficulties parents face in finding adequate, affordable, engaging summer care. Summer and afterschool need to be considered equally in public policy; quality programs must be made available and accessible to families year-round. The difference between summer and afterschool programming goes beyond the fact that they operate at different times. Summer programs operate for more hours per day; they also get kids when they’re fresh rather than after a seven-hour school day. Thus, the structure of summer programs is often very different from that of afterschool programs; those differences should be taken into consideration when designing public policy.

While some communities look to year-round school as the answer to the need for year-round childcare and education, there’s merit in exploring what summer programs, specifically, can do to “round out” a child’s education. Summer programs can offer experiences that children can’t get in school. Summer programming often involves the community and local institutions in deep and authentic ways. Particularly for young people who attend low-performing schools, summer programs can make a powerful difference when compared to a year-round school that may be offering more of the same, only on a different schedule.

Opportunities for All

Policymakers must take a stronger role in supporting enriching summer learning experiences for low-income children. Nearly all parents want safe, fun, engaging experiences for their children over the summer, but access to these experiences is not equally distributed among poorer and wealthier children and communities. The research-based rationale for funding summer programming for all children that provides the kind of enrichment activities now available primarily to middle- and upper-income children is clear:

- All kids experience some learning loss if they don’t have opportunities to practice skills over the summer months.
- Summer losses in reading are more pronounced for low-income kids because they have less access to enriching literacy activities.
- Middle- and upper-income families are increasingly relying on enrichment camps and programs to provide much-needed childcare while offering the types of experiences they deem appropriate for their children during summer break.
- Low-income children tend to receive remedial summer programming, whether they need it or not.
- Learning embedded in enrichment experiences is often more beneficial and more easily committed to long-term memory than learning delivered in the context of punitive remedial programs.

All these findings add up to a vision of summer programming that supports all youth in achieving not only academic outcomes, but also developmental milestones. For example, a program could focus on reading comprehension and self-esteem through teaching performing arts. Another program might build math skills, foster teamwork, and teach conflict resolution in the context of playing basketball. Middle- and upper income families are already investing in such experiences and programs for their children, yet policies for low-income youth tend to narrowly target remedial reading and math or a particular developmental need, such as childcare or nutrition, without taking into consideration children’s individual needs, their potential to excel in a different type of learning environment, or their unique interests and hobbies.

One policy exception is the 21st Century Community Learning Centers program, which has fostered many unique summer learning programs that combine academic, developmental, and workforce development efforts while keeping children safe and healthy. We believe these programs should be applauded and expanded. Four programs we studied—Harlem RBI, BELL (Building Educated Leaders for Life), Trail Blazers, and Higher Achievement—used 21st CCLC
funding to advance learning, support positive youth development, and meet youth and family needs. Two of these programs illustrate the ways in which public funding can support a broad range of learning opportunities for disadvantaged children that mirror the summer opportunities available to more privileged kids.

Harlem RBIs REAL Kids Summer Program prevents summer learning loss in reading, teaches sportsmanship, and exposes children to new experiences, using baseball as the “hook” to get kids in the door. In morning literacy workshops, certified teachers and two college coaches lead kids through balanced literacy activities that are linked to the afternoon baseball game. REAL Kids prioritizes youth choice and collaborative learning to keep kids engaged and motivated to succeed. Kids score runs both on the field and in the classroom. To measure participants’ success, Harlem RBI tracks their literacy, social, and emotional growth, as well as their physical health. As was true of many of the high-quality summer programs we studied, Harlem RBI is funded primarily by private philanthropy, with only about 10 percent of its funding coming from public sources.

Trail Blazers provides youth from low-income urban areas the opportunity to grow in academic knowledge and social experience by participating in a 20-day residential camp in rural New Jersey. Trail Blazers seeks to instill in youth the values of caring, cooperating, and learning to settle differences peacefully while developing literacy skills. Throughout the camp experience, young people read independently and together, record their experiences in a journal, deliver presentations, perform plays, and write articles for the camp magazine. These activities are paired with more traditional camp activities, such as swimming, hiking, and sleeping under the stars. Trail Blazers, too, is funded largely through private philanthropy, in this case individual contributions. The program has also creatively combined various public funding streams, including the Summer Food Service program, Supplemental Educational Services, TANF, and some local funding.

Summer learning should be different from school-year learning; it should offer young people new experiences and give them opportunities to develop talents and skills. In other words, the research on summer learning loss and our cultural beliefs about the meaning of summer are not in conflict. Kids can continue to learn during the summer while having fun in a safe, nurturing environment. Private philanthropy has often led the way in funding the development and implementation of high-quality summer experiences for low-income children. It is time for public policymakers to follow the lead of foundations and individual contributors by adopting a coordinated and comprehensive approach to summer learning that can benefit all children and their families.
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Use of Traditional Media and Internet among Adolescents in Guang Zhou

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Use of Traditional Media and Internet among Adolescents in Guang Zhou

Abstract

With the fast development of media, especially the Internet, the information seeking and retrieval environment has changed greatly. The relationship between consumer and their media use needs to be updated accordingly. What’s more, as the youth market expands and consuming power increases, advertisers need to capture the latest trends in order to reach the young generation. This study tries to examine the media use among the young generation in Guang Zhou. Our study focuses on how the adolescents utilize various media, especially the Internet. Three hundred and eighty-six Chinese respondents aged 11 to 18 completed a structured questionnaire in December 2006 in Guang Zhou. The questionnaire was based on a previous study of teens conducted in the U.S. (La Ferle, Edwards, and Lee, 2000) Results show that over 73 percent of the respondents own personal computers with Internet connection at home. The study provides information about what they are using Internet for, and how they surf on the web. This paper will also discuss the traditional media and Internet use by gender and by educational level.
Extended Abstract

Introduction

The media have been shown to be powerful socializing agents of the young people (Arnett, 1995; Atkin, 1982; Moschis and Moore, 1979; O’Guinn and Shrum, 1997). They define the world with the help of media (Arnett, 1995). So when we explore how media choices may influence the adolescents’ development and subsequent consumption practices, we should consider examining how they allocate their time among media.

Teen’s behaviour could influence the market. Research showed that teenagers built their social identities through consumption behaviour and their material possessions (Montemayor and Eisen, 1977; Solomon, 1983; Chan, 2005). Thus knowing how they consume media could be of great help of understanding their lifestyles, consumption orientations and behaviours.

Literature review

Adolescents make active choices of the media they use according to their personalities, socialization needs, and personal identification needs (Arnett, 1995). The adolescents are active media users and they prefer to find things themselves. The nature of Internet seems making it a viable way of marketing to teens (La Ferle, Edwards and Lee, 2000). Now with the increasing penetration of Internet in Hong
Kong, it’s time to update the knowledge about how this new media may affect adolescent allocation of time spent with other media, as well as how the Internet can be used to fulfil existing adolescent needs. This study contributes to the understanding of the latest relationship between the young generation and the media. The current study attempts to answer the following questions: (1) How do young people in Guang Zhou allocate their time across various media? (2) What are the young people’s attitudes towards advertising? (3) Do media choices vary by gratification sought? (4) What do they use Internet for? (5) How do they find out the website they want?

**Method**

A questionnaire was developed based on La Ferle, Edwards and Lee’s (2000) work. The questionnaire consisted of mainly close-ended questions were distributed to people aged 12 to 24 through personal sources. Three hundred and eighty-six Chinese respondents aged 11 to 18 self-administrated a structured questionnaire in December 2006 in Guang Zhou. We chose Guang Zhou because it is one of the most developed cities in China with a relatively rich traditional and new media environment for all ages. This study would provide a further understand to the current situation in urban China.

**Findings**

Findings show that over 73 percent of the respondents own personal computers at home, while only 36.8 percent of them possess their own television sets. Sixty percent
of the students used Internet at schools and nearly 88 percent of them used Internet at homes.

About 89 percent reported that they used Internet to search information for homework. Forty percent of them find shopping information through reading magazines. Over 50 percent of respondents used online shopping. About 45 percent of the respondents said that they used Internet at home for more than one hour. They used internet for playing games, doing homework and listening to the music. On the other hand, they still relied on friends for sensitive information. The Internet was reported as the easiest and the most convenient way of getting sensitive information.

Reference:


Submission for the Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences

Title of Submission: Assessing the Effectiveness of a Community-wide Effort to Create a Seamless System of Universally Available Education, Care and Support Services for Families with Pre-school Children.

Topic Area: Education and Urban Planning

Presentation Format: Poster

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Abstract

Nationwide, kindergarten teachers estimate that nearly one in three children enters school unprepared to meet the challenges of the classroom. Often the gap widens as children move through the grades. Parents, schools and communities all play significant roles in helping develop “ready children” for “ready schools.”

This presentation will report on the efforts and progress of a medium size urban community to improve children’s school readiness by creating a seamless system of universally available education, care, and support services for families with pre-school children. In particular, we will focus on the effectiveness of a community-wide planning group in moving from networking among themselves to collaboration. Factors supporting and inhibiting movement will be explored and suggestions for promoting community-wide change efforts will be given.
Title: ‘Cultural Relativism in the 21st century: A Sociological discourse on the debates about rights and justice in a globalized world’

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Abstract:

The key essence of cultural relativism stems from its acknowledgement of two sentiments: that of “equal respect” for all individuals and the need to respect a person’s culture in order to “respect his identity”. Coupled with its pronouncement that “moral judgments and standards” are evaluated in accordance to an individual’s personal culture, it can thus be argued that any debates on the “universal and unequivocal” rights required for humanity is not required as it would be “wrong to judge moral beliefs and practices in other cultures according to one’s own standards”.

In this paper, there would be an evaluation of the propagators of cultural relativism and their approaches in advocating the desire for cultural relativism as a response to the notion of the “western-based” concept of human rights. The articulation on why Sociological debates on human rights must and will continue to persist are critically assessed in view of the several problematic resultant consequences if a non-confrontational approach is adopted in unequivocally accepting the fundamentals of cultural relativism in reviewing discourses on rights and justice.

The quintessentially assumed ‘western’ precepts of rights and justice would be reviewed in terms of their ‘adherence’ or ‘detachment’ to the basis of rights governance in non-western societies with a concomitant examination of the veracity of these
‘universalistic’ hallmarks which the United Nations has persistently pronounced. The analysis on the institutional definition of culture as a detriment to the contemporary evolution of genuine cultural features in non-western societies would be elucidated through the current debate on rights and justice in East Asia.

The validity of utilizing cultural elements in the articulation of rights’ particularism in regional settings would subsequently be assessed through a discussion on the seemingly blurring of cultural boundaries in a globalized world and its impact on the situatedness of identity and citizenship stipulations.

Paper:

The key essence of cultural relativism stems from its acknowledgement of two sentiments: that of “equal respect” for all individuals and the need to respect a person’s culture in order to “respect his identity” (Freeman, 2002: 108). Coupled with its pronouncement that “moral judgments and standards” are evaluated in accordance to an individual’s personal culture (Li, 2006: 55), it can thus be argued that any debates on the “universal and unequivocal” rights required for humanity is not required as it would be “wrong to judge moral beliefs and practices in other cultures according to one’s own standards” (Li, 2006: 65).

In this paper, I would like to recognize the propagators of cultural relativism and understand their approach in advocating the desire for cultural relativism as a response to the notion of the “western-based” concept of universal human rights. More critically, I would attempt to illuminate why Sociological debates on human rights must and will continue to persist in view of the several problematic resultant consequences if we were
to adopt a non-confrontational approach in unequivocally accepting the fundamentals of
cultural relativism in reviewing discourses on rights and justice.

The issue of rights and the “problem” of cultural relativism

The issue of “rights” has been discussed intermittently by the international
community in modern history with various campaigns against slavery, for humanitarian
laws of war and for the emancipation of women and minorities taking place
concomitantly with the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by
the United Nations in 1948 (Robertson and Merrills, 1996: 32). The key articles of the
declaration vaguely pronounced the need to “re-affirm the faith in fundamental human
rights and the universal respect for all without distinction as to sex, language and
religion” (Freeman, 2002: 33). The United Nations’ notion of human rights thus
suggested the possibility of “universal” rights of “exceptional importance” that includes
the crucial and primary need to “protect morally valid human interests against the abuse
of political power” (Dworkin, 1978:61).

The fundamentals of the United Nations’ declaration of rights thus possessed two
significant points of contention. The first involved the defense of universal civil and
political rights and the view that all human rights are “indivisible” and “interdependent”
(Freeman, 2002: 148) which contradicts the vital assertion of cultural relativists that
certain rights are solely “relative and relevant” to certain cultures (Talbott, 2002:88).
However, the United Nations’ declaration of rights did provide an opportunity for states
to violate these “universal” rights under “especially strong reasons” (Dworkin, 1978: 61).
The lack of a concrete definition of what will actually be constituted as “strong reasons”
would provide the impetus for certain states to violate certain rights in accordance to the
cultural relativists’ pronouncement that certain principles and rules are peculiar cultural norms of certain states.

The key critique of the cultural relativists’ prescription for human rights generates from its own standards of stipulating the “judgment of others solely through their own cultural standards” (Williams, 1972: 66). Primarily, by stipulating the guidelines for the communal contemplation of human rights, cultural relativists are thus guilty of demanding other individuals to act according to their relativistic prescription, the very action which they are advocating against (Li, 2006: 61). There is also the argument that any “moral claims” made have to be “universally binding” not only in the propagator’s own culture but also beyond (Teson, 1985: 137-138). Thus, the moral agent can never be “relativist” as he is essentially making “normative claims” which are intended to be applied internationally as these moral judgments formed the crucial mores which are universally recognized (Teson, 1985: 138). Cultural relativism has also failed to envisage an outlet for the general objection of certain cultures which defy human rights. The paradox stemmed from its recognition of these “cultures” in respect of their “cultural attributes” when these “cultures” are themselves not respectful to other cultures in their incessant violation of human rights (Freeman, 2002: 109).

The argument for cultural relativism and the cessation of debates on human rights

The concept of cultural relativism has been utilized by several communities as an important “defense of their idealized way of life” against the “individualism and alienation” that liberal human rights are thought to imply (Howard, 1948: 51). There is an assumption that the precepts of human rights both encourage and support the individual’s needs over the desires of the communitarian society (Howard, 1948: 51). The practice of
a particular “indigenous” society, under the eyes of the proponents of cultural relativism, is regarded as “sacred” in its “spirited and nostalgic” attempts to fend off “unwarranted ideological interference” (Donnelly, 1989: 52). The recognition and the respect in leaving each society to its own “cultural devices” are emphasized in the attempt to negate discussion on a uniform and generic code on the elemental precepts of human rights.

Cultural relativists have also astutely challenged the interpretation and the particular definition of “human rights” in relation to its conception by each individual community. For instance, the caste system of stratification in India could be utilized as an example in arguing against the notion of the parallel linkages between egalitarianism and the chief characteristics of human rights. Cultural relativists have illustrated the emphasis on “hierarchical positioning” and the exemplification of “social spirituality” in Hinduism of “centering the hierarchies of kinship and caste” as an institutional conception of human rights (Stachhouse, 1984: 54). Thus, in an Indian or Hindu society, the basis of human rights is recognized in the acknowledgement of “human nature” differentiation from caste to caste, with each caste being regarded as a particular “species of mankind” (Donnelly, 2003: 83).

The notion of human rights and the quest for social justice have been regarded by certain supporters of the cultural relativist school as a potential source of “social fragmentation” instead of integration if they were to be actively debated and introduced to cultures where such norms are not intrinsic or native to the customs of these societies (Berger, 1969: 6). The articulation of this argument alludes to the symbolic interactionist’s precept of individuals being symbolically attuned and disciplined to envisioning their particular cultural concept of living as the only “desirable” one
Thus, any critical debate on alternative versions of rights would only succeed in breaking down the “relationship binds” which integrates an individual in his society. In light of this argument, international human rights institutions have also accepted that human rights standards ought to be interpreted differently in different cultural contexts. For instance, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights has allowed for consideration to the representation of different forms of civilization and different legal systems (Arai, 1998: 104).

Instead of arguing for a universal concept of human rights, there’s also an alternative school of thought which reveres and acknowledges the “aesthetical” value of the “truth” pertaining to rights and justice for a specific cultural environment (Munevar, 1998: 54). Instead of side-stepping them in the quest for a universal truth, proponents of this particular concept of justice creation illuminates the potentiality of the utilization of the “past and present” variation of rights as a unique experience of a particular culture (Munevar, 1998: 65). This particular brand of outlook draws from its functional purpose in allowing the individuals of each society to draw particular sources of inspiration, criticism, identification and affirmation from the evolution of their rights’ movement. It can be articulated that the self-actualization and consciousness of an emblematic version of rights could be achieved if a community is given the autonomy for self classification and elucidation of these rights.

The on-going debate on rights and justice has also been criticized as unnecessary or even futile and short-sighted if these definitions of rights are conceived as “western-centric” or “European-centric” and thus are deemed as overtly universal but latently “relativist”. The key question one needs to ask is the definition of a particular concept or
phrase in the official article of the United Nations’ declaration of human rights. The uproar over the practice of genital mutilation and infanticide and its collective condemnation by the majority of the members in the United Nations (UN) only stands to illuminate the “relativist” interpretation of “cruelty” by these members in their inability to acknowledge the alternative interpretation of such practices by its propagators and practitioners (Robinson, 2006:14).

Debates on the concept of a universal truth or norms could also be obviated if none of these norms could be found in all cultures and societies (Munevar, 1998: 46). The variation from one culture to another in terms of its approach towards human rights could be envisioned as being “so different and large that the universalist thesis seems to be completely in error” (Munevar, 1998: 46). In order to illustrate this quintessential difference, scholars have articulated that the idea of human rights is centered on the western knowledge structure which positions the individual as the “unit of norm fulfillment” as opposed to the oriental’s conception of positioning the group as a unit of norm regulation (Galtung, 1994:14). The western actualization of “cultural dynamics” could be gleaned from the dictates of human rights which pronounced the “sacredness of the individual and the spirit of the individual” which supercedes the governance and influence of the collective (Galtung, 1994: 15).

American influence on human rights has aided the augmentation of the debate against the notion of an effective deliberation on the quest for a universal precept of rights and justice. This is largely due to the argument that the United States has been used as a proto-typical benchmark when the UN reviews a nation’s adherence to the fundamental goals of its construct of universal rights and justice while the United States
has been relatively left to its own devices in the sphere of human rights (Passavant, 2004: 7). In general, the UN’s declaration has been criticized for its perceived utilization of “western bias” in its emphasis on rights rather than duties and it’s pre-occupation with civil and political rather than social and cultural rights (Cassese, 1992: 36). The accusation of these concepts as a hallmark of western liberal individualism has potentially alienated it from the “roots of non-western cultures and societies” (Chun, 2001:103).

Response to cultural relativism: the notion of a “universal” brand of human rights

The primary response to the cultural relativist’s vision of human rights came with the recognition of moral discourse which argued that rights are indeed “universalizable” (Teson, 1985: 57). Arguments on rights and justice could still take place if the chief premise of cultural relativism- that of these rights being relativist is contradicted. This is activated through the enunciation of the possibility of categorizing certain rights as possessing “supreme universal value” in that most people, if deprived of these protections, would want to have them regardless of their culture of origin (Teson, 1985: 58). These rights may include the “protection of people’s lives, safety and individual freedom” (Teson, 1985:58). There is also the collective debunking of the “relativistic” categorization of sentimentality as universal proponents of human rights have asserted that the non-rational and sentimental “revulsion and indignation” against human atrocities have provided the justification of human rights as a universal depiction and representation of “humane sentimentality” (Li, 2006: 70).

Alternatively, there have been calls for the enactment of human rights laws even in the event when it has been regarded as a “relativist pursuit”. This stemmed from the
argument that although certain aspects of human rights are not “feasible” in particular traditional societies, some characteristics of it are paramount in ensuring the universal acknowledgement of cultural rights (Li, 2006: 89). The verbalization of the universal need for an individual to participate in the creativity and development of one’s culture regardless of his background would require the enforcement of certain universal libertarian rights in assuring the practitioner’s autonomy in his cultural pursuits which maintained the essence of his cultural identity (Okin, 1989:91).

The substance of the UN declaration of human rights stems from its pronouncement of certain rights which have been categorized by certain scholars as “inalienable rights” and which served as the basic requirement of human dignity (Donnelly, 2003: 94). Any conception of human nature which denounced the rights of “life, legal personality, equality before the law and protection against inhuman treatment” must then be indefensible in contemporary international society (Donnelly, 2003: 94). Concomitantly, this list could be representative of Nussbaum’s concept of the “first threshold of humanity” which stipulates that an individual would be deemed “impoverished to a level of non-humanity” if his basic quest for mobility and his cognitive quest for perception is denied (Gould, 2004: 55). These concepts of human rights could be regarded as elemental in binding a “growing diversity of culture” and advocating a non-relativist but universal need for collective protection (Morris, 2006: 1-2).

Problematizing the “culture” in Cultural Relativism

Cultural relativism drew its assumption on the interpretation of culture from its depiction of culture as a “unitary and unique whole” that one is born into and will always
be a relatively unchanging feature of an individual’s personality (Howard, 1948: 58-59). However, critics of this form of definition have argued that an individual may not necessarily derives his identity from place of birth but highlights the “adaptive-ness” of culture in that an individual cultural identity may be “permeable and changeable” as culture is always constantly “reproduced” and its structures are “predestined to change” (Howard, 1948: 59). The cultural relativist’s notion of the individual adapting solely to a particular cultural prescription is thus inconceivable in modern society where individuals readily moved away from the mechanistic gemeinschaft society to urban districts where they are inundated with a multiplicity of cultural presentation (Donnelly and Howard, 1987: 60).

It is also difficult to conceive of a particular culture as being spatially bounded. The notion that a culture is “relativist” to a particular region or district is flawed in that each district may house individuals of varied religious beliefs (An-Na’im, 1992: 113). For instance, in a particular district in the Malaysian state of Kelantan, the Muslims in the area would be governed by the Islamic (Shari’a) laws which advocate punishments such as limb amputation for Muslim thieves, a punishment actively rejected by the non-Muslims in the state (An-Na’im, 1992: 113). The cultural relativist’s conception of individuals within a particular society as being unable to connect with “outsiders” has also proven to be flawed in the context of possible rights violation. For instance, in the case of honour killing as a local cultural practice in Pakistan, certain Pakistani’s advocacy women groups have rejected such a practice as being “relativist” in their nation and have worked with “outsiders” such as foreign non-governmental organizations in a collective campaign to lobby against these practices (Crocker, 1991: 66).
The universal concepts of human rights may in a sense be envisioned as a list with clauses which may be “overlapping” consensus among cultures and that a “large common core” of values may be recognized by the majority of cultures (Donnelly and Howard, 1987: 99). Therefore, the principles of cultural relativism may be critiqued in view of the particularly “negligible” differences in the acknowledgement of rights. Thus, all forms of cultural relativism has failed to recognize that “cultural practices routinely outlive their usefulness” and that internal dialogues and cross-cultural discussion on human rights can both equally construct a relatively “universal” idealization of human rights and social justice analogous across all cultures (Donnelly and Howard, 1987: 102).

Cultural relativism and the Asian response to human rights

Asian societies have often utilized the relativistic conception of “communitarian” values in their detachment with the avocation of individualism in most human rights’ discourses (Bauer and Bell, 1999: 5). The quest for most Asian states to “rise up from their penury status” through the sole focus on development for communal benefit has been linked to the demotion of individualistic conception of civil rights to secondary status in certain Asian societies (Bauer and Bell, 1999: 2). This preoccupation in maintaining stability and ensuring economic growth has been articulated by the Malaysian government, for instance, in the detention of rioters under the internal security acts in 1980 and the Chinese government in the 1989 Tiananmen massacre of pro-democracy demonstrators as “crucial” in maintaining continuous “development and subsistence” (Ozay, 1999: 176).

However, the Asian government’s denouncement of anti-western conception of human rights could be faulted on several accounts. Fundamentally, these states’
invocation of state’s sovereignty in rejecting the pressing calls to acknowledge certain
eright is essentially a western concept while it is a fallacy to also labeled “communitarian
elements” as a non-western as these practices could be found in “western social practices
and political theories” (Ozay, 1999: 1).

Besides these misinterpretations with regards to western values, the concept of
human rights recognition as a non-eastern or non-oriental fundamental is also
problematic. For instance, scholars have reiterated that women’s rights concepts are not
wholly western construct but are also present in the “Quaranic concept of human dignity
found in Islam” (An-Na’im, 1992: 180). Moreover, there is also a rising consciousness
among Asian nations in acknowledging the non-exclusivity of development and human
rights recognition as there has been no concrete evidence linking the recognition of
human rights as hampering economic development (An-Na’im, 1992: 185). In short, the
perception that the individualistic conception of human rights is not relevant in Asian
societies has been constantly placed under threat through the changing cultural outlook in
Asia.

The articulation of “weak cultural relativism” has been largely used as a response
to Asian society’s usage of the “cultural relativist shield” to defend their lack of
implementation of certain human rights (Bauer and Bell, 1992: 83). Essentially, these
rights are still treated as being universal in their core concepts but they could be
considered for “subjective implementation” by Asian states in accordance to their cultural
dictates (Bauer and Bell, 1992: 83). For instance, Asian states must adhere to the
universal precept of punishing any individuals who threatened the security of another
individual but the choice of punishment could be left to the choice of each nation.
Accordingly, the primary pre-occupation of “weak” cultural relativist is the guarantee of “free-choice” to citizens by the state and the protection of these individual choices provided that they do not violate “conventional universal norms” (Bauer and Bell, 1992: 85). Thus, the cultural relativist’s role in averting the debate on rights by Asian states could be negated through the introduction and promotion of “weak” cultural relativism in these states.

**Debating institutional definition of “culture”**

It must be enunciated that the interpretation and delineation of a specific brand of tradition or cultural traits of a nation or a particular community is often controlled by the authorities or the state machinery which governed the society. The manipulation and aggrandizement of “pseudo” cultural qualities have been known to aid the authorities to retain and exercise their power with the insistence of the recognition of their “relativistic cultural practices” as a shelter from external inquiry of their potential violation of human rights (Conquest, 1986:14). One example of this was gleaned from the expulsion of an environmental group by the Kenyan president in 1989, the reason being that under “African patriarchal tradition”, the male president would have the unequivocal right to dismiss any suggestions made by the female president of the environmental group (Perlez, 1989). The key significance here is that there has been no concrete evidence from interviews with the Kenyan populace and opinion leaders that such a “tradition” actually presides in Kenya either in the past or in the contemporary state (Perlez, 1989).

There is a pertinent need to examine the phenomenon of “cultural indoctrination” by the political elites in the twentieth century, especially through the mass media and educational system (Howard, 1948:72). The central state apparatus has been capable of
promoting their particular brand of cultural and political ideology often with their power to transmit a version of “relativistic cultural traits” such as sacrificial obedience to their leader (used by General Amin in Ghana in the 1970s) which is solely beneficial to them in maintaining their control over the populace (Howard, 1948:72). This utilization of cultural relativism thus served both to protect these governments from “imperialistic” invasion of their “traditional” practices but also allow them to act as “gatekeepers” with the ability to present an “official” version of their people’s culture to the outside world (Taylor, 1987: 110). This would then potentially thwart western liberals or even human-rights supporters from questioning the “cultural traits” expressed by these leaders for fear of being “racist” (Taylor, 1987: 110).

There have also been affirmation that the small elites controlling the state’s machinery has actually not only side-stepped and ignored on traditional practices but has actually trampled on them in their quest to marginalized the minority or subgroup in their nation. For instance, the former president of Indonesia, Suharto, has concentrated power in the hands of himself and his cronies by shielding the reality of state repression under the aura of “traditional culture” (Killen and Smentana, 2006:122). The side-lining of minorities’ rights has also often been attributed to their culture being eclipsed as a result of the practices of the ruling elites who often cull the cultural fundamentals of the dominant group in the society in presenting their version of the “official culture” to external parties (Killen and Smentana, 2006: 211).

The lack of conception of cultural minorities has meant that the state government in oppressive states would not need to cater to the needs of their minorities in terms of preserving their tradition but would instead subject them to “unwanted assimilation” in an
attempt at “nation-building” which subverts all the citizens to identify with a uniform cultural script (Lyons and Mayall, 2003: 55). Besides the acts of “unwanted assimilation” witnessed for instance in Spain with the absorption of the Catalans and Basques, state expulsion has also been frequently used by states to eliminate “troublesome” minorities who don’t fit into their version of a “pure and authentic” culture (the expulsion of ethnic Germans from Eastern and Central Europe in the 1940s is one example) (Lyons and Mayall, 2003: 55). Thus, there is a need to actively debate the UN’s declaration of human rights which exceedingly respect the “sovereignty” of each state in enforcing their “relativistic cultural principles” without acknowledging that these “cultural principles” may not be inclusive of minority groups’ rights.

Cultural relativism and the selective interpretation of citizenship

The generic concept of citizenship stipulates the relational idea that entails “co-operation between the state and citizens in the running of the latter’s life” (Faulks, 2000: 1). Hence, the universal ideal of citizenship involves the bestowment of rights on the individual citizen by the state with a concomitant return of duties and obligations by the latter (Faulks, 2000: 1). With the enactment of cultural relativism in the international discourse on rights and citizenship, states can now generate their own version of “citizenship” that is “relativistic” to their mode of culture as long as they can justify that their administration and governance of citizenship is based on the reciprocal exchange of rights and duties between the state and the citizen. The allocation for the recognition of cultural relativism has enabled states to categorize discrimination and slavery of certain minority groups (in Sudan before the mid 1990s) as the “duties” of these ethnic group, to enforce conscription as a requisite duty for citizens and arbitrary “looking into the needs”
of citizens and taking care of their “rights” and “concerns” without actually taking any concrete action (Slawner and Denham, 1998: 14). Thus, the dramaturgical presentation of the state’s ascription to the regulation of citizenry has often been left unquestioned through the recognition of cultural relativism.

However, the precept of cultural relativism has imperturbably ignore the key fundamentals of citizenship, which acknowledges individuals’ ability to make “judgments about their own lives which is not pre-determined by their race, religion or any other individual cultural attributes” (Faulks, 2000: 4). Thus, the key defining characteristic of citizenship is the “ethic of participation” by the individual and is therefore “incompatible” with their “stipulated cultural domination by the state or ruling elites” in ascribing them their designated rights “relativistic” to their supposed traditions (Faulks, 2000: 4). Citizenship must also be regarded as a “dynamic identity” with the acknowledgement of each citizen as “creative agents” in constantly reviewing their rights and duties that caters to their contemporary aspirations for them and their community (Faulks, 2000: 6). The state’s utilization of cultural relativism in assigning the rights and duties to each cultural community may be regarded as being neglectful of this aspect as it is merely dictating and selectively interpreting the cultural traits of these communities without enacting their participation (Brenner et.al, 1995:142).

Citizenship laws have also been gradually debated with regards to its continual influence by state apparatus which defined for itself the “relativistic” structure of their notion of citizenry in accordance to their cultural tapestry. Although the state still possessed the rights to form the “primary context” for the individual citizen, the impact of globalization and the rise of the international order such as the emergence of multi-
national corporations and international actors have influenced and thus complicated the state’s potential unilateral domination and pronouncement of the cultural rights of its citizens. Citizenship has now been “enhanced” through the rapid democratization of states such that pertinent “global” qualities such as egalitarianism are extended within state boundaries and not just confined to specific cultures (Gulalp, 2006: 146). Contemporary scholars have also questioned the very essence of cultural relativism in citizenship discourse. This can be illustrated through the illumination of the Korean wars and the Gulf wars which depicts the conflict between different states with relatively the same cultural norms and with the same batch of “cultural citizens” (Gulalp, 2006: 147). Hence, there is a backlash against the attribution of citizenry and other human rights’ conception to essentially “cultural” influences and dictates.

The blurring of cultural boundaries in a globalized world

The elemental precept of cultural relativism which pronounced the identification by individuals with their cultural community has gradually came under siege from critiques who espoused the reality of contemporary citizens extending their sense of obligation and identity by actively participating in societies not native to one’s own (Howard, 1948: 121). The communitarian viewpoint has also interprets society as a “grouping of unrelated individuals torn from their sense of collective identity” with the non-adherence to traditional elements giving rise to the quest for material gratification (Howard, 1948: 114). The lack of identity with a particular culture has been alluded to the lack of “ethnic” identification by each citizen in a given region due to the “mix-match” grouping of individuals with varied identity inhabiting a district with a “globalized identity” (Howard, 1948: 117).
Coupled with the “loss” of identification with any specific culture, contemporary citizens have also started to question the paradoxical assemblage of the terms “cultural relativism” with that of “human rights and justice”. With the assertion that community needs should necessarily be superceded by individual rights, the individualistic ownership of human rights and justice have been dynamically detached from its guidance by “cultural relativism” which pronounced group allegiance and ascription (Becker, 1963: 129).

The discussion on international rights and justice has to be enduring in spite of the influence of cultural relativism in contemporary society as it is imperative to be conscious of external regimes in weakening any steadfast allegiance to definite cultural precepts in modern discourse. The concept of “global governance” has meant that the dual concepts of state sovereignty and human rights have been drawn into a “complex global system” which effectively juxtaposed the traditional “statist” model of international law (Held, et. al: 1999: 155). Therefore, states and their traditional legal systems are invariably involved in a global “extra-legal” system with the resultant outcome of states being gradually deprived of their rational utilization of the precepts of “cultural relativism” to halt the international community from debating their internal policies. Consequently, the “international community” can now hold states accountable for “crimes against humanity regardless of the state’s cultural principles” as exemplified through the Nuremberg trials of Nazi war criminals not long after the inauguration of the UN’s declaration of human rights (Held, et. al, 1999: 155).

Besides international governance by the UN, multi-national corporations (MNCs) have also made use of their rising influence in international commerce by enforcing their
version of “human rights codes” on certain states (Rodman, 1998: 159). For instance, some MNCs have pulled out of “rights-violating” countries such as Myanmar and China while a collation of 800 international firms have also formed an organization known as “business for social responsibility” with a quest to promote a programme which deals with human rights issues (Rodman, 1998: 159). It would also be harder for states to exercise their specific “brand” of cultural approach towards issues on rights and justice as more states are increasingly pressured, primarily for economic and regional solidarity impetus, to enter into a supranational level grouping such as the European Union. With the supranational organization being the central power, individual states would then be faced with immense difficulties in activating their respective “cultural guidelines” in managing the provision of rights and justice within their own state’s boundaries.

The notion of “care” and the “expression of love” of contemporary citizens for individuals in different social groups have stemmed from the “feeling of solidarity” these citizens possessed upon being made aware of the plight of other global inhabitants (Faulks, 2000: 62-63) through the enactment of “ecological citizenship” (Gulalp, 2006: 152). The primary indicators of ecological citizenship extrapolated the shift away from contemporary citizens’ pre-occupation with material wants to being concerned with the non-tangible and emotive concerns with the global “environment” as a whole and being conscious of the need to preserve “welfare and other social rights and justice” for all global citizens (Gulalp, 2006: 152). This seemingly collective international approach in restoring justice and the fundamental acuity of human rights have been presented as an active response to the cultural relativist’s notion of reserving debate and management of these issues for the specific “cultural autocrat” or ruling elites in each nation (Li,
Moreover, contemporary societies such as the People’s Republic of China has themselves radically departed away from their traditional cultural manners of settling disputes over rights and duties through classical philosophies such as Confucianism and has adopted the international litigious approach in administrating these issues (Li, 2006:99).

Conclusion

The impact of cultural relativism in the debates on contemporary discourse on rights and justice has often stemmed from its emphasis that it is “wrong to judge other culture according to one’s own”. Cultural relativism has therefore encouraged the cessation of deliberations over each culture’s inherent practices on rights and justice as active debates could essentially “disrespect” and “destabilize” the normative cultural “codes” of each society according to the proponent’s relativistic vision. The illumination of the Indian caste system as pronouncing hierarchical structuring and not egalitarianism in its cultural relativistic vision of “humane rights” and the notion of active introduction of non-native prescription of rights being detrimental to the “stability” of a civilization’s symbolic ascription to the interpretation of rights have both seemingly “justified” the cultural relativist’s elucidation of a “non-bias” justice analysis in society.

However, I believe that discussions and debates on rights and justice should not ceased principally as the attribution of cultural relativistic rationalization on the potentiality of abandoning arguments on rights seems to be highly questionable. The fundamental precept of cultural relativism could already be regarded as problematic as its pronouncement of the disinclination to judge other’s culture according to the values of one’s own is already a personalized conceptual promulgation in itself. Moreover, it
neglects the potentiality that a particular element of culture could be continuously “permeable and changeable” and not so static as to be readily bestowed with an identifiable set of cultural principles of rights management. Fundamentally, it would also be extremely arduous to define a specific “cultural realm” for a given region as individuals in each cultural dominion may harbour constructs of rights and justice in respect to their identification with their state or religious’ outlook instead of their “cultural guidelines”.

A cultural relativistic approach to human rights and justice will also obviate the crucial need to illustrate the potentiality of certain rights (such as the right for the guarantee of an individual’s safety and freedom) as being “non-relativistic” but essentially “universalizable” and “inalienable” as they can be regarded as forming the elementary concept of humanity. Moreover, the definition and interpretation of “cultural principles” could be manipulated or distorted by states’ apparatus in utilizing the justification of “cultural relativism” to consolidate their supremacy and to potentially stymie the delivery of justice to minority formations. An alternative approach, often regarded as “weak cultural relativism”, could also reinvigorate the debate on rights and justice if states are pressured to adopt elemental precepts of human rights but are given some leeway to exercise them in accordance to their cultural prescribes.

The impact of globalization has also significantly contributed to the blurring of any definable “cultural boundary” for a viable account of cultural relativism while the influence of international extra-legal agents and institutions, inclusive of pro-rights non-governmental organizations and UN’s machinery such as the world bank, have increasingly contradicted individual state’s attempt to install and upkeep their
particularistic “cultural” interpretation of rights by active lobbying and sanctioning any state which “goes against” their version of human rights activation. Active debate and participation for rights and justice must then continue despite the consideration of the cultural relativist’s judgment on international rights to facilitate the global quest for “reciprocal action” for international justice and for the creation of “universal laws” among nations to regulate the “intercourse they have with each other” (Passavant, 2004: 12).
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1. The approval of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations in 1948 spawned two international convenants, one on civil and political rights and the other on economic, social and cultural rights. The significance of these rights stemmed from their ratification by the majority of states in making human rights a matter of international concern and governments being made liable to the international community for their implementation.

2. Concomitantly, the Chinese government has maintained their “cultural right” to maintain their “traditional” interpretation of human rights which emphasized the collective over the individual, with an allusion to Confucian’s principles. However, this allusion has been criticized by several Confucian scholars who have asserted that the state has “selectively focus” on particular aspects and not the holistic fundamentals of the Confucian discipline.

3. Minority claims for special rights in the arena of education, religion and culture have been “noticeably absent” from human-rights treaties that were signed after 1945. Human rights treaties signed under the UN and other multi-national umbrella have been exceedingly pre-occupied with each state’s sovereignty by
giving them the lee-way to recognize minority rights only when they are not “incompatible with national legislation”.
Postal Code Profiling:  
Prop 103 and the Ghetto Tax since the 1970s

How does where one lives affect one’s chances in life? Should a zip code matter more than individual merit in deciding the prices paid for goods and services? Why, over the last four decades or so, have auto insurers charged inner-city drivers, insuring identical cars and with the same driving records as those from middle class neighborhoods, higher premiums? What does all this tell us about the impact of place in modern America? In a broader sense, have market forces eroded the American ethos of individual meritocracy?

With these particular questions in mind, this case study will examine the impact of the “ghetto tax” in California, America’s so-called bellwether state, where history is often said to happen first. Specifically, the case study focuses on Proposition 103, a near thirty-year struggle between California voters and corporate insurance interests to end zip code-based rate pricing. By ghetto tax I mean the extra fees and charges (e.g., high-cost mortgage and equity-loans, payday loans, zip code-based insurance premiums, etc) paid by poor urban residents who are cordoned off, socially and geographically, by such factors as age, race, gender, and even zip code. These quarantine communities typically pay more, often totaling hundreds if not thousands more each year per household, than the public at large for basic goods, services, and everyday necessities.

There are foreseen material consequences for eliminating the ghetto tax. In California, for example, a rate adjustment means ending the current subsidy, approximately $204 million a year, that many urban consumers now pay to auto insurers, like the state’s largest, State Farm for living outside lower income neighborhoods. That subsidy, in turn, often allowed State Farm and other insurers to pass these savings, in the form of lower premiums, on to non-inner city drivers. (Conversely, killing the ghetto tax on auto insurance potentially could result in hiking rates of suburban and rural drivers nearly as much as sixty percent.) California merely reflects national trends. Similar subsidies in the form of equally dramatic rate differentials—exist in the more populous northeast, where drivers with inner-city zip codes typically pay as much as $400 more each year than fellow suburban drivers. Cutting the ghetto-tax for these families by just one percent translates into as much as $6.5 billion each year in new spending power—additional monies these families could use to save or invest in incoming-growing assets.

While significant research is located in California, the issues have broader implications. First, for a society predicated on individual meritocracy, what does it mean when the state, from the voting citizens’ perspective, privileges industry over individual merit? Second, given the global fluidity of post-industrial capital, there is little surprise that predatory lending practices is an emerging international policy concern, particularly in comparable liberal democratic free-market economies, as international high-risk lenders and insurers have patterned themselves after U.S. markets. Third is the potential class implications—as Japanese specialists contend is the case in Japan, arguably the most ethnically homogeneous society of the industrialized world. There, the recent onset of ghetto taxes is, as one scholar put it, eroding Japan’s post-1945 egalitarian ethos into a post-cold war zero-sum society divided between winners and losers.

In these ways, a case study of Prop 103 may offer us insights into, as well as the costs of, the emerging crisis in modern democratic capitalism.
Branding Tibet

Anthropology

Paper Session

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Abstract: Tibetan identities are informed by often contrasting narratives. A metanarrative of Tibetan-ness focused on religiosity and suffering acts to shape Tibetan lives as billboards for enunciating the atrocities of Chinese repression and the enduring non-violent nature of the ‘Tibetan spirit.’ On the other hand, personal Tibetan narratives often lack the vigorous religiosity and/or the occasions of violent repression. The result has been the ‘branding’ of Tibetans to match up with the highly politicized metanarrative. This occurs in two main ways. Tibetans with physical markers (scars) and emotional experiences of repression and religious fervor are raised up and proclaimed as ideal or model Tibetans. Therefore, those without the proper scars or experiences are appropriating others stories, they are replacing their personal narratives with the politicized metanarrative. This results in the branding and marketing of Tibetan lives for international consumption. ‘Tibet’ has become a brand, both physically marked and fully recognizable to the intended audience. This paper therefore deals with the implications of branding Tibet, especially relating to the ‘packaging’ of individuals.
Branding Tibet

Introduction

Globalization continues to be a hot topic in the humanities, with particular focus recently on the possibilities of imagination on narratives and identities brought about through globalization. Arjun Appadurai (1996) has argued that through globalization, identities, and by proximity, narratives and memories are increasingly constructed in relation to one’s imagination of distant places and the ideas related to those places. Identities and their narratives are formed from an amalgamation of ideas, values, experiences and memories, and can vary from day to day and depending on the environment. Identities and narratives are never formed in a vacuum; they are always constructed in relation to the various groups to which the individual belongs. Remembering is a social practice; narratives are the story of the individual as well of the group. This paper will discuss the construction of a metanarrative, or “a totalizing cultural narrative schema which orders and explains knowledge and experience,” and the mediation of personal narratives within a campaign to manage the reputation of Tibet internationally (Stephens 1998).

Due to the nature of the Tibetan diaspora the interplay of the metanarrative and personal and local narratives is extremely important in forming individual identities. Prior to 1959, when the Chinese took control of Tibet, Tibetans primarily self-identified according to regional membership or according to local leaders or monasteries. The Dalai Lama was the official secular and religious leader in Tibet, but his de facto power was limited in scope throughout Tibet. However, once in diaspora the Dalai Lama came to exercise more control of Tibetans. This is not to say that every Tibetan fully agrees with his central leadership, but he is perceived to be the face and voice of all of Tibet by the world. As a result the Dalai Lama and his leaders have sought to eradicate sectarianism within the Tibetan diaspora. This was not done to accumulate power, but instead was focused on gaining a voice in the global political arena. Tibet, as a displaced nation who was unrecognized by any major power, sought to begin a campaign against the Chinese in order to work towards self-determination in their homeland. Being a religious leader, the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan government-in-exile focused on religiosity and suffering, both of which were already religious values and historically entrenched ideals about Tibet in western imaginations.

Due to the Dalai Lama’s religious position he is in a powerful place to suggest to Tibetans what is appropriate and good for them. For the last decade or so, the rhetoric of the Dalai Lama and associated leaders and organizations has centered on religiosity and suffering. Over time this rhetoric has amassed into a metanarrative for all Tibetans, which has standardized the experience of Tibetans for the international community. Tibetan subjects have become the locus for enunciating the atrocities of Chinese repression and the enduring non-violent nature of the ‘Tibetan spirit.’

Tibetan identities are informed by a multitude of narratives, each with inherent goals. At the national level a metanarrative of Tibetan-ness focusing on religiosity and suffering seeks to mold Tibetans into billboards for the Tibetan freedom movement. There are also personal and local narratives that shape Tibetan lives. Personally, many Tibetans have experienced the level of suffering that is found in the metanarrative, but many more have not. Personal narratives are full of daily minutiae, such as education, shopping and travel to see family back in home villages. Regionally anchored narratives can also be replaced, as non-national identities are deemed divisive and thus castigated by Tibetan leadership (McGranahan 2005).
This paper will deal broadly with the branding of Tibet. First, Tibetans are branded as a nation in the international political arena in order to gain soft power to resist the Chinese (see Nye 2004; Magnusson 2002). Secondly, due to the nation branding campaign, Tibetan bodies have become the locus of confirmation and advertisement of Tibetan religiosity and suffering. This has resulted in the elevation of scars, both emotional and physical, to emblematic or symbolic status. In other words, the physical and emotional scars of Tibetans signify that they are true Tibetans, ones who have suffered at the hands of the Chinese. Tibetans as a whole are branded as a product for international consumption and as individuals through physical and emotional trials. Just as the cursive Coca-Cola and the circular crest of Starbucks signify all that is involved in their brands, so do the scars of Tibetans act as the logo of Tibet.

**Nation Branding Theory**

Nation branding has been a hot topic in the advertising and marketing world for several years, but it has much to teach us in the humanities about the processes and actions of nations in the global political economy. In a very general way, nation branding is not too much different than creating and maintaining an image for a brand such as Colgate or Pepsi. In short, it is reputation management, specifically the images surrounding the nation. It requires marketing in order to get information to the consumer. In the case of nation branding, the consumer is typically international investors, tourists, and foreign governments looking for political and economic allies (Hahn 2006).

In the social sciences the concept does not change very much, but instead of focusing on investment, tourism, and political relations we should examine the implications of branding the people within a nation. Dzenovska (2004) has taken a hold of nation branding and examined it according to an anthropological perspective. What she finds is that nation branding makes use of intentionally essentialized and exoticized images and ideals about the nation in order to market it to the world. Wally Olins (2001), a well-known advertising executive, argues that essentializing or making use of romantic notions of a nation is a significant means of branding a nation. Olins (2001) and others have also argued that nation branding includes the creation of national myths or narratives that unify the people living within the nation, thus forming a collective identity. These myths are often based on historical tales, rediscovered traditions and invented traditions (see Hobsbawm 1983). Nation branding is artistry, where existing and newly created elements are reshaped and melded together in a way that portrays the nation as desired.

In order to examine these processes we must view the nation as a discursive terrain, where competing imaginations jockey for position and prevalence (Dzenovska 2004). Raymond Williams refers to the nation as a key word, which triggers a catalogue of related ideals and images in the minds of the consumer/citizen (see Shore 2000). Thus, like individuals, nations can reinvent themselves, albeit in a much slower fashion. Branding a nation is much like pulling colors off of a painters pallet; it is the mediation and combination of a repertoire of characteristics, which can vary with the social/political environment and need.

Gudjonsson (2005) points out that people are perhaps the most important element of a successful nation branding campaign. His point is that a brand can not be successful unless the product matches the information and description that is present in the media (see also Olins 2001). Therefore, people must live according to the brand that is produced for international consumption, making a united collective identity paramount for the success of a nation branding
campaign. This can have a massive impact on identities within a nation, easily resulting in the subversion of individual experience and narratives if the metanarrative of the nation branding campaign is successful. Bruner (1986) has described dominant narratives such as a national narrative as a guiding metaphor that shapes personal memory. Cole (2005) adds to this, arguing that memory is inherently a habit that occurs only within a collective; it connects the individual to the collective. Such a narrative provides individuals with the ability to reconstruct their personal narrative to match the national narrative. Wang (2005) adds to this argument by emphasizing the importance of sub-national actors in constructing national brands and in complying with the brand’s image. In essence, individuals serve as living billboards for the dissemination of national brand advertising. They also serve as the location of validation for the consumer, either confirming the product or cancelling out the marketed images. Overall, it is easy to see that the branding of a nation is not only an economic or political activity; the construction and maintenance of national identity and the marketing of the nation to the world has far reaching effects on the citizens of that nation, shaping and reshaping personal memory and identity.

Tibetan Billboards

Since 1959 the Tibetan government-in-exile has fought a political battle against the Chinese for control of Tibet. Being politically and economically weak, the Tibetan government-in-exile has had to turn to a campaign of meekness in order to accomplish its goal. The Tibetan government-in-exile has no overt international power; therefore it uses what Nye (2004) has termed soft power, or non-direct and non-militaristic power in order to coerce more powerful nations into supporting them. This soft power campaign has never had a strong framework, but there has been considerable consistency in making use of existing imaginations of Tibetans as pious and natural as compared to the warmongering Chinese. Through the actions and materials produced by the Tibetan government-in-exile and non-governmental advocacy groups, a metanarrative of Tibetan-ness focusing on religiosity and suffering has been produced. This metanarrative is produced and maintained by pro-Tibetan websites, biographies of Tibetan refugees, and most notably in the worldwide speaking tours of the Dalai Lama. This metanarrative has gained considerable acceptance throughout the world as the official narrative of Tibet.

In essence, the metanarrative has become the marketing campaign the Tibetan brand, which has been constructed and managed by harking back to romanticized and exoticized imaginations of Tibet from the early 20th century and by melding them with modern Tibetan values and needs. Through the production of films such as Kundun and Seven Years in Tibet, and the increasing proliferation of images of pious and suffering Tibetans in print media Tibet has become a brand of religiosity and suffering. The message is consistent regardless of the source—so long as it is pro-Tibetan. Tibetans are peaceful, pious and overall good people.

The metanarrative of Tibetan-ness has become the narrative of true Tibetan-ness even for diasporic Tibetans. Therefore, Tibetans whose personal memories and experiences match up with the metanarrative become model citizens, and those with physical scars are raised up as symbolic citizens. The problem with this is that the metanarrative, in focusing on religiosity, peacefulness, and suffering, does not represent all Tibetans accurately. Many Tibetans live without consistent episodes of suffering, are not pious, or have even increased their social and economic standing under the Chinese. Also, many Tibetans continue to resist Chinese
occupation violently, forming resistance. This is true for Tibetans living in diaspora as well as in China. This creates anxiety for Tibetans with narratives without suffering and religiosity; they can feel and be perceived as less Tibetan than those with physical and emotional scars.

Therefore the branding of Tibet as a nation of peaceful, pious and suffering individuals inherently results in the reconstitution of Tibetan identities and memories. Those without narratives and memories that do not match up to the metanarrative have begun to appropriate the narratives of others. The story of Tibetan nationalism and their resistance to Chinese control has always been the preservation of a unique and valuable culture, but by valorizing these elements of Tibetan life they are building new Tibetans with new memories and narratives. However, this is not to say that the process of branding Tibet is producing carbon-copied citizens. It is simply arguing that individuals are under pressure to conform to the metanarrative, which in turn is pushing out region, religious, and social variability within the worldwide Tibetan community. Prior to the Chinese entry into Tibet in 1949, Tibet was a population fragmented along religious, regional and socio-economic lines with a long history of internal warfare. Through fostering a national identity for political purposes, much of the unique tradition and heritage is replaced with imported memories and experiences. Tibetans are in a way packaged for observation and consumption by foreign governments and empathetic onlookers in order to gain soft power in resisting Chinese occupation.

Finally, as increasing numbers of Tibetans have rejected the metanarrative’s definition of Tibetan-ness the case for Tibetan freedom is weakened. Tibetans are caught between their desire for freedom and conformation to the message of the Tibetan brand, and their own experiences and memories. This is a very unique situation, as Tibetans are acutely aware that they are constructing their identities on a daily basis. In the end Tibetans are left to sift through their own and other’s narratives to construct their identities, with dramatic implications for their choices.

Conclusions

The question of this paper is: What happens when a nation and its people are branded and identified under a new collective identity? And what happens when national narratives come to replace personal ones? The answer is not a clear one, but certainly it is evident that lives are drastically impacted. Personal memories and narratives can be replaced and altered, traditional identities can be overtaken, and personal identities can be infused with a political discourse that is foreign to the experiences of the individual.

This paper sought to being discussing some of the implications of branding Tibet. While there is no program or overt intention to ‘brand’ Tibet, there is however a clear campaign intended to shape the imaginations of foreign governments and international onlookers. Nation branding has primarily been used to understand the overt actions of a government to attract tourists and investment capital, but as this paper makes clear, it can do much more. Nation branding is a way to understand the policies and actions of a government in the political economy as well as in the social lives of its citizens. Not only are nations and places branded, but by proxy so are individuals; in a way they are constructed and packaged for international consumption. This paper deals only briefly with all the issues involved in nation branding, but it suggests the immense possibilities of examining the impact of nation branding on people and their identities.
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TITLE - Resiliency: Lessons from diverse fields to inform marital research

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Abstract

Resiliency: Lessons from diverse fields to inform marital research

Introduction

Researchers have long known that early marital adjustment is a challenging process. For example, Huston, Houts, Caughlin, Smith, and George (2001) reported that most newlyweds experience some struggles, and features of their interactions (e.g., responsiveness, antagonism) predict marital stability over a 13-year period. Extensive research has been dedicated to marital problems (e.g., conflict) and interventions, but less empirical attention has been given to couples’ own efforts to maintain and/or repair their relationships (Fincham, Hall, & Beach, 2006; Lambert & Dollahite, 2006). Thus, resiliency is an understudied phenomenon in marital studies.

Given its understudied status in relationship research, perhaps much can be learned from resiliency studies in other fields. Resiliency has been examined at the community, group and individual level. The purpose of this paper is to discuss the key points identified in resiliency research and the ways in which such research informs a “work-in-progress” study of resiliency among couples who have been married less than six years.

Community Resiliency

One form of research has focused on community engagement in survival and/or growth. For example, Varghese, Krogman, Beckley & Nadeau (2006) examined mill ownership and community resiliency. They described resiliency as the processes by which communities maintain their social functions and respond to changes. Resilience can be either reactive (adapting to extant events) or proactive (responding to anticipated events) in nature. Community resiliency has also been examined in educational settings. For example, Dass-Brailsford (2005) examined the ways in which environmental factors (e.g., transportation) created challenges that were buffered by social factors (e.g., teacher/family support) to promote academic achievement among students in South Africa. In both types of studies, community members are mindful of the logistical factors that might be beyond their control, but they focus on the aspects of community life that they can impact.

Group/Family Resiliency

Some studies have focused the role of groups/group members in resiliency. Some groups are self-constructed (e.g., families), whereas other groups are organizationally constructed (e.g., therapy groups). For example, Waller, Okamoto, Miles and Hurdle (2003) examined how family members affected drug use/resistance among Native American adolescents. They found that cousins/siblings were highly influential when they promoted drug resistance. The researchers argued that the cohesiveness and intimacy of Native American family culture as well as their peer status facilitated the power of cousins/siblings in adolescent resiliency. In a study of a creativity program for immigrant/refugee children, Rousseau, Drapeau, Lacroix, Bagilishya, and Heusch (2005) found that children had higher self-esteem and lower symptomatology (e.g., depression) after completing the program. In addition, they noted that the teachers had altered
perceptions from a problem-based focus to a resilience-based focus on immigrant/refugee children.

Individual Resiliency

Some studies have focused on individual’s traumatic life events and coping strategies. For example, researchers have focused on adult survivors of child abuse. Bogar and Hulse-Killacky (2006) interviewed female survivors of child sexual abuse to identify the resiliency qualities (determinants and strategies) to function successfully as adults. They identified determinants as qualities that were innate to the women (e.g., creativity) or learned at an early age (e.g., social skills) that provided a buffer against the corrosive nature of abuse. The coping strategies reflected current strategies that women used to function in the present without denying that the abuse occurred. In a study of cancer patients, Gotay, Isaacs and Pagano (2004) reported that survivors were more resilient, but not more optimistic, than patients who did not survive. In both studies, researchers concluded that resilient individuals face their problems realistically and do not have an idealized/denial-based view of their situations. However, individuals take a proactive attitude that their problems will not overwhelm them.

Resiliency Themes – What can be learned from diverse studies

There are some commonalities that emerged from resiliency studies. First, resiliency can be intentional. Individuals/groups/communities are aware of the challenges that they face and make an effort to address the challenges. Second, resiliency is experienced for recent and past events. There is an effort to make meaning of events and integrate them into their current status. In addition, there might be an expectation that some experiences will never fade in importance, but the ways in which they make meaning of the events can change. Third, there is an empowerment to resilience. Even if all events cannot be changed, there is a sense of efficacy in addressing the issues that can be controlled. Sometimes efficacy is achieved through action, but sometimes it is simply achieved through a changed perspective.

The Present Study – A “Work-In-Progress”

There might be much that we can learn from resilient couples about healthy marriage. The present study will address the gap in the marital literature by interviewing spouses who have endured and resolved early marital adjustment challenges. According to Veroff, Sutherland, Chadiha, and Ortega (1993), spouses construct their own reality of their marriage, and this construction is “particularly salient in the early years of marriage” (p. 326). During the early years, couples create norms that predict their marital stability and quality. Thus, a qualitative approach allows researchers to better understand the marital processes and narratives that couples create (Veroff, et al., 1993). As this study will examine marital resilience, a qualitative (focus group) approach will be utilized. More specifically, the purpose of this study is to identify the factors that contribute to marital resilience (e.g., overcoming marital adjustment challenges) during the first five years of marriage.
Method

Sample

The participants are being recruited via flyers within a college community, so the participants will be members of the community (e.g., students, staff, faculty) and their spouses. Both partners in married relationships will be asked to participate in the study. In order to participate in the study, the partner must be (a) legally married to a member of the opposite sex for less than six years; (b) have endured some type of marital challenge during the first few years of marriage; (c) be currently satisfied with his/her marriage, and (d) willing to participate in focus group interviews with other spouses.

Procedure

The focus group interviews will take place on campus, with 6-10 couples per interview session. Spouses will then be divided into two groups (one group of husbands, one group of wives). The male primary investigator will interview husband groups; the female primary investigator will interview wife groups. The focus group questions are listed in Table 1. The same questions will be asked for wife and husband groups. The interviews will be transcribed. The transcriptions will be coded based on grounded theory (e.g., Patton, 1992).
References


Table 1

Focus Group Questions

1. Many couples enter marriage with expectations. What were some of your expectations and how well did your experience fit your expectations?

2. Please tell us about the positive aspects of your marriage during the first 2 years.

3. Often couples face challenges in the early years of marriage. We are not asking for details about the challenges, but just the general issues such as money, in-laws, or communication. What challenges did you face and how did you deal with these challenges?

4. Sometimes people get fed up during challenges and think about leaving the marriage. Were you ever motivated to leave?

5. Whether or not you ever thought of leaving, it is obvious that you stayed married. Please explain the reasons or experiences that helped you stay in the marriage.

6. After couples resolve challenges, their marriages are often different. Did your relationship change? In what ways did it change?

7. What advice would you have for couples going through a similar challenge?

8. Is there anything that we should have talked about, but didn’t?

9. Do you have any other questions/comments?
ABSTRACT: “Sex and a Founding Father: Gouverneur Morris, his Sexual Identity and his Biographers”

While sex and family are traditionally associated with women, in significant ways sex (the feelings, actions, and identities associated with eroticism) shaped and molded a variety of models of manhood in early America. Despite a superficial awareness of sexual histories of the political leaders of the founding era, we have not yet analyzed them with an eye to early American ideals of sex and masculinity – nor have we thought about how those stories are retold, and in some cases discarded, by subsequent generations. This paper examines the sexual and erotic components of manliness in the life and biographies of one of the Founding Fathers, Gouverneur Morris.

Although not as well known as other Founding Fathers, Gouverneur Morris has been rightly called one of the fathers of the Constitution. Similar to Benjamin Franklin, Morris enjoyed a varied sexual life outside of marriage in the social context of Europe. As a bachelor who played the field, he has been called by one recent biographer the “rake who wrote the constitution.” Morris’s explicit diaries offer us information on how he thought about his sexual experiences and how they informed his masculine, cosmopolitan identity.

This paper is part of a larger project that examines sex and the Founding Fathers. That project contributes to our understanding of public memory and celebration of the political leaders of the new nation by focusing on how sexuality in biographies of political leaders of the new nation has created and differentiated norms of American masculinity. Thus, this paper is part of a larger project that will shed light not only on the men known as the Founding Fathers, but on the history of sexuality in America, on changing notions of sex and masculinity, and on memory and biography.
“Honor Killing” in Muslim Societies and its Effect on Immigration to the US: A Network Approach using the Cases of Tunisia, Yemen, and the Persian Gulf States.
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Honor killings are an integral part of Arab and Muslim normative structure. In this paper I discuss the importance of understanding family and tribal norms in these societies for immigration cases for people originating from Yemen, the Persian Gulf States, and Pakistan. I use three case studies that were handled in US. Immigration Courts to illustrate the complexities associated with the possible return of individuals to a society that sanctions the use of murder to restore the family honor.
Title: Children, Trauma and Hope

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Abstract

This 90 minute workshop will review the mission, vision and purpose of the National Child Traumatic Stress Network, provide an introduction to child trauma assessment, including an orientation to several different measures, and an overview of Trauma-Focused Cognitive Behavioral Therapy, an evidence-based practice for the treatment of traumatized children and their caregivers.
Sexual Orientation, Mental Health, and Service Outcomes for Youth in Transitional Living Programs

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Abstract

Introduction: Although considerable attention has been paid to runaway/homeless youth, research on outcomes of youth who are involved in federally-funded transitional living programs (TLPs) has been scant. Research suggests that sexual minority youth are overrepresented among homeless youth, and that these youth are at increased risk for negative outcomes relative to their heterosexual counterparts. This presentation uses a risk/protective conceptual model to examine the impact of sexual orientation on outcomes from TLPs.

Methods: Youth participating in TLPs nationwide between 2002 and 2004 (N=1552) were interviewed upon entry and exit using the Runaway and Homeless Youth Management Information System. The dependent variable, outcome of service use (safe or appropriate exit/not; e.g., to homelessness), was modeled by sexual orientation (homosexual/heterosexual), gender, presence of mental health needs, and current substance use through logistic regression.

Results: Thirty-eight percent of participants experienced safe and/or appropriate exit from TLPs. Seven percent of the sample identified themselves as a sexual minority. Sexual orientation did not significantly predict safe exit. Mental health needs and current substance abuse decreased likelihood of safe exits.
Discussion: Although findings affirm general service research that mental health and drug use are significant risk factors, they fail to support previous research in that sexual orientation did not contribute to risk of unsafe exits. The small proportion of youth self-identifying as sexual minority may represent the presence of unanticipated barriers to services for these youth, or alternatively may represent the presence of perceived stigma inhibiting accurate reporting.
An Ideal Reconstruction of an Individual:  
The *Portrait of Monsieur Bertin*, Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, 1832

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Sigmund Freud once said to Salvador Dali, “it is not the unconscious that I seek in your pictures, but the conscious. While in the pictures of the masters, Leonardo or Ingres, that which interests me and which seems mysterious and troubling to me, is precisely the search for the unconscious ideas, of an enigmatic order, hidden in the picture, your mystery is manifested outright. The picture is but a mechanism to reveal it.”¹

The Portrait of Monsieur Bertin is the result of the Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres’ ability to represent the unconscious, innate spirit of his sitter (figure 1). The artist employed innovative formal devices to establish an immediate psychological connection between Bertin and the viewer. Ingres painted a “true” portrait of an individual, personified the very nature of the July Monarchy, and created a distinguished image for posterity. His rendition of a commanding, influential figure like Monsieur Louis-François Bertin recalls the way in which Roman portraiture not only indicated the status of the sitter, but also insured his or her civic immortality.² Ancient writers such as Pylobius and the Roman Senator Pliny asserted a portrait should do more than simply represent the sitter’s outward appearance; it should capture his spirit.³

Given that antiquity was lauded as the worthiest source of emulation during the Renaissance, artists were again faced with the challenge of depicting a sitter’s character. The role of portraiture echoed the Humanist interest in the dignity of human beings. Ergo, an influential individual warranted depiction for posterity. As the status of

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portraiture was second only to the most noble and prestigious genre of history painting, Renaissance artists approached a portrait with high aesthetic consideration.

As a self-proclaimed disciple of Raphael, Ingres believed the earlier master’s work was synonymous with perfect art. He praised his hero’s genius and facility. In his comparison of the work of Michelangelo and Raphael, Ingres states:

One concludes of Raphael’s contentment, that it was of divine nature, inviolable. When considering the enormous and sublime oeuvre of Michelangelo as a product of his own heart, one sees within his work symptoms or marks of human fatigue. One has the opposite reaction to Raphael. Raphael’s oeuvre is divine because each creation appears effortlessly created, like the creation of God; his work seems to be a pure effect of the will.⁴

After praising Raphael’s Disputa, Ingres summarized the inopportune lot in his own life. “With thus [the art of painting] let us continue, and try to imitate it, to estimate it; despite being me. I am unhappy that all my life I will regret I was not born in his [Raphael’s] century. When I think three hundred years earlier, I could have truly become his disciple!”⁵ Nevertheless, Ingres translated the portraiture innovations of the Renaissance Masters exceptionally for the art of his own day by combining them with his own modern aesthetics.

During the Renaissance, formal developments in the genre of portraiture created greater immediacy for the depiction of human likeness. The three-quarter view of the

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⁵ Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, Ingres raconté par lui-même et par ses amis: pensées et écrits du peintre (Geneva: Pierre Cailler, 1947), 98. A donc continuons, et tâchons de l’imiter, de le deviner, en étant, moi, assez malheureux pour avoir à regretter toute ma vie de n’être pas né dans son siècle. Quand je pense que, trois cents ans plus tôt, j’aurais pu devenir son disciple véritablement!
sitter offered advantages over the profile portraits of the quattrocentro, in which the sitter stares off into another realm beyond the canvas. This pose provided a more naturalistic visual documentation of the subject. In Italy, the first artists to render their sitters addressing the viewer since antiquity were Leonardo da Vinci, Sandro Botticelli, and Raphael. The enduring prominence of Leonardo’s *Mona Lisa* indicates the alluring intimacy created by a gaze directed beyond the picture-plane. With this subtle change, the portrait became a means of psychological connection between the sitter and the viewer.

Raphael’s portrait of *Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione* (1514-1515) is a model of intimate directness (figure 2). The composition is comprised of only two planes: the indeterminate background and the picture-plane. There is no reference to an inaccessible landscape or a foreground, which would separate the sitter from the viewer. Whether standing inches or feet away from the painting, Castiglione’s presence commands our attention. The implied position of the viewer is just as important as the pose of the sitter. The pose indicates the subject’s attitude toward the viewer and by extension, the world in which he lives. For example, in portraits of rulers we invariably find ourselves looking at them from below in a subservient position.

Raphael depicted Castiglione with the disposition the sitter advocated in his *Book of the Courtier*, 1528. The author calls upon the nobility to embody civility. The text was translated into many languages and served as a guidebook for rulers throughout Europe. The *Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione* captures the sitter’s confident self-possession and elegant propriety, the idyllic Humanist persona of the High Renaissance. The artist emphasizes the *riposo* (inner calm) of his subject through formal elements.
The daringly monochromatic palette of grey tones and the compositional design emphasize the sitter’s stability. Castiglione’s head and hat form a sphere, balanced atop a geometrically stable pyramid formed by his neck, arms, and upper torso. Thus, Castiglione’s figure epitomizes balance and restraint, despite his prominent socio-political station in life.

While conceptualizing the essence of Louis-François Bertin, I suggest Ingres considered the Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione. Raphael’s portrait serves as a precedent for depicting the civic import of a figure, along with his personal character and physiognomy. The provenance of the painting indicates that by 1661, King Louis XIV had acquired it for his collection in Paris, where it remains to this day in the Louvre. As a student of the state-funded Academy, Ingres would have been able to study directly from the painting. An analysis of the formal similarities and differences between the Portrait of Bertin and the Portrait of Castiglione indicate Ingres was deeply conscious of the complexity required to capture the spirit of both models on a two-dimensional surface. Consequently, the Portrait of Bertin represents Ingres’ ability to reinterpret the traditional aesthetic for portraits of the gallant and commendable as they had existed since antiquity, with his individual genius of facture and aesthetics. The Portrait of Bertin caused contemporary art critics to re-evaluate the characterization of Ingres as an artist who was detached from world in which he lived. Unlike the paintings Ingres exhibited at the Salons since 1801, critics could not refute the immediacy and veracity of Ingres’ representation of the infamous Bertin.

The social status of Castiglione and Bertin afforded them great influence in their respective eras. As respected men of letters, Castiglione is the pinnacle figure of

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6 Provenance of the painting: Rome, 1515-1541; Mantua 1541-1661; Paris, Collection of Louis XIV, 1661.
aristocracy and Renaissance Humanism while Bertin is the penultimate example of the new wealthy bourgeoisie of the July Monarchy. Both men force the viewer to understand their prospective means of authority according to the cultural and political realities of their era. Castiglione garnered respect due to his education, cultivation, and position in a class system in which he was at the top of the hierarchy. Bertin wielded power due to his prosperity and the political influence of his newspaper, Le Journal des Débats. One communicates aristocracy; the other overturns the pre-determined elitism of aristocracy. Each portrait conveys a unique appearance and spirit in addition to how the sitter’s status in life affected their relationship with the viewer. Bertin signifies liberalism and burgeoning capitalism. Castiglione represents the reawakening of the classical pursuits, landed gentry, and the desire for social codification. Both painters render their sitters fully engaged with the viewer, using subtle artistic devices to imply that it is the sitter who determines the extent of the interaction.

In the Portrait of Castiglione, the forms comprised by shades of gray and black create a frame around the light hues of the sitter’s flesh and ashen cravat. The contrast of light and dark emphasizes the importance of Castiglione’s head as the repository of civil rationale. The texture of his rich, silky grey fur jacket, the smooth folds of the scarf covering his throat, his black velvet hat, and soft, sculpted beard suggest a sensitive subtlety of character.7 A sense of deep analysis permeates through his bluish-grey eyes. His head faintly tilts to the right as he twists his torso slightly toward the picture-plane, and gently clasps his hands. The intricate suggestions of action hidden within his calm and stable armature indicate restrained energy. Castiglione’s spirit materializes as it oscillates between disconnecting and relating to his composed physical appearance. The

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serene composition, colours, and textures of the Portrait of Castiglione welcome the viewer, yet the restlessness of the sitter requests distance.

In her extensive analysis of The Great French Painters, Camille Mauclair describes Ingres’ portraits as “absolutely dry; they do not create mystery, but reflection and psychological curiosity. They are intense, but they cannot move the beholder.”8 The following study offers an alternative perspective to this conventional nineteenth-century interpretation. Ingres subscribed to the Academic hierarchy of genres, and lamented painting mere portraits, when he was already an esteemed history painter. However, Ingres’ own work indicates he ultimately endowed all he painted with the grandeur, monumentality, and authority of history paintings. He approached each project with the planning and preparation required for history paintings. Ingres imbued his portrait sitters with the only artistic idealism he knew, that of antiquity, the Renaissance, and his own conception of the ideal. Painting itself required no less.

Ingres won the Prix de Rome in 1801, but his studies in Italy were postponed because the French coffers were drained by the expense of the Napoleonic Invasions. Shortly after Ingres arrived in Rome in 1806, once again the government was insolvent. Without state commissions and funding, Ingres turned to painting portraits of the abundant prosperous tourists and aristocrats for sustenance. When he returned to France in 1824, Ingres had become the most sought-after portraitist in Europe. When Ingres received the commission to depict Bertin in 1832, he conceived of the project as a modern bourgeois portrait. Ingres’ abstract yet hyper-realistic facture, for which he had heretofore endured fierce criticism, mystified the art critics and public when they saw the

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finished painting at the Salon of 1833. By the turn of the century, the Portrait of Bertin came to symbolize an entire caste, which proliferated during the eighteen years of the July Monarchy. Edouard Manet described the portrait as the “Buddha of the bourgeoisie.”

Louis-François Bertin (1766-1841) was the editor of Le Journal des Débats (The Journal of Debates), a Parisian daily newspaper that served as one of the most influential organs of the French press in the nineteenth century. Gaultier de Biauzat established the publication in 1789 to report the debates of the National Assembly. The Bertin family acquired Débats in 1799 during the rule of the Directory. Under Bertin’s editorial control, Le Journal des Débats was a prominent conduit of liberal, royalist journalism, which rallied to support the rule of the Duke of Orléans. After the Bourbon Restoration (Louis XVIII and Charles X), Bertin’s views (and those of his readers) became reality under the July Monarchy. This period of constitutional monarchy under King Louis-Philippe lasted from 1830 to 1848. Robert Bezucha describes the July Monarchy as the age of commodity, the steam-age, and the commercialization of daily life. With the establishment of the first primary education system (Guizot Act, 1833) and the technological advances in print culture for mass distribution, a nation of readers was created. The society of the July Monarchy propagated the circulation of words and

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9 Uwe Fleckner, Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, 1780-1867 (Cologne: Könemann, 2000), 78.
10 The Directory ruled France from 1795 to 1799. The Council of Ancients (les Anciens) and the Five Hundred (Cinq-Cents) elected the five members of the executive branch. In November of 1799, two members of the Directory, Paul Barras and Abbe Sieyes, plotted with Napoleon Bonaparte to overthrow their colleagues. The Coup of Brumaire succeeded and the Directory was dissolved. It was replaced by the Consulate.
Bertin gained prestige, respect, and influence as a voracious voice of the bourgeoning, increasingly wealthy and educated middle-class.

Like Raphael in his representation of Castiglione, Ingres sought to convey the spirit that pervaded Bertin’s physical appearance. Everything about Bertin suggests 
*sang-froid*. Bertin engages us directly; leans forward in his chair, legs parted, and his great claw-like hands grasp his knees as he fixes us with his gaze. The shallow foreground creates the sensation we are alone in Bertin’s domain. We push our chair back and become Bertin’s audience rather than his colleague. From any distance, and from any point of the room, he finds you and evaluates you. Yet his presence is elusive. His eyes do not remain fixed on one object as he scrutinizes all that comes before him. The position of the viewer and the viewed has been reversed. Suddenly you feel self-conscious, and anxiously wait for him to rise to shake your hand so you can leave M. Bertin’s intense presence. As Robert Rosenberg observes, Bertin’s “nearly ferocious presence is achieved by the construction of space he occupies… The resulting sense of an elusive, interior life makes the frontality of the gaze all the more hypnotic.”

Ingres had particular difficulties finding a suitable pose to render his robust, dominating sixty-six-year-old patron. Philosopher and art critic Edmond About defines portraiture as a timeless representation of the individual. In his 1857 discussion of Ingres, About considers the aesthetics of Ingres with Romantic overtones.

> M. Ingres par excellence has the quality M. Delacroix lacks. Armed with patient will, which makes immortal masterpieces, he waits in front of a figure until the figure returns to the master. It takes time to see and study, make and remake, and to follow the precept of the Boileauian

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method. Ingres enters the life of his model and penetrates into all of his sitter’s habits. When Ingres started to paint M. Bertin, he realized that the model was not in his normal state, he was missing something. It was a large cardigan, which the journalist usually wore under his blazer, but he had taken it off that day. Ingres made M. Bertin put on the extra garment, thus, you will recognize the thickness the cardigan adds around the arms. M. Ingres does not count the sessions with his sitter; he saves neither his model nor himself; Ingres made the Duke of Orléans pose more than eighty times.  

One of Ingres’s first charcoal and pencil sketches of his sitter accentuates the curvilinear s-shape of Bertin’s standing body (figure 3). This nonchalant, relaxed position did not capture the veracity of mind and spirit housed in his vigorous yet corpulent body. A pose that captured the psychological force of his sitter finally appeared to Ingres while Bertin was participating in a heated political discussion at his home (figure 4). After months of observing and posing his sitter, it was in a moment of spontaneous intensity that Ingres found his inspiration. The artist then executed the painting in less than a month.  

Ingres delighted in the few reflective surfaces in the scene, which contrast with the chocolate pudding-like layers that form his garments. Every ripple and fold in the silk vest and velour coat is captured with meticulous accuracy. The light source from the upper-left corner is revealed by the window’s reflection onto the mahogany arm of the

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15 About, 41. M. Ingres possède par excellence la qualité qui manque à M. Delacroix. Armé de cette volonté patiente qui fait les chefs-d’œuvre immortels, il s’installe devant une figure jusqu’à ce qu’il s’en soit rendu maître. Il prend le temps de voir et d’étudier, de faire et de refaire, et de suivre en tout point le précepte du grammaire Boileau. Il entre dans la vie de son modèle et pénètre dans toutes ses habitude... Lorsqu’il a commencé à peindre M. Bertin, il s’est aperçu que le modèle n’était pas dans son état normal, et qu’il lui manquait quelque chose. C’était un gros gilet de tricot que le journaliste portrait habituellement sous ses habits, et qu’il avait dépouillé ce jour là. Il fit rentrer M. Bertin dans ses habitudes, et vous reconnaître sous la redingote l’épaisseur du tricot qui arrondit les bras. M. Ingres ne compte pas les séances: il n’épargne ni son modèle ni lui-même, et il a fait poser plus de quatre-vingts fois le duc d’Orléans.

16 Georges Vigne, Ingres (New York: Abbeville Press, 1995), 188.
chair and Bertin’s belt buckle. The monochromatic sepia tints and grayish-brown modeling produce a dense atmosphere. The dim and heavy brown and black colours that comprise the sitter’s realm in the bottom half of the painting are alleviated by only a tiny slice of the crimson-coloured chair seat, revealed between Bertin’s parted legs. Through the careful incorporation of the royal colour red, the artist integrated the political stance of his sitter into the composition.

Ingres once expressed how he used reason to capture the truth in painting: “The most important thing is to be directed by reason in order to distinguish truth from forgery. With it alone, one can learn to discriminate clearly between them, aided by continual exposure to the beautiful.”\(^1\) Ingres was willing to emphasize the abstract pictorial demands of the flat painting surface at the expense of naturalism. He constructed forms in an illusionistic manner, akin to the Renaissance understanding of a painting as a “window,” while responding to the two-dimensionality of the canvas in a truly modern way. The irony of Ingres’ aesthetics is the extent to which he forgoes illusionism in response to the flat picture-plane, despite his reverence for the formal ideals of the Renaissance.

Ingres’ contemporaries acknowledged the microscopic accuracy of his paintings, which some art historians since have considered realism. Uwe Fleckner explains, “Ingres did not in fact structure his painting in a realistic manner, in spite of the representational exactitude of all the pictorial details... The character and nature of the subject are not grasped in photographic reproduction... The Portrait of Louis-François Bertin proclaims

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the semanticization of formal values that have become autonomous.” In his depiction of Bertin, this involved anatomical and dimensional abstraction of symbols produced with scrupulous clarity. For example, the modeling on the side of the chair provides the illusion of three-dimensionality, but the back of the chair curving around Bertin’s left torso is rendered as a flat area of local colour. Bertin’s left arm is foreshortened, but if he were to stretch his arm out, it would be much shorter than his right arm. Additionally, the length between his elbow and wrist would inaccurately dwarf the shortened length between his shoulder and elbow. In essence, Ingres utilized pictorial effects to flatten the space, yet through the precision of his miniaturesque treatment of details, the forms appear realistic.

In his preparatory sketches, Ingres observed and recorded the nature of his sitter with line drawings. By averting his eyes from colour, the portraitist captures the permanent sub-structure beneath the shell of elaborate dress and ornaments, which conceal true character. Through his technique of perfecting and abstracting anatomy and depth for the most powerful pictorial effect, Ingres idealizes his sitter, while maintaining the accuracy of their individual features and spirit. For instance, he provided a symbolically superficial rendering in *Napoléon I on the Imperial Throne Bonaparte*, 1806 (figure 5). The portrait is drained of dynamism. It indicates a scientific method of observation and a conservative facture indicative of stability and immobility associated with the preservation of institutions. Ingres self-effacing brush-stroke and linear clarity correlate with the pretense of tranquility within the government after the French Revolution.

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18 Fleckner, 78.
Salon of 1824

Traditionally in art historical scholarship, the Salon of 1824 is cited as the exemplar for the dichotomy between Classicism (ancients) and Romanticism (moderns). The former represented by Ingres, who exhibited the *Vow of Louis XIII*, the latter by Eugène Delacroix, who showed the *Massacre at Chios* at the Salon. Ingres painted in a style coined *le beau* (the beautiful). His work was associated with classical academic theory and the conservative control of art during the ancien régime. Conversely, Delacroix’s style was identified with the liberal, progressive, and anti-academic aspects of Romanticism.

Martin Rosenberg utilizes the commentary of two contemporary art critics, Marie-Henri Beyle Stendhal and E. J. Delécluze, as the basis of his argument about the rivalry between the Classical and the Romantic. Stendhal was one of the leading advocates for abolishing the classical principles in art. He considered the work of the Renaissance Masters an example of technical excellence, but it was not to be imitated. In contrast, Delécluze considered Raphael’s work worthy of emulation. He regarded Raphael as “the greatest painter of all the modern schools.” Stendhal admired Raphael’s authenticity for his own time, but he believed the ideal of the Renaissance could not communicate the complexities of the current age. Focusing on the ideological debate between Classicism and Romanticism, however, tends to eclipse any investigation into other aspects of the 1824 Salon. I suggest both Ingres and Delacroix represent Romanticism, albeit with different aesthetics and facture. Both artists shared the desire to capture the metaphysical

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21 Rosenberg, 321.
truth of their respective subject matter. Additionally, both conceived of their role as artists within the entire history of art, and as such considered their work a unique contribution to human achievement.

**Salon of 1833**

In his description of the Salon of 1833, Gustave Planche records the sensation created by Ingres’ portrait:

> For the past month the crowds of promenaders have been swarming to see the *Portrait of M. Bertin the Elder*. Without understanding, or even remotely suspecting, the innumerable questions of historical and critical interest, which this important work has raised, they have fallen under its spell. As best they can, they study the details of the head, portrayed with such marvelous perception and, with an almost childish pleasure, they examine the tactile qualities of the materials and the conspicuousness of the armchair; the simplicity and strength of the pose enraptures them and they never weary of contemplating with fascinated absorption the eyes and lips, so expressive and speaking.²²

Scholar Francis Jourdin posits the positive response to the *Portrait of Monsieur Bertin* at the Salon of 1833 was a reaction to the authority conveyed by the portrait in comparison to the uproar created by Romanticism.²³ Daniel Ternois explains that any praise of *Bertin* stems from the accurate depiction of Bertin and his socio-historical position.²⁴ The reception of the portrait may initially have been linked to the social status of the sitter, however, because Ingres rendered Bertin with such virtuosity and vivacity, it forced art critics and members of the public who heretofore had disregarded or

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admonished Ingres to evaluate the work with fresh criteria, particularly in when it was seen in 1846 and 1855.

Contemporary poet, novelist, and art critic, Théophile Gautier applauds Ingres for Bertin’s penetrating insight into the very essence of the sitter and the socio-political realities in which he lived. In his evaluation of the painting, Gautier writes:

The portrait produced one of the most difficult tasks in art that a painter can propose; -- the Great Masters alone, Leonard de Vinci, Titian, Raphael, Velasquez, Holbein, Van Dyck succeeded in this task -- M. Ingres has the right to be involved in this famous entourage; no one has made a portrait better than he has. He adds an internal resemblance to the external likeness of the model; beneath the physical portrait, he paints the moral portrait. Is the magnificent pose of M. Bertin not the revelation of an entire era, as he rests his fine and muscular hands on his hefty knees, like a bourgeoisie Caesar… Replace his coat with a fold of crimson, and he will become a Roman emperor or a cardinal. Such as he is, he is the honest bourgeois under Louis-Philippe, and the six volumes of Doctor Véron do not tell any more about this departed age.25

In his description of the Salon of 1833, professor and critic Charles Lenormant states that because of the Portrait of Bertin, “M. Ingres stands alone in the exhibition, more isolated than his students would like, a bit pale like a phantom, but a phantom of such stature, proportion, and aspect that living creatures dare not risk comparison with

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25 Théophile Gautier, *Les Beaux-arts en Europe*, première série (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1857), 163-164. Le portrait élevé jusqu’à l’art est une des tâches les plus difficiles qu’un peintre puisse se proposer;-- les grands maîtres seuls, Leonard de Vinci, Titien, Raphaël, Velasquez [sic], Holbein, Van Dyck, y ont réussi.—M. Ingres a le droit de se mêler à cette illustre phalange; personne n’a fait le portrait mieux que lui. A la ressemblance extérieure du modèle il joint la ressemblance interne; il fait sous le portrait physique le portrait moral.—N’est-ce pas la révélation de toute une époque que cette magnifique pose de M. Bertin de Vaux appuyant, comme un César bourgeois, ses belles et fortes mains sur ses genoux puissants… Remplacez la redingote par un pli de pourpre, ce sera un empereur romain ou un cardinal.—Tel qu’il est, c’est l’honnête homme sous Louis-Philippe, et les six tomes du docteur Véron n’en racontent pas davantage sur cette époque disparue.
Ingres painted not only a “true” portrait of an individual and personified the very nature of the July Monarchy, he also created a poignant image for posterity, regardless of the sitter’s identity.

At the Salon of 1834, Ingres exhibited the *Martyrdom of Saint-Symphorien*, for which he had dedicated over two years of work. He considered it a religious history masterpiece. Accordingly, Ingres was particularly sensitive to the degrading criticism the painting received. Accusations of artistic imperialism dominated the critical discourse at the Salon. Liberal and conservative critics alike ferociously condemned the epic monument. The artist was profoundly distressed that his monumental religious painting was not a source of unifying admiration, and vowed never again to exhibit at the Salon.

A year later, Ingres solicited and received a post at the French Academy in Rome. Ingres upheld his protest against the Salon, however, under distinct stipulations he would exhibit the *Portrait of Bertin* in public two more times.

**Galerie Classique Exhibition, 1846**

The praise of the *Portrait of M. Bertin* increased exponentially when it was shown in 1846 at the Galerie des Beaux-Arts. The exceptional response to the *Portrait of M. Bertin* is illuminated when considered in light of the search for new superlatives and conceptions of individuality and modern identity, after the inconsistent social signifiers of the early nineteenth century. In *Curiosités esthétiques* Charles Baudelaire includes a

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27 Ingres was a professor at the École des Beaux-Arts from 1829 to 1834; he then served as president from 1834-1850.

28 Ingres was the director of the French Academy in Rome until 1841.
review of Le Musée Classique du Boulevard Bonne Nouvelle.29 “Every thousand years a
spiritual ideal appears. We are grateful to have this exhibition of 1846, during our
lifetime. Thus, the year 1846 offered the sincere, enthusiasts of the fine arts the pleasure
of seeing ten paintings by David, and eleven by Ingres.”30 Baudelaire asserts:

M. Ingres proudly exhibits a special show of works
spanning his whole life, or at least a sample from each time-
period of his life, in short, all the Genesis of his genius. M.
Ingres has refused to exhibit at the Salon for a long time,
with reason. His admirable talent is collapsed in the Salon
setting by the mobs, where the public, dazed and tired,
submits to that which shouts the loudest. M. Delacroix
requires a superhuman courage to face so much criticism
annually. When a less hostile setting in which to exhibit
presented itself Ingres made superb use of the occasion.31

At the unique, tranquil setting of the Galerie des Beaux-Arts, viewers could
become emotionally involved with the Portrait of Bertin. Understandably, Ingres
participated in the exhibition under very specific conditions. The show was a charity
event for the emergency fund of the Société des Artistes. The theme was a celebration of
the French classical tradition since 1900, but Ingres had a room dedicated to his work
alone. The exhibition included the paintings of Jacques-Louis David, Anne-Louis

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29 Le Musée Classique du Boulevard Bonne Nouvelle was more commonly referred to as the Galerie des
Beaux-Arts exhibition of 1846, but was also called the Galerie Classique Exhibition or the Bazar Bonne-
Nouvelle (a department store adjacent to the Galerie).
30 Charles Baudelaire, Curiosités esthétiques (Lausanne: Éditions de L’Oeil, 1956, 1868), 92. Tous les
mille ans, il paraît une spirituelle idée. Estimons-nous donc heureux d’avoir eu l’année 1846 dans le lot de
notre existence; car l’année 1846 a donné aux sincères enthousiastes des beaux-arts la jouissance de dix
tableaux de David et d’once de Ingres.
31 Ibid., 97. M. Ingres étale fièrement dans un salon spécial tableaux, c’est-à-dire sa vie entière, ou du
moins des échantillons de chaque époque, bref, toute la Genèse de son génie. M. Ingres refuse depuis
longtemps d’exposer au Salon, et il a, selon nous, raison. Son admirable talent est toujours plus ou moins
cultué au milieu de ces cohues, où le public, étourdi et fatigué, subit la loi de celui qui crie le plus haut. Il
faut que M. Delacroix ait un courage surhumain pour affronter annuellement tant d’éclaboussures. Quand
à M. Ingres, doué d’une patience non moins grande, sinon d’une audace aussi généreuse, il attendait
l’occasion sous sa tente. L’occasion est venue et il en a superbement usé.
Girodet, François Baron Gérard, Antoine-Jean Gros, Pierre-Paul Prud’hon, Theodore Géricault, Paul Delaroche, Ary Scheffer, and Léon Cogniet. Ingres was persuaded to enter his final official public exhibition at the 1855 Universal Exposition in Paris. The critical reaction to the 69 works he displayed was mixed; some conservative reviewers hailed him as an artistic messiah, while progressive critics denounced his style as prosaic and completely irrelevant for the modern age. Ingres was venerated for posterity at the Exposition, however. He was the first artist to become a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour.

In his widely read book *Grammaire des arts du dessin*, French art critic Charles Blanc (1813-1882) states:

> For a century, artists have surpassed their predecessors in exaggerating the exceptional, heightening the accidental, to represent certain strange types, certain temperaments engendered by the crossing of races and the current of new thoughts. In our days, in his portrait of Bertin, Ingres indicated with rare power the strength of his model; merely by the attitude he caught after having observed him for months. In this admirable portrait, we find the indelible features of an individual that it would be impossible to confound with any other… Yet how profoundly individualized is the physiognomy of the original, not only by the questioning expression of the piercing eye, the slight disorder of the hair, the taper finders of the puffy hands, whose optical physiognomy completes the moral physiognomy of the portrait.

In his critique of the *Vow of Louis XIII*, Stendhal discourages Academic Neoclassical painters like David and Ingres from choosing subjects that demand a great depth of expression. He considers Ingres a distinguished draughtsman, but lacking a

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necessary celestial fire to add soul and expression to his figures. He notes, “David’s school, while very skillful in depicting the muscles that cover the human body, is not capable of doing faces that express accurately a given emotion.”

Thirteen years later, Baudelaire argues that it is Ingres who is capable of creating “real portraits, which is to say ideal reconstructions of individuals.” In reference to the Portrait of Bertin he adds, “open your eyes, foolish nation, and say whether you have ever seen painting that is more sparkling and flashy, or even of greater tonal sophistication?”

The unexpected praise of the Portrait of Monsieur Bertin reveals a contemporary re-evaluation of Ingres’ aesthetic capabilities. The public and critics responded to the intense and evocative nature of the Bertin. Despite the established categorization of Ingres’s work (as early as 1824) as an antiquated symbol of irrelevant, remote, academic classicism, the viewers at the 1833 Salon, the Galerie des Beaux-Arts, and the Universal Exposition of 1855 could not deny the modern reality encapsulated by the portrait.

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35 Baudelaire, 97. *De vrais portraits, c’est-à-dire la reconstruction idéale des individus.*

36 Ibid., 97. *Ouvrez l’œil, nation nigaud, et dites si vous vites jamais de la peinture plus éclatante et plus voyante, et même une plus grande recherché de tons?*
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Bibliography


Adolescent regulation of strong emotions: Age and gender differences

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Abstract

Adolescents’ capacity to regulate strong emotions is an important aspect of successful adolescent development. To date, no measure has been available to assess adolescents’ ability to regulate their strong emotions. This study used the MACS, an adapted version of the Affective Control Scale (Chambless & Williams, 1982), to survey over 2100 high school students, aged 12-18 years. A further 1200 of these completed a follow-up survey. The findings indicated that, in general, males had an increased fear of positive emotion and anger, whereas females had an increased fear of negative emotions of depression and anxiety. Females were also less able than males to take charge of their strong emotions. In addition, fear of negative emotions was greatest for girls aged 14 years. The MACS proved to be a useful and dependable way of ascertaining adolescents’ emotional functioning.
Adolescent Regulation of Strong Emotions: Age and Gender Differences

The capacity to control or regulate emotions and related behaviours is a major developmental task (Cicchetti, Ganiban, & Barnett, 1991; Dodge & Garber, 1991; Eisenberg & Spinrad, 2004). The construct of emotion regulation (ER) has been reported in the literature as spanning a number of dimensions, including physiological, behavioural, cognitive (Shipman et al., 2003), motivational and biological (Halle, 2003). This diversity has lead to considerable differences in the way emotion regulation, and its dysregulation, have been operationalised within empirical studies. As a consequence, questions have been raised as to its utility as a scientific construct, with assertions being made that it is “diffuse, overly inclusive and poorly defined” (Cole, Martin, & Dennis, 2004). Cole et al. stress the importance of researchers providing working definitions to improve clarity and methodological rigor while (Bridges, Denham, & Ganiban, 2004) further argue that any definition needs to have a strong theoretical underpinning. A widely accepted definition of ER was put forward by Thompson (1994, p 27-28) who suggested that ER “consists of the extrinsic and intrinsic processes responsible for monitoring, evaluating, and modifying emotional reactions, especially their intensive and temporal features, to accomplish one’s goals”.

Much of the research conducted on ER has focused on infancy, and school-aged preadolescent children (Shields & Cicchetti, 1997; Walden, Harris & Catron, 2003), but few studies have investigated the regulation of strong emotions, particularly in adolescents. Current research indicates that the salience of emotion regulatory goals increases with age (Carstensen, 1995) and emotional control may likewise increase with age (Gross, Carstensen, Pasupathi, Tsai, Gottestam & Hsu, 1997). The instability of emotions in early adolescence may be related to the variability
of hormone levels during this developmental period (Buchanan, Eccles & Becker, 1992).

Hormones have been shown to have effects on the experience of positive and negative affect, with puberty related to an increase in negative affect (e.g. Brooks-Gunn, Graber & Paikoff, 1994). Higher risk for emotional and behavioural difficulties exists for adolescents who go through the predictable, normative events of pubertal onset and school transitions, together with experiencing other changes like family disruption, relocation to a new community, or the initiation to the romantic sphere (Simmons & Blyth, 1987). In particular, adolescent romantic attachments contribute to emotional highs and lows (Feiring, 1996).

A problem with this area of assessment is that there is no comprehensive psychometric instrument that taps adolescents’ perceptions of the fear of losing control over their strong emotions. Therefore, the current study investigated the assessment of strong emotions in adolescence and focused on the development of a self-report measure of fear of losing control over strong emotions. The present study used the Affective Control Scale which measures “fear of losing control over one’s emotions or of one’s behavioural reactions to emotions” (Williams, Chambless, & Ahrens, 1997). The ACS was originally constructed as a self-report measure for use with adults, and was selected because it had demonstrated excellent internal consistency, good test-retest reliability, and convergent and divergent validity (Berg, Shapiro, Chambless & Arens, 1998).

Method

Participants

Male (N = 794) and female (N = 1101) secondary school students (N = 2,128), aged 12 to 18 years (x = 14.53, SD = 1.44), participated voluntarily in this study (see Table 1). Two hundred
and thirty three participants failed to identify their gender. Of the 18 secondary schools approached (representative of high, middle and low SES areas), eight schools consented to participate, representing a 44.4% response rate. Seven of these schools were located in the South Metropolitan region of Perth, Western Australia, with five schools (N = 1679) representative of the private education system, and two (N = 449) representative of the public education system, including one school located in a coastal town 200km from Perth. Data from a third public high school was excluded from analysis due to the lateness of its arrival.

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Note: 233 cases had missing information on gender and 17 cases were removed as outliers.

Materials

The original adult scale, the Affective Control Scale (ACS), developed by Williams (1992, cited in Williams, et al., 1997 was modified for the current study. The language of items was simplified for use with adolescents aged 12 to 18 years. Item 10 “having an orgasm is scary for me because I am afraid of losing control”, was removed since its content was considered unsuitable for younger aged adolescents. Other items were reworded based on an initial consultation between clinicians from the South Metropolitan Child and Adolescent Mental Health Service and the primary researcher. Ambiguous terminology was broken down using
more simple and adolescent-friendly language, and extended sentences were shortened to increase understanding. Additional changes to the wording of questions were made based on piloting the questionnaire with three adolescents aged 12, 13 and 17 years. Some further changes were made and the scale was again piloted with five adolescents aged 12 to 17 years. The average time taken to complete the final 41-item version of the Modified Affective Control Scale (MACS) was approximately 10 minutes.

The MACS, in keeping with the adult version, consists of four sub-scales that measure fear of anger, fear of depressive mood, fear of anxiety and fear of positive emotion. Individual sub-scale scores and overall scale scores are computed from the 41 items. The higher the mean score, the higher the perceived fear of emotion/s. The original scale format was retained. This required participants to rate each item on a 7-point Likert scale, from ‘very strongly disagree’ to ‘very strongly agree’, with a neutral mid-point. The ‘Anger’ sub-scale consists of 8 items, the ‘Positive Affect’ sub-scale 12 items, the ‘Depressed Mood’ sub-scale 8 items, and the ‘Anxiety’ sub-scale 13 items. For the purposes of data collection, the scale was renamed the Adolescent Emotion Survey. The internal consistency of the modified total scale (Cronbach alpha = .91) was similar to that of the original ACS (Cronbach alpha = .94) developed by Williams (1992, cited in Williams et al., 1997). The survey contained no identifying information other than date of birth, gender and grade.

Procedure

Members of the research team approached school principals by way of a phone call to determine willingness to participate in the study. Interested principals were then sent a research package containing an introductory letter, a principal information sheet, a participant information sheet, a
parental information sheet, associated consent forms and a copy of the MACS. Meetings were arranged with interested principals to further discuss the objectives and commitments required. Parental consent for adolescents to participate in the study was sought according to school preference and/or policy. Some schools sought direct parental consent while others informed parents via newsletters, asking parents to contact the school if they did not want their son or daughter to participate.

Schools either elected to administer the surveys themselves, or alternatively, a member of the research team administered the surveys. The survey was administered according to a standard protocol, in a classroom setting during normal class times. All participants were provided with an information sheet and were required to fill out a consent form prior to completing the survey. They were reminded that participation was voluntary and that anonymity was assured. When completing the surveys, participants were asked to reflect on how they had been feeling over the past two weeks. The administrator collected completed surveys.

Surveys were coded and data entered directly onto a web page designed specifically for the current study. It was reasoned that data entry via the web page would lead to reduced data entry errors and in fact, < 0.1% of data entry errors occurred, which was minimal given the large data set involved. Someone other than the person who had entered the data carried out crosschecking of data manually. In addition, cases in which more than 50% of responses were left unanswered (e.g. the entire back page was left blank) were removed, as were cases in which there was an obvious response pattern, for example, all neutral responses. This resulted in the exclusion of 140 participants (6.58%) and a final sample of 2128 adolescents.
Results and Discussion

Two by two (gender x grade) between groups analyses of variance were conducted to test the significance of between group means. As seen in Table 2, in relation to gender, females scored significantly higher than males on the Fear of Depression and Fear of Anxiety subscales while males scored significantly higher than females on the Fear of Anger and Fear of Positive Emotion subscales. Overall, there was a trend for females to score higher than males across all grades on Fear of Depression and Fear of Anxiety and for males to score higher than females on Fear of Positive Emotion. Significant differences in between group means for grade were also revealed and further explored using Tukey’s post-hoc analyses. Results were mixed, with grade 10 students scoring significantly higher than grade eight and grade nine students on the Fear of Anxiety subscale and significantly higher than grade 11 and grade 12 students on the Fear of Anger subscale. Grade 8 students also scored significantly higher than grade 12 students on the Fear of Anger subscale. On the Fear of Emotion subscale, Grade 10 students scored significantly higher than grade 9 and grade 12 students.

The results indicate that fear of depression and fear of anxiety is most problematic for female students. In particular, adolescents fear of strong emotions is more salient at Grade 10 than at other ages. Of interest is the finding that Grade 8 adolescents also have a strong fear of anger, which appears to peak in Grade 10 and dissipate somewhat by Grade 12.

These results are generally supportive of the view that adolescent emotions are variable. However, this study is the first of its kind to investigate the regulation of strong emotions
Table 2  Subscale total mean scores and standard deviations across gender and grade (N = 1878)

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Note: Bold typeface indicates significant gender differences. Italicized shaded typeface indicates significant grade differences.
during this period. We are currently conducting research into the development of a short form of the scale and its application to both clinical and non-clinical groups.

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ABSTRACT

NIKAHNAMA (MARRIAGE CONTRACT): A SOLUTION TO INDIAN MUSLIM WOMEN’S PROBLEMS?

In India, the Muslim Personal (Family) Law (MPL) has been subjected to debate and discussion for the past three decades. The bone of contention among others things, revolves around the ease with which Muslim men can divorce their wives, and maintenance on divorce. The issue has been politicized on the one hand by the BJP --- a right wing political party, couching the unreformed MPL in terms of appeasement to the Muslim minority and on the other hand Th e All India Muslim Personal Law Board (AIMPLB) by playing the card of identity politics has blocked reform grounding its argument that MPL is based on the Shariat and therefore not subject to change

Reform from within the community rather than the state has been perceived as a more acceptable way of bringing about social change. The preparation of a model marriage
contract (nikahnama) has been proposed to safeguard the interest and welfare of Muslim women. This paper traces the announcement of the marriage contract by the AIMPLB, the responses and debate thrown up since its release as covered in the English media. The period of coverage is from 2002 to 2006. The model Nikahnama has been received with mixed reactions with some hailing it as an important step forward and others pointing to the lack of any original content to address women’s issues. The content analysis of the media reports highlights the diversity in the Muslim community, the unreasonableness of one standard contract fits all and the emergence of several breakaway Personal Law Boards. The major gain appears to be that Muslim women have come out in the open to take up the cudgels on their behalf. They have been empowered as they give voice to their own needs. The nikahnama debate has only served to skirt the issue of an objective assessment of MPL. The politicization has also played a role in an objective assessment of MPL which no doubt is in need of reform in light of both the problems faced by women and to keep up with India’s modernizing and globalizing spirit.
ABSTRACT

Occupational Stress and Turnover Intention among Software Professionals: The Effects of Telecommuting

Occupational stress and turnover intention have been subjects of considerable research. However, telecommuting, though a widely studied organizational policy to reduce occupational stress and turnover intention in most parts of the world, it has not been a subject of research in India. Keeping this in mind, the present study examined whether the four occupational stressors (work overload, lack of career development, lack of decision latitude and work-family conflict) significantly directly predict turnover
intention among software professionals and secondly, the moderating effect of telecommuting on these stressors-turnover intention relationship. The participants were 210 software professionals from two private software companies in New Delhi. Both quantitative (standard scales) and qualitative (structured interviews) methods were used to collect the data. Results based on multiple regression and path analyses, indicated that lack of career development and lack of decision latitude were significantly directly predicting turnover intention. Besides these stressors, from the interview data, inadequate pay, perceived job alternatives, poor-team co-ordination emerged as responsible for turnover intention. Telecommuting was helpful in reducing stress level due to lack of decision latitude and turnover intention independently, but it failed to buffer the stressors-turnover intention relationship. Organizations can take initiatives to provide telecommuting, so as to reduce employees’ stress level and turnover intention.
United Nation’s Resolution 1325 Provides Hope for Women of Our Future

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“Building a lasting peace that sustains post-war economic, political, and social development requires the full participation of all citizens.”

“Peace agreements, early recovery, and post-conflict governance do better when women are involved.” –Noeleen Heyzer, Executive Director of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)

Introduction

During conflicts women become widows, victims of sexual violence, and primary caregivers of their families. While trying to keep their children safe they must also find innovative ways to provide for their families. This task can sometimes become more difficult in the midst of conflict because one’s family could expand to include parents and members of extended families. When a country crumbles to ruins all hands need to be available to rebuild the state. Since women are a majority of the survivors of a conflict, they can also be a vital asset to the reconstruction process in a postwar region. Women should be more involved in the peace building, stabilization process; however, in some countries their role in the post-conflict reconstruction is not supported or encouraged.

On October 31, 2000, in its 4213th meeting, the Security Council recognized this shortfall in post-conflict reconstruction and adopted resolution 1325. This document mandated the participation of women in peace processes and acknowledged the role women could play in establishing and maintaining peace in postwar regions. It also aimed to protect women of armed conflicts. State parties complying with the resolution are

expected to promote women’s participation in the decision-making and peace processes, include gender components in field operations when appropriate, protect women in armed conflicts and guard them from gender based violence, and to mainstream gender issues in reports submitted to the UN Secretary-General regarding peacekeeping missions and other issues relating to women and girls.5

Resolution 1325 definitely has increased the attention given to women’s role in post-conflict reconstruction, but the implementation of this mandate has been slow. In a September 2006 report to address the progress of the resolution since its adoption, the Secretary-General proclaimed there are gaps and challenges with implementing the plan. As a result, the UN is currently seeking recommendations of how to accelerate the resolution’s implementation.6

Seeing as women are a majority of the survivors of conflict they must be incorporated in the reconstruction process as members of the transitional governments, policy makers, and heads of committees or reconstruction and development projects. Countries’ leadership must seek advice and creative ideas from women keeping in mind that women will not only be the forerunners rebuilding communities but will also be a majority of the recipients of government and other donors’ resources. From this prospective women can provide valuable knowledge about the best means to implement certain projects. Women if put in leadership positions during the reconstruction process can also lobby for certain resources to be given to the people because they may be more

aware of what is needed in the post-conflict areas. For these reasons, involving more women in the reconstruction process is important and countries that implement resolution 1325 can use it as a guide of how to increase women’s involvement in post-conflict reconstruction.

This paper will first present a resolution 1325 compliance checklist to provide a general overview of the different policies and principles a state enforcing resolution 1325 should aim to uphold. Then, it will report on Afghanistan and Liberia, two post-conflict states with a history of violence against women. Now that these states are forging forward with new leaders, constitutions, and administrations, efforts are being made to comply with resolution 1325 and empower women as the countries transform into peaceful states with viable and stable economies.

This paper also includes a discussion about specific measures taken by the Governments of Afghanistan and Liberia to implement resolution 1325. Furthermore, it highlights actions of NGOs and other non-state actors to empower and protect women as the resolution mandates. Finally, prior to the conclusion, this paper lists lessons learned from Afghanistan and Liberia’s post-conflict reconstruction processes. This list provides feasible ideas that can be used by future leaders of post-conflict reconstruction missions.

**Resolution 1325 compliance checklist**

- Implementing and complying with resolution 1325 is an on-going process for all member states of the UN. The resolution’s overall objective is to involve more women in peace processes and post-conflict reconstruction, but it also insists that states take additional actions to protect women and children of conflict situations.

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Below is a resolution compliance checklist that can be used as a guide to measure the level of effort a state is putting forth to abide by the terms of resolution 1325. It may be initially impossible for one state to continuously perform all of the tasks below. However one may hope that in the future, more ideas and states’ renewed commitment to the resolution can result in state leaders creating more innovative ways to involve women in post-conflict situations and civil society as a whole.

State implements humanitarian and human rights laws that protect the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts.

- State mainstreams a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations and where appropriate, ensures that field operations include a gender component.

- State provides or conducts special training for all peacekeeping personnel on the protection, special needs, and human rights of women and children in conflict situations.

- State requests that the Secretary-General provide training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights, and the particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peace-building measures. In addition, the state requests that the Secretary-General ensures civilian personnel of peacekeeping operations receive similar training.

- State increases representation of women at national, regional, and international decision-making levels as well as increases women’s involvement in creating and implementing mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict.
✓ State encourages the Secretary-General to implement his strategic plan of action to increase women's participation at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes.

✓ State urges Secretary-General to appoint women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf and the state provides the Secretary-General candidates for such assignments.

✓ State urges the Secretary-General to expand the role and contribution of women in UN field-based operations among military observers, civilian police, human rights, and humanitarian personnel.

✓ State urges other member states to increase their voluntary financial, technical, and logistical support for gender-sensitive training efforts spearheaded by UN entities such as the United Nations Fund for Women, the United Nations Children's Fund, and by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

✓ State calls “actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including: (a) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction; (b) Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements; (c) Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary.”

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✓ State insists parties of an armed conflict to respect international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls as civilians. State calls on all parties of an armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, such as rape and other forms of sexual abuse.

✓ State emphasizes the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes. It is important for states to exclude these crimes, when possible from amnesty provisions.

✓ State calls upon all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, while especially taking into account the particular needs of women and girls.

✓ State encourages all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants.

✓ State expresses its willingness to ensure that Security Council missions take into account gender considerations and the rights of women. State may even take thorough actions to conduct consultations with local and international women's groups.

✓ State invites the Secretary-General to carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace-building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution. Then according to the resolution, the Secretary-General is expected to submit a report to the Security
Council on the results of this study and to make this available to all Member States of the United Nations.

☑ States requests the Secretary-General, where appropriate, to include in his reporting to the Security Council, progress on gender mainstreaming throughout peacekeeping missions and all other aspects relating to women and girls.

☑ State remains actively involved in complying with and upholding the standards of resolution 1325.

AFGHANISTAN

Brief history of conflict and violence against women

Prior to 1979, Afghan women enjoyed significant rights and had access to educational and professional opportunities. However, with the invasion of the Soviets, years of internal civil wars, followed by the Taliban takeover, life and rights for women changed drastically. During these years of internal strife women were repressed and even denied access to vital health care because male doctors were not permitted to examine females and female medical practitioners were few in number if not nonexistent in some rural cities.

In 1988, the Governments of Afghanistan and Pakistan signed the Geneva Accords, which was a series of five agreements designed to settle the major differences between the two countries. The Accords also called for U.S. and the Soviet Union’s noninterference in the internal affairs of both countries. In addition to ensuring Afghan refugees’ safe return, the collective document also guaranteed the Soviets’ withdrawal

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from Afghanistan by February of 1989. Finally, Afghanistan would be rid of the oppressive government that took over the country in 1979.

Unfortunately, the mujahidin, or Muslim guerrilla warriors who considered themselves engaged in a jihad, were not apart of the negotiations that produced the Geneva Accords, and therefore, did not accept the terms. After the withdrawal of the Soviets, militia groups continued fighting even after the Najibullah regime assumed power until 1992. The Najibullah regime lacked the support of the people and did not manage to cease militia fighting. As a result, following the regime’s fall, civil wars further destroyed Afghanistan from 1992-1996. The country crumbled to ruins and many inhabitants fled into exile.

Two attempts to establish peace within Afghanistan came in the form of the Islamabad Accord, which was signed in March 1993, and the Jalalabad Accord, which ordered militias to be disarmed. Unfortunately, both accords were unsuccessful in resolving the internal conflicts of the state. In fact, the Jalalabad Accord was signed but never fully implemented. Therefore, the fighting continued, civilian deaths increased, and more people were displaced. An environment of anarchy evolved.

The chaotic environment in Afghanistan provided the perfect opportunity for the Taliban to rise to power in the mid 90’s. Some even welcomed the new leadership that promised to return to the core Islamic values of the Koran and to provide the people of Afghanistan with stability. The Taliban as it imposed fundamentalist Islam on the people of Afghanistan, also conducted public beatings and executions, forced prayer, and banned

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music, art, and films.\textsuperscript{14} The gravest violence and repression towards Afghan women took place under the leadership of the Taliban.

The Taliban regime became known for its human rights violations and atrocities against women, girls, and minority populations. Afghanistan under the Taliban was a country of origin and transit for women and children trafficked to Pakistan and other Gulf states for the purpose of sexual exploitation and labor. The Taliban government took no measures to protect women from trafficking, and in fact, it played a role in trafficking women, as well as was connected to women’s disappearances, rapes, kidnappings, and forced marriages.\textsuperscript{15}

Under the Taliban leadership women’s rights to work and education were also violated. The leaders of the regime issued strict orders prohibiting women from working regardless of personal circumstances and schools were closed to all girls.\textsuperscript{16} This situation was devastating for women who were widows and forbidden by law to work so they were incapable breadwinners for their families. Women found themselves relying on their sons and entire families prayed that the available male children were able to acquire jobs that paid reasonable wages. Unfortunately, for widowed women who were unsuccessful at bearing sons, their options for socio-economic survival were very limited.

By 2001, the U.S. renewed its interest in Afghanistan after learning that the events of September 11\textsuperscript{th} were spearheaded by the terrorist group, Al Qaeda, and the group’s leader, Osama bin Laden, was confirmed to be residing in the southern region of the country. On October 7, 2001, the United States officially began a military campaign

targeting bin Laden’s facilities as well as Taliban military and political assets. Kabul finally fell on November 13, 2001.

Efforts to restore Afghanistan promptly began. Afghan factions assembled in Germany in December 2001 and created the “Bonn Agreement,” which called for the Afghan Interim Authority to be formed and positioned in Kabul by December 22, 2001. Hamid Karzai was named the Chairman. Later, the government was renamed the Transitional Islamic State of Afghanistan (TISA). TISA successfully drafted a new constitution that was ratified on January 2, 2004.17

**Role of Afghan women postwar: Government steps to implement 1325**

The U.S. intervention in Afghanistan, followed by the fall of the Taliban, provided the country with an opportunity to start anew and amend some of the harms done to the women and minority populations of the country. Afghanistan appeared immediately willing to empower women and involve them in the post-conflict reconstruction process when it included two women on the first post-Taliban grand council.18 Then, TISA created the Ministry of Women’s Affairs to show how much they valued women’s participation in the government and to ensure that women’s issues were addressed and their rights were protected in the future. A woman, Madame Habiba Sarabi, was even named Minister of Women’s Affairs.19 In 2004, Sarabi was one of two female ministers. Dr. Sohaila Siddiqi, the other female Minister, led the Ministry of Public Health.

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Another measure to ensure women’s participation in the decision-making bodies of a government is to implement a quota system requiring a specific number of women candidates and representatives. In Afghanistan, the 2004 constitution mandated a quota in Article 83, and the electoral laws reserved at least 25 percent of the seats in the lower house of parliament for women. According to the law, at least two representatives from each province to the lower house must be women. In addition, the president has the power to appoint people to one third of the seats in the upper house but at least 50 percent of his appointees have to be women.\textsuperscript{20} 

It is unclear if these changes to the Afghan constitution were direct results of the country’s efforts to implement resolution 1325. However, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) commended Afghanistan for its efforts to involve women in its reconstruction process as early as 2003 so the resolution must have at least been on the minds of the policy makers as a result of the positive attention received the year before. It is possible that the women’s presence on the transitional government and the international community’s pressure to ensure Afghan women of the future receive more rights and freedoms than they had in the past drove government leadership to implement a quota system which would guarantee female participation in the government.

Afghanistan put forth efforts to comply with the first area of resolution 1325, which addresses women’s participation in the decision-making bodies and peace processes. However, succeeding paragraphs will show that the government did little to

address the other three areas of resolution 1325, especially when it came to safeguarding women from gender based violence.

**Nongovernmental organizations’ (NGOs) and other non-state actors’ efforts**

NGOs understand the power that money can have on a state’s reconstruction process and in some cases they will attempt to get donors to tie assistance to mandates requiring recipient states to abide by certain policies or international agreements. This was definitely the motivation of NGOs in Afghanistan when they were rallying for invitations to major donor meetings, before they pushed for meetings with the transitional government of Afghanistan. In fact, some women’s rights activists supported by the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), met with donors in Europe prior to the major international donors’ meeting that took place in Tokyo in January 2002, to get a head start on presenting their reconstruction recommendations.

Then, specific groups, acting through the Working Group on the Rights of Afghan Women, submitted additional recommendations to the donors in Tokyo. Some of their proposals included: tying received aid to the level of women’s participation in the decision-making reconstruction process, make Afghanistan assess gender’s impact on interventions, require that 50 percent of the beneficiaries of aid be women, ensure that the Ministry of Women’s Affairs is adequately resourced, and insist that NGOs assisting with reconstruction efforts be funded.\(^\text{21}\) The Working Group, in addition to attempting to ensure rights for women, was also pushing international donors to encourage the TISA to comply with aspects of resolution 1325. Unfortunately, it is unclear which recommendations were accepted by the donors and required of the TISA before receiving

funding. Nevertheless, that does not negate the actions of the women’s groups because they could have potentially influenced international donors.

In 2003, a coalition of Afghan and Afghan American women drafted an Afghan’s Women’s Bill of Rights, which they later submitted to Afghanistan’s president, Hamid Karzai. The bill requested rights for women such as, mandatory education for girls, equal gender representation in the grand councils, criminalization of sexual harassment and domestic violence, and the right to marry and divorce (according to Islamic law). Government leaders recognized the document and even assured the coalition some aspects would be incorporated into the constitution. However, none of the features of the bill were integrated into the 2004 constitution. On a positive note, though, the constitution does include a clause that men and women “have equal rights and duties before the law.” 22 Yet, this clause does leave a lot of room for individual interpretation and is based on the country’s existing laws. Therefore, if Afghanistan ever adopts an unjust law in the future it just means that men and women will have equal rights and duty before that unfair law.

More successful non-state actors have been entities of the UN. By being present in Afghanistan they are able to remind the leaders of the importance of developing and implementing mainstream gender perspectives into post-conflict reconstruction policies. When possible they addressed the country’s existing gender inequalities and emphasized the need to have women participate in decision-making forums and within the government. The entities have also linked a gender perspective to technical assistance

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22 PBS “Women in Afghanistan: Afghan Women’s Rights,”
http://www.pbs.org/independentlens/afghanistanunveiled/women.html
and training in employment, health, and education. As a result, the government and people of Afghanistan are constantly reminded of their gender issues and how to incorporate gender components into local training programs. This provides Afghan leaders with more examples of how to more thoroughly implement resolution 1325.

Shortfalls hindering Afghanistan’s progress

As aforementioned, trafficking of women was a huge problem under the Taliban regime and continues to be a poorly addressed issue today. Despite this reality, the government as of June 2006 had not enacted an anti-trafficking law. Instead, the government references kidnapping and criminal statues when prosecutions against human traffickers do make it before the court. Most prosecutions, nonetheless, do not result in convictions because the country lacks the resources to investigate and prosecute such cases. At times, victims of trafficking are sent to jail rather than their traffickers. The corrupt government officials and law enforcement officers allegedly taking part in the illegal practice are also avoiding persecution. The government also lacks the ability to provide victims of trafficking shelters, medical care, or legal aid, but the NGOs in the country, who also have limited resources, are at least providing some women with shelters.

On another note, a factor that may have contributed to the limited rights awarded to women in the 2004 constitution could have been the mentality of some of the leaders at the time. For example, in the opening of the 2003 grand council conference, the chairman proclaimed to the women present, “God has not given you equal rights because under his

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decision, two women are counted as equal to one man.”25 The rights of women were significantly more advanced before 1979, but given the time that has lapsed since then it will take a while for that level of female liberty to once again exist in Afghanistan. The leaders may have changed with elections and more women can participate in government, but the mentality of certain male leaders and other members’ of society’s mindset towards women reiterates the reality that Afghan women have lost a significant amount of influence. It is no wonder many women groups pushed to include the Women’s Bill of Rights in the constitution because that would have been an enormous step towards women regaining some of their former socio-economic and identity status.

Despite the shortfalls presented, the success of the government should not be ignored. In reality, additional challenges affect Afghanistan at the moment. For example, the country is dependent on narcotics production and trafficking. In truth, Afghanistan produces about 90 percent of the world’s heroin supply and is on the verge of becoming a “narco-state.”26 Furthermore, some scholars, such as Barnett Rubin, define Afghanistan as a “conflict-prone” state that is avoiding war simply due to the international presence still remaining in the country.27 Therefore, the government’s inability to fully implement resolution 1325 and other progressive policies may be slightly justified at the moment, but that excuse cannot be used forever.

LIBERIA

**Brief history of conflict and violence against women**

On December 24, 1989, a small insurgent group, the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), led by Charles Taylor, invaded Liberia from the Ivory Coast. Taylor was the Deputy Minister of Commerce under President Samuel Doe until he was imprisoned for embezzlement of government funds and then escaped from jail to build rebel forces in the northern part of the Ivory Coast.\(^{28}\) His invasion was a catalyst that precipitated a civil war and subsequent fighting that plagued Liberia for the next fourteen years. Within the first six months of his fighting efforts, Taylor gained local support, which gave him the momentum to continue his rebellion efforts.

During the first civil war, which took place 1989 to 1996, 20,000 people were killed and millions were displaced. Taylor’s actions were successful the first few months, but then he was halted from capturing Monrovia by the Economic Community of West African States’ 1990 intervention. In the midst of the fighting two additional rebel groups, the Independent National Patriots Front of Liberia (INPFL) and the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO) were formed. INPFL killed Samuel Doe and ULIMO fought with NPFL.

By October 1990, an Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU) was formed in Gambia, but the insurgent groups refused to work with IGNU and continued fighting. Taylor eventually agreed to the formation of a five man transitional government and consequently, special elections were held on July 19, 1997. To no one’s surprise Taylor and members of his party won the elections and people assumed peace would commence.

It is speculated that Liberians voted for the National Patriotic Front leaders because they feared war would have continued if Taylor lost. One positive aspect concerning Taylor’s leadership is that some women did have government positions in the lower and upper houses of the bicameral legislature. In the lower house women held five of the 64 seats (7.8 percent of the entire body) and five out of 26 seats in the upper house (19.2 percent of the entire body) following the 1997 elections.

After the civil war, rather than aid Liberia in its efforts to reconstruct, Taylor put most of his attention into the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), a rebel group fighting in Sierra Leone. He supplied the guerilla group arms in exchange for diamonds. By 2000, the UN was taking actions to undermine the RUF and reprimanded Taylor for his contributions to Sierra Leone’s unrest. An 18-month ban was placed on the sale of diamonds and sanctions were imposed against Liberia. The sanctions, along with the growing animosity towards Taylor for not alleviating some of the Liberians’ poverty and high unemployment, angered many Liberians and resulted in Taylor’s former adversaries regrouping outside of Monrovia. Once again, violence erupted beginning in mid-2001 and the UN was forced to put an arms embargo on the country from 2001-2003. After the rebel groups gained control over two thirds of Liberia their pressure forced Taylor to resign and flee into exile. Finally, the fighting groups signed a peace agreement and the people agreed to a power sharing government.

During the civil war human rights violations against women occurred including rape and coerced sexual slavery.\textsuperscript{32} Other reported violent acts against women that specifically occurred from 1989 to 1994 include: beatings, numerous strip searches, and tied up detentions in rooms with armed guards. In addition, some women were singled out and accused of being apart of a particular ethnic group. Ethnic cleansing also occurred during the civil war and those women not killed during the cleansing process were subject to become cooks for soldiers or fighters. In such individuals’ care women were also susceptible to rape (sometimes rape with objects), beatings, and other gender based violence.\textsuperscript{33}

The results of a 2003 survey showed that “74 percent of a random sample of 388 Liberian refugee women living in camps in Sierra Leone reported being sexually abused prior to being displaced from their homes in Liberia. Fifty-five percent of them experienced sexual violence during displacement.”\textsuperscript{34} Since most of Taylor’s attention was on diamonds and fighting in Sierra Leone, no initiatives were taken to protect women during the conflict or prevent the trafficking of women and children. In fact, the U.S. Department of State Trafficking In Persons Report (TIP Report) for 2003 claims the government and rebel groups forcibly conscripted women to serve as porters, forced laborers, combatants, and sex slaves. Some women were lucky enough to escape from the


\textsuperscript{33} Shana Swiss, MD; Peggy J. Jennings, PhD; Gladys V. Aryee, RNM; Grace H. Brown, CM; Ruth M. Jappah-Samukai, BSc; Mary S. Kamara, RN, CM; Rosana D. H. Schaack, RN; Rojatu S. Turay-Kanneh, RN, “Violence Against Women During the Liberian Civil Conflict,” The Journal of the American Medical Association, Vol. 279 No. 8 (February 25, 1998), pp 625-629.

oppressive rebel groups using them as sex slaves, but would later be recaptured by a
different group, who required them to be “bush wives,” which are cooks, cleaners, and
sex slaves of the fighters.\textsuperscript{35} It is now evident that some government officials were directly
responsible for the internal and international trafficking of women as well as other forms
of violence towards women but nothing was done to prosecute such individuals. The
government was not doing anything to investigate trafficking cases or assist victims.
NGOs were the only actors attempting to supply at minimum shelter to victims of
trafficking.\textsuperscript{36}

By 2004, the fighting was over but protection of women was still lacking and the
structure of the internally displaced persons camps in Montserrado County in Liberia was
actually fostering an environment for sexual violence against women rather than
hindering it. Resolution 1325 calls for gender perspective in peacekeeping when
appropriate. This means that camps should have been set up with efficient lighting and
female bathhouses and latrines distant from male facilities, which may have contributed
to the women’s safety. As a result of the rampant rapes, women later treated in health
clinics tested positive for at least one sexually transmitted infection.\textsuperscript{37}

\textbf{Liberian women get a chance to get involved: Government steps to implement 1325}

Parties who drafted the Liberian peace accords appeared to want women involved
in the reconstruction process. Women were permitted to take part on the various reform
commissions and transitional bodies and Article 28 of the accords called for “gender

equality in national politics.” Prior to the 2005 elections, of the 75 members of parliament four were women. In addition, there were three women ministers out of the 21 member cabinet and the Ministry of Gender and Development, similar to Afghanistan’s Ministry of Women Affairs, already existed.

The Liberian camps for displaced persons may not have complied with resolution 1325, but the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) assembly points did meet the requirements of resolution 1325. Liberian leaders must have taken heed of advice from campaigns spearheaded by UNDP and UNIFEM aimed at raising awareness about incorporating gender concerns in the national disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration programs. Not only was Liberia’s DDR site fenced, but separate compounds were provided for women, men, and children. In addition, gender specific assessments were taken and counseling was also provided to the occupants. Women who experienced violence during the civil war could finally begin their healing process with professional counselors. Both mental and physical rehabilitation post-conflict are important to a country’s reconstruction.

In regards to trafficking of women, the National Transitional Government of Liberia (NTGL) took initiatives to address the issue starting in 2005. After June, the NTGL and the National Transitional Legislative Assembly took part in bi-monthly anti-trafficking task force meetings. Eventually, the government also closed shelters involved in children trafficking and fraudulent adoptions. In addition, NTGL established a

39 Ibid.
Women’s and Children’s Protection Section of the police, which was to concentrate on human trafficking and assist with protecting victims in local NGO shelters. Government officials were also provided further education and training on how to combat trafficking. The government welcomed the UN Children’s Fund (UNICEF) to train 15 officers about how to protect children and then, another 15 officers participated in a UN sponsored anti-trafficking training of trainers.\textsuperscript{42}

\textbf{NGOs and non-state actors’ efforts}

In 2004, a group of Liberian women came together to present a resolution to NTGL advocating a quota system be incorporated into the election law reforms. The women wanted a fair chance to take part in Liberian politics and were asking “that every political party that qualifies for the elections earmark a minimum of 30 percent [of their] seats for women in their candidates’ list. Also every political party that qualifies for the electoral process earmark a minimum of 30 percent [of their] representation for women in decision-making positions within their parties,” according to Lema Gbowen, a women’s rights activist.\textsuperscript{43} This issue sparked a major debate amongst the acting government officials and local constituents. Many argued against implementing a quota system because they feared it would give women an advantage they did not earn. In contrast to Afghanistan, the women’s group’s efforts were unsuccessful and Liberia did not amend the election laws to include a quota system. In the 2005 elections women were able to secure eight out of 64 seats in the lower house (12.5 percent of the entire body) and five of the 30 seats in the upper house (16.7 percent of the entire body).\textsuperscript{44} Liberia also became

\textsuperscript{42} U.S. Department of State, Trafficking In Persons Report (June 2006), p 272.
\textsuperscript{44} Inter-Parliamentary Union, “Women in National Parliaments,” http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm
the first African country to elect a female head of state, Madame President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf.

Liberia may not have adopted a quota system, which would have secured a minimum level of women’s participation in government. However, the election of President Johnson-Sirleaf signifies Liberian’s confidence in her leadership potential. Liberia made history following its 2005 election and given the success of President Johnson-Sirleaf’s administration she may set precedence for more women being elected to different sectors of the government in the future.

On another note, rape was used as a weapon against women during the Liberian civil war and shortly following the peace accords. It continues to be a problem that plagues women of Liberia because they are still awaiting justice to be served or constantly remembering the horrors of their sexual violation. In 2005, the Association of Female Lawyers of Liberia (AFELL) drafted a new rape law to replace the previous vague legislation that resulted in many rapists going unpunished. Their draft included serious proposals such as: those who rape a person under eighteen years old should face life in prison, rape suspects should go to jail and receive no options to post bail pending their trial, those to rape an individual over eighteen could potentially face thirty years in jail, and gang rapists could receive the death penalty or life in prison as their punishment. Furthermore, the law called for consensual sex within the confines of marriage and husbands who forced their wives to have sex could spend ten years in prison if found guilty.\footnote{Jonathan Paye-Layleh, “Getting Tough on Liberian Rapists” BBC News (29 July 2005), http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4725263.stm} AFELL was definitely on a mission to make rapists take heed of their actions
and face tougher consequences before the court of law. Therefore, more would be deterred from committing such violence against women.

The government of Liberia reviewed the draft and with assistance from the Office for the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations created its own new rape law.\textsuperscript{46} The new rape law was passed on January 17, 2006; the day after President Johnson-Sirleaf was inaugurated. Liberia did make some changes to the submitted draft, for example, the maximum penalty for gang rape was changed to life imprisonment. AFELL, nonetheless, did win their fight to ensure suspected rapists were not released on bail before their trials. The final bill also addressed rape with objects and the raping of boys.\textsuperscript{47} The two current challenges are educating the public about the new law and their rights and improving the judicial system. In the past, rapists avoided prosecution because the weak judicial system was slow and the country lacked prosecutors. These problems still exist but President Johnson-Sirleaf is determined to see that no rapists go unpunished so justice and judicial reforms are expected soon.

Branches of the UN were also working hard in Liberia to assist the country in implementing the guidelines of resolution 1325, and the leaders of Liberia welcomed the assistance. According to the September 2006 Security Council “Report of the Secretary-General on Women, Peace, and Security,” the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, the UN Development Program (UNDP), and UNIFEM provided leadership training in Liberia to increase women’s participation in the elections. In addition, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, UNDP, the UN Population Fund (UNFPA), the Department of

Political Affairs, the UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organizations (UNESCO), the World Food Program (WFP), and the UN Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) conducted gender sensitive workshops and trainings about resolution 1325 for civilians, military, humanitarian personnel, national, and local NGOs. 48 Since the government welcomed the assistance and did not hinder the groups’ actions this act contributed to the implementation of resolution 1325. Educating the public about a policy is a tremendous first step towards implementation. Another program developed by UNAIDS, UNFPA, UNIFEM, and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, which addressed gender issues as well as HIV/AIDS in post-conflict reconstruction and was successful in Sierra Leone, was replicated and implemented in Liberia. Once again, the country was presented with another means to address gender issues, but this time in conjunction with a health topic that is affecting so many of Africa’s people.49

**Shortfalls observed in Liberia**

The efforts that NTGL made to address trafficking in 2005 are worth merit. However, a major shortfall is the two years it took the government to acknowledge and address the issue through legislative action. The delay could be attributed to the fact that members of the 2003 NTGL were allied with rebel groups involved in trafficking during the civil war. Therefore, due to ally relations the government did not take tough steps to combat trafficking. It was not until June 2005 that the government passed a statute prohibiting all forms of trafficking but the one-year sentence minimum punishment was

not a deterrent to professional human traffickers.\textsuperscript{50} Passing the anti-trafficking legislation was a major step in the right direction but the punishment accompanied with the crime did not signify the gravity of human trafficking or show that the leaders of Liberia highly valued the need to combat this inhuman violation of international law. The current government of Liberia is still overcoming the challenges of rebuilding the country after its civil war and it has not made amendments to the 2005 anti-trafficking law. There is only hope that the government will continue initiatives to educate the public and officials about trafficking as well as strengthen the law, increase the penalties, and successfully convict at least one person for the brutal crime.

\textbf{Lessons Learned from Afghanistan and Liberia}

The lessons learned listed below highlight specific actions taken by the Governments of Afghanistan and Liberia, the UN, and NGOs. The list attempts to provide advice to others about successful measures that can be taken to implement or comply with resolution 1325, as well as, emphasizes further steps that must be taken. Many actions of the governments, UN, and NGOs in these two countries were in accord with the Resolution 1325 Compliance Checklist. Therefore, these same or similar actions can be taken by other leaders and governments if they would like to further implement resolution 1325 in their country or ensure that they are complying with the resolution. However, states and nongovernmental entities should not limit their actions to this list, but rather continue to seek more creative ways to involve women in post conflict reconstruction and peace processes.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{Women should be involved from the start.} Putting women on the transitional
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{50} U.S. Department of State, Trafficking In Persons Report (June 2006), p 272.
governing bodies is the best first step to ensuring their participation in immediate
decision-making bodies. This is no guarantee that women will be elected in the next
elections or even become president as in Liberia’s case, but at least women’s issues will
be presented and addressed in the transitional meetings and possibly by the administration that follows.

➤ **Quotas can be an effective tool.** In Afghanistan, the implemented quota system resulted in 25 percent of the elected officials being women representatives. This means that women were involved in the decision-making bodies and the reconstruction process that followed, which is specifically what resolution 1325 mandates. In a region where women were repressed for decades and religion was used a means to justify female inferiority, a quota is potentially the most effective tool to ensure women are involved in Afghanistan’s future government administrations. In Liberia, such a policy was not accepted. However, in contrast to Afghanistan, Liberia has a history of women’s involvement in the government prior to the civil war and even during Taylor’s leadership. With that being said, quotas are not necessary for all postwar states to adopt but they can be effective in achieving the specific goal of involving more women in decision-making bodies and the reconstruction process.

➤ **NGOs meeting with donors can be an invaluable experience.** As mentioned earlier, it is unclear what effect the Afghan groups’ meetings with international donors played on the aid given to Afghanistan. Nonetheless, such meetings can be invaluable because they establish a line of communication between donors and NGOs. Sometimes, NGOs are the only source to provide interveners with facts about what is going on the ground in post-conflict states. They can also make donors aware of the immediate issues
the people are facing and help donors decide what matters need to be addressed first and how. As a result, the reconstruction project can be more successful. The fact that some NGOs are biased and will push for their beneficiaries’ aid first should not be ignored but the point is that the insight they can provide is valuable. Nonetheless, pressure from local or international NGOs can impact the stages of a reconstruction project tremendously.

➤ **Local groups should present legislation proposals to the government.**

Although, governments will not always accept the recommendations from groups that does not mean the groups should not attempt to influence the minds of the decision makers. In Afghanistan, the women groups were not successful in getting the government to pass a Women’s Bills of Rights, but in Liberia the effect was just the opposite. The government passed a rape law that included many of the recommendations from AFELL. Regardless, of the final result, proposals submitted to the government at least reiterate women’s issues to a country’s leaders. Such proposals can directly and indirectly affect the legislation of the government regarding such issues and may present the officials with new ideas on how to resolve existing problems.

➤ **Simply creating new legislation and women ministries is not enough.** Drafting legislation shows the international community that a country is addressing issues such as trafficking or violence against women in their country. However, passing laws is not the same as implementing them. Great steps must be taken to implement a law so that it is enforced and upheld. Tough legislation must be accompanied by harsh penalties to truly deter potential law violators. In addition, the public must be aware of the law and their rights. As soon as criminals are aware that the potential consequences for their actions have changed they may alter their behavior and stop committing the crime. Furthermore,
in order for a law to be effective the judicial system must be equipped to prosecute law violators. Law enforcement officials must also aid in the law’s implementation by arresting violators and investing claims. New legislation must sometimes be tied with judicial reform and rule of law improvements.

On another note, governments that evolve from postwar states tend to create ministries that address women’s issues such as violence and gender inequality. Establishing government bodies that concentrate on such issues is a great measure to ensure that women’s matters are not overlooked or forgotten. However, these ministries must be backed with financial resources and led by effective leaders at minimum. In order for such ministries to fulfill their missions and implement programs that benefit society they need resources. If the women’s ministry is pushing for the empowerment of women but cannot actually provide women with micro-credit or training to improve their skills and overall social status then their missions appear to be ineffective jargon, which can result in a loss of confidence in the ministry and the government as a whole. Legislative power would also make these bodies even more effective but that is something that is best to come later in time after the fragile state’s government is better developed, proven to be effective, and legitimized by the people.

➢ A change in social mentality is a must. The comments of the chairman of the grand council in Afghanistan in 2003 are a prime example of why the victims of the conflict and even the leaders spearheading change need to be “reeducated” following a conflict. Given, changing the mindsets of people takes time but an effort should be made to jumpstart the mentality reshaping process. Different ethnic groups need to learn how to live amongst each other without war and all people need to learn how to treat men and
women equally. Sometimes starting with the youth is the best means to reeducate society and begin the social reformation process because if one can reshape the minds of the youth then they are shaping better leaders for the future.

➤ **Sometimes entities of the UN are the best bodies to show countries how to implement UN resolutions.** The presence of UN entities in Liberia showed local groups and leaders how to incorporate gender perspectives in field missions as well as how to address AIDS and other issues facing the country. Since the UN composed resolution 1325, they seem like the best candidates to educate and train a country’s officials about the policy. Although, in some cases, leaders of NGOs or private organizations that are well educated about the policy and its general interpretation could also act as entities to assist countries with resolution 1325’s implementation.

In some cases the goals of a UN resolution are not clearly articulated in the policy and it takes UN assistance to show states how to implement the ideals of the legislation in society. In fact, interpreting resolution 1325 in order to transform it into programs that complied with each component of the mandate was one of challenges of states implementing the resolution, according to the Secretary-General’s 2006 report. Therefore, states should welcome training assistance from the UN or personally invite UN entities and staff to assist in implementation efforts.

**Additional challenges to implementing resolution 1325**

Six years after the adoption of resolution 1325 the Secretary-General composed a report to update, monitor, and review the policy’s implementation. Countries’ efforts to implement resolution 1325 are highlighted in this report. It also discusses gaps and

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challenges to implementation. A few will now be mentioned to show that several countries faced similar challenges in implementing the resolution. In fact, some of the challenges are identical to those faced by the Governments of Afghanistan and Liberia.

The greatest challenge faced by conflict and post-conflict states is the “lack of stability and security; violence, including gender-based violence; poverty, discrimination, democracy, deficits, impunity, and weak public institutions.” Both Afghanistan and Liberia dealt with these issues following their wars because institutions were not present within their countries to immediately combat any of these issues. However, it is remarkable that the international community did come to their aid and their respective transitional governments did attempt to address some of these issues one step at a time. Honestly, this makes the progress that both countries made to implement resolution 1325 all the more outstanding. They did some things sooner than other developed countries did which were not coming off the brink of civil wars and physical destruction.

The Secretary-General also noted insufficient funds and human resources have been allocated to women, peace, and security activities, which aid in a state’s implementation of resolution 1325. He proclaims the resources allocated to these three areas do not correspond to need, but instead are dependent on media attention, strategic interests, political will, and in some cases donors. Hopefully, with the creation of more ministries that address women’s issues and with the international community paying more attention to the violence against women, this issue of little resources being put

towards women, peace, and security initiatives will change. Afghanistan and Liberia have established such ministries but only time will tell if they adequately supply their leaders addressing women’s issues with the funding they need as their economies develop.

On another note, member countries of the UN also reported “inadequate understanding by their staff of such concepts as gender analysis and mainstreaming.” 54 As a result, “there were difficulties in translating gender mainstreaming into programmatic action.”55 The best means to address this issue, in some cases, is to request the assistance of UN entities in one’s country when attempting to implement resolution 1325. The Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the Inter-Agency Network on Women and Gender Equality are two examples of entities with such experts and the Secretary-General noted in his report that they were “not sufficiently utilized.”56 Liberia and Afghanistan are two great examples of what can happen if one utilizes the assistance of UN entities.

Lastly, when attempting to address and issue and see if efforts made are improving the lives of women, it is important to have accurate statistics that track changes. “Regular reporting, effective monitoring systems, as well as access to and use of sex-disaggregated data, gender-specific indicators” must be done so that improvements in women’s care across the globe is recorded.57 When the numbers began to show grave improvements then other countries can observe and better analyze what was done to

55 Ibid.
57 Ibid., p 10.
accomplish such goals and potentially implement similar programs domestically. The first step is properly collecting such information and then sharing it with others.

**Conclusions**

The greatest challenge to fragile post-war states, who have succumbed to ruins and gone years without an efficient government, is their lack of the necessary resources, both financial and human, to fully implement international laws and recommendations. This also is the case with implementing resolution 1325. Immediately following a war, many states receive billions of dollars in assistance from international donors, but typically there are no means to accept and fairly distribute such funds to the public. An abundant amount of corruption and misappropriation of money can take place. Afghanistan and Liberia, following their peace agreements and still today, continue to face challenges during their post-conflict periods.

The implementation of resolution 1325 is a collective effort. As Rachel N. Mayanja, the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women, said, “The full and effective implementation of resolution 1325 would require all the will and creativity the international community could muster.”

New states or those starting anew, tend to have the liberty to take more progressive steps and incorporate the latest international laws and recommendations into their governmental structure, rather than older countries who have to sometimes reform their systems to comply with international standards. Maybe future successful post-conflict states will continue to be the best examples of resolution 1325’s implementation. However, by no means is conflict a prerequisite for implementing resolution 1325 in a

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country. Many states, such as the United States, have adopted laws to comply with the resolution and ensure that within the realms of potential future conflicts, women will be protected and involved in the peace processes.
A. Title: Demand Driven Research: University Community Partnerships for Sustainable Communities

B. Topic Area: Sustainable Development, Sustainable Urban Neighborhoods, and/or Urban and Regional Planning

C. Presentation Format: Workshop

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CASE STUDY

Title:
Demand Driven Research: University Community Partnerships for Sustainable Communities

Over the past 10-15 years, universities and colleges have partnered with neighborhood institutions and non-profit organizations to develop programs and projects to enhance and improve the quality of life in communities and also to enhance the research being done at universities. This university-community partnership model promotes the role of communities as resources for knowledge and universities as key community assets and anchors in the community with valuable resources. In the workshop, we will discuss how to develop these partnerships, the dynamics of these relationships (i.e. equity, conflicts, mutual benefits, negotiating), and how this model can contribute to sustainable urban neighborhoods. In addition, this workshop will assist academics in keeping a pulse on the current pressing issues and needs facing urban areas and in turn, develop relevant, need-based research. Findings from a case study currently in progress – the New Directions project, a project funded by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development’s Office of University Partnerships, focusing on the North Lawndale community in Chicago, Illinois – in addition to past experiences, will be referenced as examples.
Title: The Role of a Rural Newspaper in the Battle Over Integration, 1955-1969: A Case Study
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Abstract

The U.S. Supreme Court’s ruling in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 347 U.S. 483 (1954), which explicitly outlawed racial segregation of public education facilities on the grounds that the doctrine of "separate but equal" public education could never truly provide black Americans with opportunities or facilities of the same standards available to white Americans, did not result in the immediate desegregation of America's public schools. In the South, most public schools would not be desegregated until about 1970 under the Nixon administration. The state of Virginia declared a policy of “massive resistance” to school desegregation, implemented through a series of laws forbidding integrated schools from receiving state funds and establishing tuition grants given to students to allow them to attend private schools of their choice. When, in 1958, Federal courts ordered public schools in Warren County, Charlottesville, Norfolk and Arlington to integrate, Virginia Governor Lindsay Almond ordered the closings of schools in those jurisdictions. When the Virginia Supreme Court declared in January, 1959, that the state’s efforts to resist desegregation were unconstitutional, “massive resistance” at the state level ended.

But in many communities, defiance remained. This paper is a case study of one such community, Nelson County, Virginia, where true integration of the public schools was forestalled until 1969. Using minutes of the Nelson County School Board, interviews with some of the participants, editorial comments in the local newspaper, the Nelson County Times, and other sources, this paper shows how a rural community came to accept the inevitable without resorting to violence or other means that would have poisoned race relations for many years beyond the forced integration of the public schools. Indeed, Nelson County’s experience since 1969 might be seen as a model of good race relations despite the efforts by the local newspaper and officials to maintain segregation.
TITLE: Body Shape Perceptions and Social Acceptability of Body Shapes among Undergraduate College Women: Does Ethnicity Make a Difference?

TOPIC AREA: Cross-disciplinary (psychology and sociology)

PRESENTATION FORMAT: Verbal presentation

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Body Shape Perceptions and Social Acceptability of Body Shapes among Undergraduate College Women: Does Ethnicity Make a Difference?

**Background and Objectives:** Previous research has suggested that cultural differences may shape body image and body shape perceptions. Caucasian women, for example, often report more negative body image and greater body dissatisfaction compared to African American women (Altabe, 1998). On the other hand, African American women tend to be more satisfied with their bodies, have higher body self-esteem, and be more accepting of larger body shapes than either Hispanic or Caucasian women (Altabe, 1998; Blaine & Williams, 2004; Latner, Stunkard, & Wilson, 2005; Rubin, Fitts, & Becker, 2003). While differences in body image and body satisfaction have been examined, research has not addressed ethnic differences in body shape perceptions. Specifically, are differences in what women consider “thin,” “skinny,” “fat,” “overweight,” and “obese” based on their ethnicity? Further, little is known about the perceived social acceptability of different body shapes within ethnic groups. Thus, the purpose of this study was to examine body shape perceptions and the perceived social acceptability of body shapes among Caucasian, African American, and Hispanic college women.

**Method:** Participants included 285 undergraduate women (130 Caucasian, 103 African American, 52 Hispanic) ranging in age from 18 to 30 (M = 20.70, SD = 2.14). As part of a larger study, the women completed a survey packet that included a demographic survey and the Figure Rating Scale (FRS; Stunkard, Sorenson, & Schlusinger, 1983). The participants were asked to select the ideal female body shapes for their ethnic group. Subsequently, participants were asked to consider their ethnic group and (a) identify the female body shapes that represent the words ideal, skinny, thin, overweight, fat, and obese and (b) rate the social acceptability of a female being skinny, thin, overweight, fat, and obese.

**Results:** Two separate MANCOVAs were conducted: (a) body shape perceptions of ideal, skinny, thin, overweight, fat, and obese and (b) social acceptability of body shapes. BMI was entered as the covariate and self-identified ethnicity was the independent variable. A significant multivariate effect was found for body shape perceptions (Wilks’ Lambda = .70, F (12, 444) = 8.23, p < .001, partial eta² = .18, power > .999) and social acceptability (Wilks’ Lambda = .66, F (10, 543) = 12.23, p < .001, partial eta² = .19 power > .999). Follow-up univariate analyses revealed significant ethnic differences in the women’s perceptions of ideal body shape, Caucasian women selected smaller figures than both African American and Hispanic women. Caucasian women, compared to Hispanic women, selected smaller figures for skinny. African American women selected significantly larger figures for the term overweight compared to both Caucasian and Hispanic women. African American women also chose larger figures to represent the term fat compared to Caucasian women.

Univariate analyses revealed significant ethnic differences in participants’ ratings of the social acceptability of being skinny (p < .001), thin (p < .001), overweight (p < .001), fat (p < .001), and obese (p < .001). Caucasian women rated being skinny and thin as more socially acceptable than either African American or Hispanic women. Hispanic women also rated being skinny and thin as more socially acceptable than African American women. Caucasian women rated being overweight and fat as less socially acceptable than either African American or Hispanic women and rated being obese less socially acceptable than African American women.

**Conclusions:** Ethnic differences in the perceptions of weight- and body shape-related words are consistent with previous body image research suggesting that Caucasian women idealize a thin physique more so than African American and Hispanic women. Future research needs to determine if and how differences in body shape perceptions, as well as social acceptability ratings, are related to health behaviors, such as physical activity and eating habits.
Helping Students Cope with the Threat of a Power Language: A Study of Student beliefs and the Linguistic Power Struggle in Puerto Rico’s Universities

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Abstract:

Helping Students Cope with the Threat of a Power Language: A Study of Student beliefs and the Linguistic Power Struggle in Puerto Rico’s Universities

This study seeks to identify the linguistic beliefs and practices of undergraduate students from Puerto Rico (PR) and how these factors influence their ability to learn English. Although the main language in PR is Spanish, as a territory of the United States of America (USA) English is an official language that is taught at the islands schools. Students in PR are taught English from kindergarten through high school. Still, many lack basic English language skills when they arrive to college. Hence, this study questions: How do students negotiate their identities given their bi-national affiliations and how does this impact their ability to learn English? Findings will help explore and project the extent to which literacy in English will grant graduates access to further social and economic development. One-hundred undergraduate students from Puerto Rico participated in the study. Participants were first asked to complete a questionnaire of 20 open-ended questions. Subsequently 20 participants were interviewed for a more in-depth understanding of beliefs that function as language barriers. Preliminary findings depict how certain social, political and historical factors negatively influence student’s receptivity to learning English in light of the threat of losing their language. Recommendations will include linguistic practices that enable students to become bilingual without losing their linguistic and cultural values.
INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this class project was to conduct a fashion count and gain hands on experience utilizing this type of consumer research method. The project was conducted in the spring of 2005. Sunglasses were chosen as the fashion item to investigate because they are a popular fashion accessory (in 2003, total sales reached $1.9 billion (Frost, 2004)) and a necessity to protect your eyes from harmful UV rays (Mesazaros, 2005). The observations comprising the fashion count were limited to college aged women because this consumer market is typically fashion conscious.

Fashion counts are a type of consumer research which is used by the fashion and retail industry to gage consumer behavior in an attempt to forecast consumer’s future behavior and predict future trends. Forecasting sunglasses, and other consumer goods, is important because fashion retailers need to be able to see how trends evolve to make accurate predictions of future market needs. Trends are always shifting so it is important to be able to anticipate upcoming
trends to meet consumer demand. When used in conjunction with other consumer behavior research fashion counts add realism to trend forecasts.

Within this paper is a review of literature describing the industry’s opinion regarding current and future trend for sunglasses as well as literature relating to past trends. This review was necessary in assisting the researcher in the development of an instrument for use in conducting the fashion count. As a result of this process the project incorporated the following aspects of sunglasses as elements included in the fashion count: frame type, frame color, lens color, frame material, decoration, and frame size. The fashion count was conducted and the results and a discussion are included.

**REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

While many consider sunglasses to be only a trendy accessory, the most important reason for wearing sunglasses is to reduce glare in normal sunlight activity (Sunglass Association, n.d.). According to the Sunglass Association the best pair of sunglasses is one that the consumer wants to wear almost all of the time no matter how trendy they may be. Other important considerations include comfort and protection against harmful UV rays.

According to *Accessories* magazine, the most fashionable sunglasses for the summer of 2005 included such styles as cat-eye frames, logos, rhinestones, bright colors, “Jackie O” styles and vintage inspired frames (Lu-Lien Tan, 2005; Parker, 2004a; Parker 2004b). The most popular were oversized frames in black, dark brown and gold, lenses in black and dark brown, wide rectangular frames, tan, glamour plastics, logos, and rhinestones. Also expected to be right on trend were the girl aviators, which are flattering to many face shapes because of their structural lines and wrap-around sunglasses, considered sporty chic, which shield eyes from
practically everything (Gordon, 2004). Parker (2004a) stated that the colors for spring included purples, deep pinks, berry colors and shades of green, teal and blue. Popular lenses tints for spring 2005 were predicted to come in gradients and sheer tints that balance large frames and prevent them from overpowering the face.

Porsche Designs, Rocawear and BCBG all developed and introduced sunglass collections for the spring 2005 season. Porsche Designs decided to branch out from the car manufacturing business into luxury goods including eyewear, selling approximately 9 million pairs of their Porsche pilot sunglasses in the winter of 2004 (Drier, 2005). While New York based eyewear manufacturer, Colors in Optics Ltd., launched two licensed collections with BCBG and Rocawear. The re-launched BCBG line “is tailor-made for a customer with a bold approach to fashion and herself” and the Rocawear collection is a reflection of the music world, focusing on music videos (O’Keefe and Holt, 2004, p. 12).

There have been many developments in lenses for sunglasses over the years. There are several lens options available that can be made of either glass or plastic and can have special high-tech treatments. These lens options include mirrored, gradient, polarized, photochromic and tinted. Mirrored lenses have a thin layer of metallic that may cut down on the visible light that reaches the eyes. Gradient means the lens is tinted dark on the top and fades to no tint on the bottom. Polarized lenses reduce glare from pavement or water surfaces. Photochromic lenses are sun-sensitive and transition from light to dark according to the sun or lighting conditions. A tinted lens means that the lens has a color called neutral density gray that will shade but will not change the perception of color (Nellis, n.d.). Also, there are lenses that have selective filtration that only reduce certain rays (Sunglass Association, n.d.)
METHODOLOGY

A fashion count was conducted on sunglasses to determine the frequency of different styles worn by college aged women. An instrument was created by the researcher to aide in recording the data that were collected. Included in the instrument were: shape, frame and lens color, size, material, and decoration. The shape category relates to the frame shape. Frame shapes expected included aviator, butterfly, geometric, oval, square, rectangular, round, wide rectangular, and wrap around. Frame color indicates the color of the frame itself. Expected frame colors were berry, black, blue, clear, dark brown, gold, gray, green, iridescent, pink, purple, red, silver, and white. The same with lens color, which include: berry, black, blue, clear, dark brown, gold, gray, green, iridescent, pink, purple, red, silver, tan, and orange. Space was left within each section of the instrument to record information that the researcher did not expect to encounter.

A total of two hundred college aged women (approximately 18 to 24 years old) were observed on the campus of a medium sized southern university in the United States. The fashion count was conducted during the spring semester of 2005, in early April. These women were observed in two outdoor, high-traffic locations on the university’s campus. Data were collected between classes or during the lunch break on various days of the week. On the observation days, the weather was sunny enough for people to actually need to wear sunglasses.

FINDINGS

Wide rectangular frames were the most popular style worn by the women (23.2%), but only by a slight margin (Table 1). The oval style follows close behind the rectangular (21.5%). As indicated in Table 1, rectangular (17.7%), butterfly (12.7%), and wrap around frames (9.7%)
were also quite popular. These styles flatter most face shapes including oblong, square, round, oval, and heart (Parker, 2005b).

Four frame sizes were observed. While medium sized frames seem to be the most popular (33%), thin and oversized are tied for the being the second most worn (27% each) (Table 1). Frames were observed as being made of either metal or plastic. Two out of three women observed were wearing plastic frames rather than metal (66% to 34% respectively) indicating an overwhelming preference for plastic frames.

Table 2 shows the frequencies of frame and lens colors. By far the most frequent color was black (36%) with dark brown (22%) and gold (14%) trailing farther behind. When examining the occurrence of various lens colors once again black was by far the most popular (43%). With a count of less than half of that of black, was dark brown (19%) and then tan (14%). Overall the most popular style was black, medium sized plastic wide rectangular frame with black lenses.

DISCUSSION

After reviewing the findings, the researcher determined that black was the main color for frames and lenses, with dark brown and gold also observed may increase in popularity. Lenses in tan and iridescent colors could replace the basic black. The researcher predicted that, for this market, it was possible for plastics to continue to grow in popularity past the spring 2005 season. According to Accessories Magazine, rimless frames could increase in popularity over time.

Overall, the findings are very similar to the projected summer trends for 2005 outlined in the review of literature section. Compared to the trends outlined in the fashion magazines, the women on this university campus were very close to being considered fashionable and having
### Table 1: Frequency Data for Sunglass Frame Shape, Size and Material

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame Shape</th>
<th>Frame Size</th>
<th>Frame Material</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wide Rectangular</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Plastic</td>
<td>23.21</td>
<td>99.90*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oval</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Plastic</td>
<td>21.52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rectangular</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Plastic</td>
<td>17.72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butterfly</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Plastic</td>
<td>12.76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrap Around</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Plastic</td>
<td>9.70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aviator</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Plastic</td>
<td>6.32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Round</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Plastic</td>
<td>5.54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Square</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Plastic</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geometric</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Plastic</td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>237</td>
<td>Plastic</td>
<td>99.90*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame Shape</th>
<th>Frame Size</th>
<th>Frame Material</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>Plastic</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thin</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Plastic</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oversized</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Plastic</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rimless</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Plastic</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>225</td>
<td>Plastic</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame Shape</th>
<th>Frame Material</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plastic</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>66.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*sum affected by rounding
### Table 2: Frequency Data for Sunglass Frame and Lens Color

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame Color</th>
<th>Lens Color</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td></td>
<td>75</td>
<td>35.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dark Brown</td>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
<td>21.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold</td>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>13.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silver</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clear</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pink</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purple</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berry</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gray</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iridescent</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>211</strong></td>
<td><strong>101.89</strong>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame Color</th>
<th>Lens Color</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Frequency %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td></td>
<td>93</td>
<td>43.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dark Brown</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>18.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tan</td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>14.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berry</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iridescent</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clear</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purple</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gray</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pink</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silver</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>214</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*sum affected by rounding

Trendy eyewear. This means that it is safe for area retailers to buy and stock the fashionable sunglasses as suggested in the magazines read by their customers. Most college women don’t “lag” in terms of fashion adoption and are willing to spend money to have latest fashions.
This information can be used by local retailers to determine which styles of sunglasses they should carry in their store for the next season in order to maximize their profits. By carrying styles desired by local consumers, retailers could increase the amount of money that is spent in a specific area. This can be good for the local economy because consumers will be spending their money locally and will not have to travel long distances to find specific styles or just to go shopping.

**CONCLUSION**

Judging by the data collected an increase in aviators and wrap around frames in gold and brown colors with faintly tinted, iridescent, or mirrored lenses can be expected for the summer of 2005. While plastics will continue to remain popular, metals will become more and more popular over time. As the American population becomes more and more obsessed with designer brands, we will see an increase in high-end sun wear with the logo right up on the face of the consumer, as this ensures that the logo will be noticed almost immediately (Parker, 2005).

Because sunglass trends are constantly changing, using a fashion count to determine current consumer behavior and comparing that to industry’s perception of fashion can provide retailers with information they can use to plan their stock needs. This can be a crucial research method to use before making any purchases.
REFERENCES


Title: A cross-cultural study of address terms

----A survey of Americans and Chinese in a U. S. university environment

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A cross-cultural study of address terms

----A survey of Americans and Chinese in a U. S. university environment

Introduction

Address terms are a very interesting aspect of sociolinguistic studies. How one addresses others often reveals social and interpersonal relationship with one another. In cross-cultural situations, choices of address terms often reflect cultural differences. In other words, every culture or society has its own rules or norms governing the choice of addressing terms that are appropriate for use between two or more people engaged in linguistic interaction or conversation.

Although past literature directly related to cross-cultural (American and Chinese) study of address terms is scarce, quiet a number of studies have been made on monolingual address terms over the past few decades. Of the relevant studies, many have noted the role of “politeness” and “solidarity” and differential power in the speakers’ choice of address terms (Brown & Ford, 1961; Moles, 1978; Hong, 1985; Cheung, 1990; Mao, 1999; Huong, 2000). Moles (1974), in his study of the usage of address terms, pronouns, and languages by Quechua-Spanish bilinguals in Peru, found that address terms illustrated different degrees of respect besides confidence. Jayapl (1986) examined address terms in Tamil and found certain correlation between various types of Tamil address terms with social variables. Huong (2000) notes from his study of politeness in modern Vietnamese that Hanoi speakers consider politeness to be not only an individual communicative strategies, but also an observance of social norms of behavior. Many others have investigated the linguistic changes in terms of choices of address terms with
societal changes (Fang & Heng, 1983; Cheung, 1990; Ju, 1991; Song, 1994). But all these studies were concerned with mono-cultural settings—most often in a Chinese culture. It would be interesting to investigate language change as concerns address term choices in a multi-cultural and multi-linguistic environment such as in the United States. Wardhaugh (2002) summarizes a variety of social factors that usually govern our choice of terms: particular occasion, the social status or rank of the other, gender, age, family relationship, occupational hierarchy, transactional status, race or degree or intimacy. He also indicates that different societies and cultures certainly have different norms or preferences in their choices of address terms. China and the United States are two distinctive countries with quiet different cultures. One important assumption for this study is that those societal and cross-cultural differences must be reflected in their choices of address terms. This study intended to investigate common forms of address terms in the two cultures—Chinese and American. The main purpose of this study was to investigate cross-cultural variations or differences in the choices of address terms though some common rules that govern the choice of address terms such as politeness and solidarity will also be examined. This study also investigated the changes that occurred among the Chinese students studying in the U.S. as concerns their choices of address terms. Two hypotheses will be examined in this study: 1.) Differences between Americans and Chinese in their choices of address terms are governed by cultural rules (norms) such as politeness, solidarity, status classification as well as by contexts or styles; and 2.) the Chinese students here, who are undergoing the process of assimilation and acculturation, will tend to accommodate the American culture and be more like the Americans in their choices of address terms.
Method

Variables and address terms

In this study the following variables and address terms were included:

1.) cultural background (two levels): Chinese and American; 2.) age (range); 3.) gender; 4.) education; 5.) profession; 6.) linguistic style such as formal, informal, intimacy, etc.; and 7.) address terms: no name (NN), first name (FN), full name (FN+LN), last name (LN), and title + last name (TLN).

Sample

A total of 51 subjects (27 Americans and 24 Chinese) comprised the sample. Of these 27 Americans, 25 grew up in the United States, and 2 grew up in other Western countries (Australia and Canada); 15 were females and 12, males, and 21 were Euro-Americans, 2, African Americans and 4 were other minorities. The age ranges for the Americans are: 11 are between 20-35; 4, between 36-45; and 12, above 45. In terms of education, 21 did or are doing graduate studies, 2 attended two- or three-year college studies, 4 had 4-year college. In terms of profession, 7 are university faculty, 14, graduate or college students, 4, business-persons, 1, school teacher, and 1, unidentified.

As for the Chinese respondents (11 females and 13 males), they all grew up in China and all except two came here to study or do research. Their age ranges are as follows: 14, between 20-35; 8, between 36-45; and 2, above 45. Thirteen received or are receiving graduate degrees, 9 received 4-year college, and 2 had two- or three-year college education. By profession, except two, the Chinese respondents are currently USC students, pursuing graduate degrees.
**Instrument & Procedure**

The instrument was a self-made 12-item survey, which was constructed in two equivalent versions—one for the American participants and the other for the Chinese participants. In order to examine the language change, in the Chinese version, this 12 items were measured twice—one set referred to their experiences before they came to the United States and one set referred to their experiences now. The instrument addresses how the participants from two different cultures make their choices of address terms in various occasions, for example, formal, informal, orally and in writing. The survey for the Americans was posted through the USC LINGGRAD (Linguistics Graduate Student Organization) email network and the version for the Chinese were posted through USC FACC (Friendship Association of Chinese Student and Scholars) email list-serve. I also personally administered the survey to some Americans (graduate research assistants) at the Office of Program Evaluation, and some faculty members at the Program of Educational Psychology, Research and Foundations, USC College of Education. The total responses were 51 (27 for Americans, and 24 for the Chinese).

**Results**

The Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests of population difference (an alternative to Chi-Square test) on the 12 items indicated that while the two groups (Americans and Chinese-then) significantly ($\alpha=0.05$) differed on five items (i.e., informal greeting to superiors, informal letter-writing, expecting to be addressed by subordinates, addressing a stranger...
for help and addressing younger family members), the two groups (Americans and Chinese-now) differed significantly only on one item (informal greeting to superiors).

As illustrated in Table 1.1 below, while about 52% of the Americans chose first name (FN), and 48% chose no name (NN) for informal greeting to friends, and the percentages were reversed for parting, the Chinese responses were diversified: although about 46%, and 42% of the respondents would choose NN for informal greeting and informal parting, a considerable percentage (38%, and 29%) of the respondents would choose LN or full name (FULL) in the two informal settings when they were in China. Changes for the Chinese are obvious: while only 17% of them would use FN before coming to the US, now about 63% would choose FN for informal peer greeting, and for informal parting, the increase in the percentage of respondents who chose FN is .38.

Table 1.1

*Comparison of Survey Responses by Group (Informal/Familiar Greeting and Parting) (%)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Informal &amp; Familiar Greeting</th>
<th>Informal Parting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NN</td>
<td>FN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Americans</td>
<td>48.1</td>
<td>51.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese-1</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese -2</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>62.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: a. NN=No Name, FN=First Name, LN=Last Name, FULL=Full Name, and TLN=Title+Last Name.
b. Chinese-1 refers to their responses on the prior-to-America experiences whereas Chinese-2 refers to their responses on the current experiences in the United States.

As for informal greeting to superiors, status consciousness is reflected by the fact that for both cultural groups a majority of them (52%, and 83% respectively) would
choose TLN although sharp differences can also be found: about 44% of the American respondents would use either NN or FN, none of the Chinese respondents would choose NN or FN when they were in China. Though about 21% of them now would choose FN, none of them would do so before coming to the U.S.

Table 1.2

*Proportion of Responses to Informal-Greeting-to-Superior Setting (%)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>NN</th>
<th>FN</th>
<th>LN</th>
<th>FULL</th>
<th>TLN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Americans</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>51.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese-1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>83.3</td>
<td>79.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese-2</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Notations and symbols are same as in Table 1.1.

As for informal letter-writing, not much differences were found between the two groups: although small portion of the Chinese used LN or FULL and none of the Americans use either of them, great majority of the respondents for both groups would use FN in informal letter-writing.

Table 1.3

*Proportion of Responses to Informal Personal Letter-Writing Setting (%)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>NN</th>
<th>FN</th>
<th>LN</th>
<th>FULL</th>
<th>TLN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Americans</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>77.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese-1</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>62.6</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese-2</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Notations and symbols are same as in Table 1.1.

When addressing superiors formally, Chinese respondents tended to use TLN more often than the American respondents. Still cultural differences are reflected by the fact
that while about 29% of the American respondents chose either NN or FN to superiors, none of the Chinese would do so.

This difference is more salient when we compare the situation for formal-letter writing. While 63% of the Americans would choose FN even for formal occasion, about 80% of the Chinese would use either TLN or FULL before. Some change on the Chinese respondents is reflected by the fact that while none would use NN or FN before, now about 38% would use either of them.

Table 1.4

_Proportion of Responses to Addressing-Superior-Formally Setting (%)_

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Formally addressing a superior</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Americans</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese-1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese-2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: “O” stands for “other”. Most of the answers in this category indicate that their choices depend on situation/style/interlocutors. Other annotations and symbols are the same as in Table 1.1.

Table 1.5

_Proportion of Responses to Formal-Letter-Writing Setting (%)_

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Writing formal letters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Americans</td>
<td>63.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese-1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese-2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: “O” stands for “other”. Most of the answers in this category indicate that their choices depend on situation/style/interlocutors. Other annotations and symbols are the same as in Table 1.1.

When addressing family members, the American and Chinese respondents did not differ much. Both Americans and Chinese respondents would choose either kinship terms, or nicknames or first names. When Americans address younger ones, in terms of
descending percentage, the order is FN-NIN-KN whereas when they address older or elder ones, the order is KN-FN-NIN. For the Chinese respondents, the order is the same: KN-NIN-(FN) for both occasions though a couple of them would use TLN when addressing the elders.

In terms of language change, the Chinese students now tend to use FN more frequently on both occasions than when they did in China.

Table 1.6

Comparison of Survey Responses by Group (Addressing Family Members)(%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Addressing Younger Ones</th>
<th>Addressing Older or Elders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KN</td>
<td>NIN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Americans</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese-1</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese-2</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>29.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: KN=Kinship Name, NIN=Nickname, other symbols and annotations are same as in Table 1.1.

As illustrated in Table 1.7 below, when seeking help from a stranger, most American and Chinese respondents now will use request routine (i.e., excuse me), but language change can be found in the Chinese responses to pre- and post-American experiences: Before they came here only 4.2 would use request routine while 91.7% of them would use (honorific) title, but now about 96% will choose request routine and none will use the (honorific) title.

Table 1.7

Proportion of Responses to Addressing-a-stranger-for-help Setting (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Addressing a stranger for help</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Americans</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese (Then)</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese (Now)</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: NN=greeting=no name, RR=request routine.
When asked how they would expect to be addressed by subordinates, about equally one third of the Americans will choose NN, FN or TLN, but a majority (92%) of the Chinese respondents would choose TLN when they were in China. Changes to the Chinese students were also obvious: while only a couple of them would expect to be addressed by NN, and none would expect to be addressed by FN, 8% of them now would expect to be addressed by NN, and 54% would expect to be addressed by FN.

Table 1.8

Proportion of Responses to the Setting of Expecting to be addressed by a subordinate (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Expecting to be addressed by a subordinate</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NN</td>
<td>FN</td>
<td>LN</td>
<td>FULL</td>
<td>TLN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Americans</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese-1</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>91.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese-2</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>54.2</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Notations and symbols are same as in Table 1.1.

Table 1.9 illustrates the results of responses to a question about their consideration/motivations in the same and cross-cultural contact. A similar pattern was found for both cultural respondents: a majority of the American and Chinese respondents will choose “politeness” as the most important for both occasions, and about one-fifth to one-third of the Americans and about one-fifth to a quarter of the Chinese will choose “respect” as most important consideration for same and cross-cultural situations respectively.

Table 1.9

Comparison of Survey Responses by Group (Consideration/Motivations) (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Homo-Cultural Contact</th>
<th>Cross-Cultural Contact</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>70.4</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(19)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(18)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: a. S=Solidarity, P=Politeness, R=Respect, O=Other
b. The number in bracket refers to the counts of respondents under that category.
c. Due to the missing data, the responses of Chinese here only refer to the post-America (now) experiences.
Table 1.11 and Figure 1.1 and 1.2 illustrate the overall comparison in some informal and formal settings. When summing up the data across four informal settings (informal greeting to a friend, informal parting, informal letter-writing, and informal greeting to a superior), 50% of total responses for the Americans indicated FN (first name), and 36% indicated NN (no name) whereas only 27% of the total responses for the Chinese (Pre-America experience) indicated FN, 25% indicated NN, and 23% indicated TLN. However, dramatic change is found for the Chinese (Post-American experience): 54% of the total responses now indicated FN though the response pattern for NN and TLN did not change much. When summing up the data for the two formal settings (formal letter-writing, and formally addressing a superior), the difference is obvious: a great majority of the Chinese would/will choose TLN (81%) whereas 48% of the American respondents will choose TLN although 44% of them will still use FN to address on formal occasions.

Table 1.11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th></th>
<th>Four Setting Counts</th>
<th>Percent Within Settings</th>
<th>Two Setting Counts</th>
<th>Percent Within Settings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Americans</td>
<td>NN</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>FN</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>LN</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>FULL</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TLN</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1.11

*Overall Comparison of Address Term Choices in Some Informal and Formal Settings (Continued)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Choice</th>
<th>Four Informal Counts</th>
<th>Percent Within Settings</th>
<th>Two Formal Setting Counts</th>
<th>Percent Within Settings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinese-Then</td>
<td>NN</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FN</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LN</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FULL</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TLN</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese-Now</td>
<td>NN</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FN</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LN</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FULL</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TLN</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Symbols are the same as in Table 1.1.

Figure 1.1 Comparison of Responses to 4 Informal Settings By Group

Address Term Choices

1=NN, 2=FN, 3=LN, 4=FULL, 5=TLN

N1=27, N2/N3=24
Figure 1.2 Comparison of Responses to Some Formal Settings By Group

Discussion and Conclusion

As illustrated by the data, several findings are worth discussing and inferences may be drawn from them. First of all, my hypothesis that differences between Americans and Chinese in their choices of address terms are governed by cultural rules (norms) seemed to be supported by data. Most of the American respondents tend to use either FN or NN in most informal settings and even in some formal settings or status conscious settings (for example, formally addressing one’s familiar superiors or writing a formal personal letter). In comparison, the Chinese respondents under the context in China would use diversified choices—more percentage of them than the Americans would concern the status classification and choose TLN even in informal settings. As for the formal settings
where social status are conscious, most Chinese respondents (much more percentage than the Americans) would choose the more respectful TLN. As noted by Brown and Ford (1961), TLN indicated inequality and unfamiliarity while (mutual) FN indicated equality and familiarity. One explanation for the differences between the two cultural groups is that although China has been undergoing rapid social change toward more egalitarian and equality, its cultural rules or linguistic norms are deeply rooted in social hierarchy and status consciousness while the United States is a more democratic and equal society. Thus, using FN or NN reinforce “familiarity” or “solidarity” for the Americans whereas using the title conscious address terms for the Chinese helps them express their “humbleness” or “politeness” or “respect”.

Secondly, age may be also an important factor that determined the respondents’ choice. While most of the Chinese respondents belong to young or middle-age groups, about 44% of American respondents are above 45. In most contexts, it is quite appropriate for the elders/older ones to address the younger ones by first name or greeting plus no name in both American and Chinese cultures.

Thirdly, the Chinese respondents are a special group, representing of those who came to the United States to study, and who have been undergoing acculturation or assimilation, and undergoing a process of linguistic change. They are well-educated intellectuals, bilingual (fluent in English and Chinese) and sensitive to linguistic changes—their acculturation to the American culture may have already begun far before they came here. Giles and Powesland (1975) observe: “Accommodation through speech can be regarded as an attempt on the part of speaker to modify or disguise his persona in order to make it more acceptable to the person addressed.” Accommodation theory
certainly interplayed in the Chinese respondents’ language change in terms of the choices of address terms.

Finally, my analysis is based on self-reported data for artificially-constructed scenarios, and the respondents’ answers were based on their memories. Obviously, the patterns or the conclusions I’ve drawn are more a reflection of what these groups THINK or SAY they would do in these various scenarios than what they actually do. Moreover, limited by the data-collection, even if the findings of this study are valid in its own right, they cannot be generalized to the American and Chinese communities at large without constraint. The results would be at best only typical of college or university communities, especially for the Chinese respondents, who to certain degree reflect the Chinese student (intellectual) community, studying at American universities and/or colleges. For future study of the same topic, it is recommended to use a more representative and stratified sample. It would be of relevant interest to compare respondents in the mainland China with those immigrants of Chinese who have lived in the US for some years. The length of their stay in the US may be also an interesting factor for it is an indicator of the degree of their assimilation to the American mainstream culture among other social factors.

References


Title: Teachers’ Assessment Practices and Fourth Graders’ Reading Literacy Achievements: An International Study

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ABSTRACT

Teachers’ Assessment Practices and Fourth Graders’ Reading Literacy Achievements: An International Study

Shiqi Hao

Majority of the literature in assessment was critical of traditional selected-response formats of assessment and argued for performance assessment, claiming that the latter has advantages over the former type assessment in that it measures abilities and skills of a wider range and is more aligned with those skills required in the real world. In addition, it is often stated that performance assessments generally tap high-order thinking skills. These views, however, are typically not based on data or empirical research. This dissertation study, using the data of the four English-speaking nations (i.e., Canada, England, New Zealand and the United States) from the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) 2001 database, investigated the relationship between teachers’ assessment practices engaged for formative and summative purposes and their fourth graders’ achievement in the three aspects of reading literacy (i.e., reading for acquiring and using information, reading for literacy experience and overall reading literacy achievement). This study also investigated the relationship between a school level SES variable (i.e., percentage of students from economically disadvantaged homes in a school) and school mean reading literacy achievement scores, and whether a relation existed between this school SES variable and teachers’ assessment practices.

HLM analyses indicate a slightly negative relation between teachers’ performance-based assessment practice engaged for summative purposes and their students’ scores on the three aspects of reading literacy although no apparent relationship
was found between teachers’ performance-based assessment practice engaged for formative purpose and their fourth graders’ reading literacy achievement. The findings supported a negative relation between school level proxy SES index (i.e., school percentage of students from economically disadvantaged homes) and mean school student reading achievement. Moreover, the findings indicated that teachers from poorer schools (i.e., schools with higher percentage of students from economically disadvantaged homes) appeared to use more frequently performance-based assessment than teachers from richer schools (i.e., schools with lower percentage of students from economically disadvantaged homes).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of the submission</th>
<th>The relationship between nutrition and child mental health in response to natural disasters in Indonesia: A literature review</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Name of the author</td>
<td>Latifatul Hasanah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department and affiliation</td>
<td>Department of Medicine, Dentistry and Health Sciences, School of Population Health, student of Master of Public Health, University of Melbourne, Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mailing address</td>
<td>125 Lygon street, Carlton, Victoria, Australia 3053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e-mail address</td>
<td><a href="mailto:l.hasanah@pgrad.unimelb.edu.au">l.hasanah@pgrad.unimelb.edu.au</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phone number</td>
<td>+61433 818 160</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The relationship between nutrition and child mental health in response to natural disasters in Indonesia: A literature review
By Latifatul Hasanah

Abstract

Aim: to analyse the link between nutrition and mental health in order to response better to child mental health in relation to natural disasters in Indonesia. Objectives: examining child mental health in emergencies, understanding relationship food, nutrition and child mental health in emergencies, analysing evidence on combined nutrition and psychosocial interventions in child mental health, proposing evidence-based practice to response better to child mental health in relation to natural disasters in Indonesia. Methods: Relevant studies and articles for child nutrition and mental health are searched for by using library search engines. When the databases provided only an abstract of a study selected, the CISTI database is used as a strategy to generate the complete article. Further materials are collected by browsing websites of governmental and international organizations such as the WHO, the UNICEF website and also contact some experts in this area. The main key words are “nutrition”, “child/children”, “mental health”, “psychosocial”, and “interventions”. Other key words such as “food shortages”, “food insecurities”, “emergencies”, “assessment”, “stimulation” and “health” were used in combination with the main key words. Inclusion criteria: the materials were published from 1990 to 2005, both English and non-English materials and the materials have to discuss or cover evidence-based research and evidence-based recommendation practice related to nutrition and child mental health. Possible limitations: the research may miss some unpublished documents. Intended outcome: to give a baseline literature review of the importance of combined interventions in disaster response in Indonesia that may change the disaster policy or plan or practices to better address child mental health associated with natural disasters.
Developmental Relief Response to 2001 Drought in Southern Zambia

From 2001 to 2003 one of the worst food security crises in over a decade struck the southern region of Africa due to prevailing drought conditions. By the end of September 2002, it was estimated that nine million people were in need of food aid and by March 2003 another 14.4 million would join their ranks. To address this crisis, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Food for Peace (FFP) funded the Consortium for Southern Africa Food Security Emergency (C-SAFE), a multi-country, multi-agency response composed of CARE, Catholic Relief Services and World Vision. C-SAFE was to provide food aid and developmental relief to Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe using a new “regional” approach. The objectives were to 1. Protect and/or improve the food intake of vulnerable groups, 2. Increase/maintain productive assets among targeted vulnerable communities and households, and 3. Increase resilience to food security shocks among those vulnerable communities and households. During the life of the project, objective one was mostly realized, and some of objective two. Objective three, increasing resiliency to food security, did not occur, but C-SAFE efforts paved the way for future funding efforts to do so.

Key Words: food security, Zambia, USAID, drought, developmental relief

Dr. Rodrick A. Hay, California State University Dominguez Hills, Carson, CA

Ms. Jeanne Downen, Technical Assistance to Non-Governmental Organizations, Inc. (TANGO, Inc.), Tucson, AZ
Title: Assessing the Quality of Academic Journals: The Case of Social Work

Topic area: Social Work

Presentation type: Paper session

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 Assessing the Quality of Academic Journals:  
The Case of Social Work 

Publishing in academic journals is a central task and preoccupation for social scientists. Not only is publication in peer-reviewed outlets the primary way scholars influence their fields, but personal publication records are critical at many junctures in academic life: hiring, tenure, promotion, merit review, and post-tenure review (Holden, Rosenberg, & Barker, 2005; Seiple, 2003). Because of the importance of peer-reviewed publication, the problem arises of how to evaluate the worth of specific contributions to the academic literature. All disciplines struggle with the issue of the comparative prestige or importance of different outlets for scholarship, particularly with the ranking of academic journals (e.g., Amin & Mabe, 2000). Schools of Social Work have entered into the exercise of ranking journals relatively recently, and debate still rages over the advisability of rankings, as well as over alternative bases for rankings.

This paper considers issues surrounding the ranking of academic and professional journals, including practices in other social sciences disciplines as well as in social work. It compares published rankings of social work journals that employ different approaches, including impact factors based on frequency of citation (Furr, 1995; Journal Citation Reports, 2005), familiarity or reputation among faculty (Cnaan, Caputo, & Shmuely, 1994; Sellers, Perry, Mathiesen, & Smith, 2004; Sellers, Mathiesen, Smith, Perry, 2006), and mixed criteria including longevity and visibility (Williams, 2002). The author concludes that, despite differences in method of ranking, a substantial degree of consistency emerges in
the journals that repeatedly are placed among the top 20 social work journals. This finding is presented graphically in tables showing side-by-side rankings of journals using different methods of assessment.

The paper concludes with discussion of the implications of using ranking systems to help establish the value of published scholarship. For example, the use of journal rankings in tenure decisions may discourage pre-tenure faculty from publishing in fields that fall outside the purview of the best regarded journals. The paper presentation invites discussion of the practice of ranking journals from the perspectives of the disciplines represented at the session.

References


The early Christian (Coptic) period in Egypt has received little attention compared to the Pharaonic, early Greco-Roman, and Islamic periods. This is partly due to the oversight of Coptic materials by early antiquarians, historians, and archaeologists who focused on the Pharaonic period. Thus, there is still much to learn regarding this phase of Egypt’s history, especially when using a multidisciplinary approach.

Egypt has been extremely religious throughout its history. Many secular customs and daily practices were based on religious doctrine. As Christianity began to arise in the Roman Empire, the Egyptians started to embrace this new theology as well. As a result, Christianity has early foundations in Egypt. It is believed to have started in Alexandria with Saint Mark around A.D. 43. However, Christianity did not spread throughout much of Egypt until the monastic movement in the third and fourth centuries. During the first and second centuries, Alexandria was a main religious center in the Roman Empire. Although Christianity flourished in the Mediterranean city, there was still a pagan presence and, as such, influence. Thus the Christianity of Alexandria in this early period was heavily embedded in Platonic philosophy. In addition, Gnosticism and Judaism flourished in Alexandria, having an impact on the Christians in the city. By the third century, monasticism became very popular throughout Egypt and monasteries were being built along the Nile and in the desert.

There are many documents that mention this early period in history. However, like most texts from earlier periods, they do not always inform later researchers about every aspect of the culture. Therefore, it is up to the scholar to fill in the blanks. This concept serves as the basis of this paper, where visual culture, archaeological, and historical methods and research have been used in order to gain a better understanding of the early Christian period in Egypt. This research is based on archaeological excavations conducted at Tell El-Hibeh, Middle Egypt for the last three summers, an examination into the early art of the Coptic Church, and comprehensive research on early church histories and writings from monks. The result of blending the data from this multidisciplinary research ultimately provides a more complete picture of the early Coptic Church.
Was Keynes Right?
Does Current Year Disposable Income Drive Consumption Spending?

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Abstract: In the Keynesian consumption function, current income is asserted to be the main determinant of consumption. This paper examines the extent to which the Keynesian consumption function explains 1960 - 2000 U.S. consumption patterns. The results are compared to the longer term average income variables suggested by Friedman’s Permanent income Hypothesis and Ando and Modigliani’s Life Cycle Hypothesis as the income variable affecting consumption. We find variance explained by the consumption function drops dramatically when multi-year average incomes are substituted for the Keynesian current income variable. However, when added to the Keynesian function as a second income variable, they increase explained variance from 88% to 90%, compared to the Keynesian income variable alone. This small amount suggests that their may be a small portion of the U.S. population whose consumption decisions follow the more complex formulations suggested by the Permanent Income and Life Cycle hypotheses, while the simpler current income formulation used by Keynes appears to characterize the consumption function of most of the population.

The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money (Keynes 1936) suggests that the major determinant of current year consumption spending is current year income. So, for example, the portrayal of the consumption - income relationship in Ruggles & Ruggles (1956) classic text on National Income Accounting uses the relationship between 1936 income and consumption levels to illustrate this relationship. Kuznets’ 1952 American Economic Review paper on the marginal and average propensity to save (and consume) also focus on this current year consumption/saving - current year income tie. Typically, “IS/LM” chapters in textbooks example characterize Keynes’ relationship as one in which current year income determines current year consumption. To some extent, this is done implicitly by the failure to denote any difference in time period for the income and consumption variables. See for example the Mankiw (2006, Cptr.10) or Bernanke’s (2005, Cptr.9) Macroeconomics texts.

1 John J. Heim is clinical associate professor of economics at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. He has benefited greatly from discussions on various topics with colleagues in the economics department at R.P.I. All responsibility for errors, of course, remains his own.
Keynes did however note that (p.97) full adjustment to consumer spending to income changes might be less than instantaneous, especially during relatively short periods after an income change. But this seems to be the sole qualification to the general notion that current income drives current consumption.

Subsequent work by Friedman (1957) - the “Permanent Income Hypothesis”, and by Ando and Modigliani (1963) - the “Life Cycle Hypothesis” are predicated on the notion that expected levels of income over a longer time horizon determine consumption, not just current year income. Roughly speaking, this longer time horizon refers to some average of anticipated and/or previously experienced yearly. For example, Mankiw, discussing the Permanent Income Hypothesis, notes “permanent income is average income”, and his formulation of Modigliani income variable implies the same, since the income variable times the number of years worked is given as the definition of total lifetime earnings. This of course is only true if the income variable is average income. (Mankiw, 2006, pp. 472, 476),

Our purpose in this paper will be to statistically test the Keynesian consumption function on U.S. data 1960-2000, using current income as the definition of the income level that affects consumption. Other variables will be added to the function to control for other things thought to affect consumption, such as wealth, interest rates and access to consumer credit. We will then replace the current income variable with both adaptive expectations-based and rational expectations-based estimates of likely average income over time. Our goal will be to see if longer period average income variables are more successful at accounting for variance in consumption spending than just the Keynesian current income variable alone.

**The Basic Keynesian Function:**

Keynes argues in chapter 8 of *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* (1936) that income, wealth, fiscal policy (taxes) and possibly the rate of interest might influence consumption. However, he felt

… income…is, as a rule, the principal variable upon which the consumption-constituent of the aggregate demand function will depend…. (p.96)

though

…windfall changes in capital-values will be capable of changing the propensity to consume, and substantial changes in the rate of interest and in fiscal policy may make some difference (pp.95-96)…

where “fiscal policy” is a reference to tax levels. In chapter 9 he also notes other factors that might affect the level of consumption spending: precautionary saving (for unknown, but potential, future needs), saving for known future needs (like retirement), and saving to finance improvements in future standards of living.

Hence, we can sum up Keynes by saying his determinants of consumption spending included after tax income, wealth, and the interest rate, and a desire to save.
To these, our Keynesian consumption function below will add a “consumer credit crowd out” variable. Prior studies by this author (Heim 2007) strongly suggest another aspect of fiscal policy, the government deficit, systematically reduces savings available to finance larger consumer purchases, such as cars, homes and furniture, or even credit card spending on smaller consumer purchases. This is the same sort of crowd out effect commonly discussed as adversely affecting investment.

Keynes also argued (p. 97) that the proportion of total income saved would grow as income grew, resulting in falling average propensity to consume as income grew.

Table C1
Consumers' Income and Expenditure, by Income Group, 1935-36
(in millions, unless otherwise noted)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Group (in dollars)</th>
<th># of Families (000)</th>
<th>Personal Income</th>
<th>Personal Taxes</th>
<th>Disposable Income</th>
<th>Consumption Expenditures</th>
<th>Personal Saving</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under $780</td>
<td>13,153</td>
<td>$6,190</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>$6,019</td>
<td>$7,226</td>
<td>-$1,207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>780-1,450</td>
<td>13,153</td>
<td>14,154</td>
<td>616</td>
<td>13,638</td>
<td>13,890</td>
<td>-252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,450-2,000</td>
<td>5,974</td>
<td>10,035</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>9,626</td>
<td>9,164</td>
<td>462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000-3,000</td>
<td>4,434</td>
<td>10,577</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>10,112</td>
<td>9,043</td>
<td>1,069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000-5,000</td>
<td>1,818</td>
<td>6,644</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>6,301</td>
<td>5,125</td>
<td>1,176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,000-15,000</td>
<td>749</td>
<td>5,839</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>5,426</td>
<td>3,529</td>
<td>1,897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15,000 &amp; Over</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>5,820</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>5,070</td>
<td>2,237</td>
<td>2,833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>39,458</td>
<td>$59,259</td>
<td>$3,067</td>
<td>$56,192</td>
<td>$50,214</td>
<td>$5,978</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ruggles & Ruggles, (1956, p.306)

Of course, a declining APC means the function has a positive intercept, as is commonly shown in textbook presentations of the Keynesian consumption function.
In another study (Heim, 2007a), this author found that regression results on a modified Keynesian function of the following type explained about 88% of the variance in consumer spending in the 1960 - 2000 period:

\[
C_0 = \beta_1 + \beta_2 (Y-T_G)_0 + \beta_3 (T_G - G)_0 - \beta_4 (PR)_0 + \beta_5 (DJ)_{-2}
\]

where

\((Y-T_G)_0\) = Total income minus taxes, defined as the GDP minus that portion of total government receipts used to finance government purchases of goods and services, i.e., total government receipts minus what’s needed to finance transfer payments in the current period.

\((T_G - G)_0\) = The government deficit (interpreted as a restrictor of consumer as well as investment credit. Usually we will disaggregate this into two separate variables in regressions: \(\beta_{3A} T_{G(0)}\) and \(\beta_{3B} G\). because we found the effects of each on consumer spending to differ, with the tax variable the more important. (See Heim 2007)

\((PR)_0\) = An interest rate measure, the Prime rate, for the current period. This rate is a base rate for much consumer credit.

\((DJ)_{-2}\) = A stock market wealth measure, the Dow Jones Composite Average, lagged two years

**METHODOLOGY**

All data used in the study is taken from the Council of Economic Advisors’ statistical appendix to the *Economic Report of the President, 2002*, Tables B2, B3, B7, B26, B54, B60, B73, B82, B90, B95 and B110. All data are expressed in real 1996 dollars, or converted to same using the GDP deflator in Table B3.

First difference versions of this modified Keynesian function (1) were used in regressions to reduce the distorting effects of multicollinearity and non-stationarity inherent in most time series models:

\[
\Delta C_0 = \beta_2 \Delta (Y-T_G)_0 + \beta_3 \Delta (T_G - G)_0 - \beta_4 \Delta (PR)_0 + \beta_5 \Delta (DJ)_{-2}
\]

or, entering separately the revenue and government spending components

\[
\Delta C_0 = \beta_2 \Delta (Y-T_G)_0 + \beta_{3A} \Delta (T_{G(0)}) - \beta_{3B} \Delta (G)_0 - \beta_4 \Delta (PR)_0 + \beta_5 \Delta (DJ)_{-2}
\]

Each regression below shows the estimated marginal effect (regression coefficient) for the explanatory variables, the t statistic associated with it, the percent of variance explained and the Durbin Watson autocorrelation statistic. Throughout the remainder of the paper, marginal effects with a t-statistic of 1.8 are significant at the 8% level, 2.0 are significant at the 5% level and t-statistics of 2.3 and 2.7 are significant at the 3% and 1% level respectively.
Because of the simultaneity between C (or its component part, M) and Y inherent in these equations, two stage least squares estimates of \( \Delta(Y-T_G)_0 \) were developed, using the remaining right hand side variables as first stage regressors. Newey-West heteroskedasticity corrections were also made.

Findings

The Keynesian Model: A Consumption Function Using Only Current Income

Using the variables described above, our regression estimates for the Keynesian consumption function are as follows:

\[
\Delta C_0 = 0.73 \Delta (Y-T_G)_0 + 0.47 \Delta (T_G-G)_0 , - 6.92 \Delta PR_0 , + 0.56 \Delta DJ-2 , \quad R^2 = 83\%
\]

\( \text{t} \) \quad (20.0) \quad (4.2) \quad (-2.4) \quad (2.7) \quad \text{D.W.} = 1.7

This regression shows all of the variables Keynes cited as determinants of consumption to be statistically significant at the 2% level or better. They are shown in order of their contributions to explained variance when entered in step-wise fashion. Disposable income accounts for 68% of the variance when entered first, more than any other variable, as Keynes suggested. When consumer credit limitations are added, represented by the size of the government deficit, explained variance increases from 68% to 78% - more than for any other variable entered second after disposable income. Subsequently adding the interest rate variable increases it to 81%, and adding the wealth variable raises it to 83%.

However, preliminary testing consistently indicated that increases in the government deficit due to lowering taxes had a more systematic negative effect on consumer spending, presumably by adversely affecting credit availability, than did increasing government spending. Our research here does not permit definitively examining why, but one hypothesis is that the Federal Reserve may be more likely to increase the money supply just before or during periods of increased deficits due to government spending, but not when the deficit increases due to tax reductions. As a result, in future analyses, we will use the disaggregated form of the government budget deficit shown below:

\[
\Delta C_0 = 0.66 \Delta (Y-T_G)_0(+\text{Keynes}) + 0.52 \Delta T_G(0), + 0.10 \Delta G_0 , - 7.23 \Delta PR_0 , + 0.42 \Delta DJ-2 , \quad R^2 = 88\%
\]

\( \text{t} \) \quad (26.6) \quad (5.2) \quad (0.5) \quad (-3.0) \quad (2.2) \quad \text{D.W.} = 1.8

This will now become our baseline Keynesian model. We will then measure the success of other models against this model using multi year income averages to reflect adaptive or rational expectations models of how income affects consumption, as per Friedman and Modigliani.

First, we will attempt to see if consumer spending is driven by only past income history over a number of recent years, i.e., an average or permanent income. This we will call the adaptive expectations version of the income variable because it averages current income only with incomes earned in the past. It views any change in this years’ income above a multi-year average as transitory in nature, not warranting a major expenditure shift.
Further below, we shall also test a rational expectations formulation, using expectations of income to be earned in the future (using actual income earned in the future as a proxy for “rationally expected” income). We will also combine this with past income to find an average of lifetime income, at least from the perspective of what’s been happening in the recent past and likely to happen in the near future. This we will think of as a “Life Cycle” or “Permanent average income variable, after Modigliani and Friedman.

Adaptive Expectations Models:

Our definition of adaptive expectations is that people view their permanent or life cycle income as an average of incomes they have been used to receiving in the past. Below we present results for several possible definitions of this income average, varying the number and combination of years in the past that constitute the average. The subscripts on the income variable denote the years included. The Keynesian “current income only” result from above is restated first for ease of comparison with the non-Keynesian results.

\[
\Delta C_0 = \gamma (\Delta (Y-T_G)0) \gamma + \gamma \Delta T_G(0) \gamma + \gamma \Delta G_0 \gamma + \gamma \Delta PR_0 \gamma + \gamma \Delta DJ \gamma R^2 = 88\% \\
\text{D.W.} = 1.8
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\Delta C_0 &= .66 \Delta (Y-T_G)0_{(Keynes)} + .52 \Delta T_G(0) + .10 \Delta G_0 - 7.23 \Delta PR_0 + .42 \Delta DJ \gamma R^2 = 88\% \\
\text{D.W.} &= 1.8 \\
\Delta C_0 &= .55 \Delta (Y-T_G)1 \gamma + .43 \Delta T_G(0) + .20 \Delta G_0 - 9.11 \Delta PR_0 + 1.06 \Delta DJ \gamma R^2 = 42\% \\
\text{D.W.} &= 2.1 \\
\Delta C_0 &= .54 \Delta (Y-T_G)2 \gamma + .71 \Delta T_G(0) - .08 \Delta G_0 - 6.20 \Delta PR_0 + .84 \Delta DJ \gamma R^2 = 32\% \\
\text{D.W.} &= 1.3 \\
\end{align*}
\]

The regressions above show that when the Keynesian current income variable \(\Delta (Y-T_G)0\) is removed from the regression and replaced by an average of several recent past years incomes, the amount of variance explained by the income variable drops considerably. In models that rely totally on prior year income averages, explained variance drops from 88% in the Keynesian model to 31% - 48%. Only in models where the income average included current income as well as past years’ income were the results even close to the Keynesian model, with explained variance only falling from 88% to 65% - 81%. Even here, the best result, 81%, was only obtained by using a two year average that weighted current income more heavily (50%) in computing the average than in the other models.
Hence, the data do not seem to support an explanation of the average consumer’s behavior consistent with an adaptive expectations formulation of Friedman’s permanent income or Modigliani’s life cycle hypotheses.

However, if we test the hypothesis that some portion of Americans may be Keynesian, while others are more Friedman/Modigliani in their behavior, we find that the test results support such a theory, though only marginally when adaptive expectations alone are used. The results are shown in the following six additional regressions:

\[
\Delta C_0 = 0.57 \Delta(Y-T_G)_0 + 0.14 \Delta AV(Y-T_G)_{0,1,2,3,4} + 0.55 \Delta T_G(0) - 0.02 \Delta G_0 - 7.27 \Delta PR_0 + 0.33 \Delta DJ_2 \quad R^2 = 88%
\]

\[
(t) \quad (10.8) \quad (1.8) \quad (5.4) \quad (-0.1) \quad (-3.2) \quad (1.5) \quad DW = 1.6
\]

\[
\Delta C_0 = 0.54 \Delta(Y-T_G)_0 + 0.17 \Delta AV(Y-T_G)_{0,1,2} + 0.54 \Delta T_G(0) - 0.09 \Delta G_0 - 7.72 \Delta PR_0 + 0.37 \Delta DJ_2 \quad R^2 = 89%
\]

\[
(t) \quad (7.2) \quad (1.6) \quad (5.3) \quad (-0.4) \quad (-3.7) \quad (1.8) \quad DW = 1.5
\]

\[
\Delta C_0 = 0.50 \Delta(Y-T_G)_0 + 0.20 \Delta AV(Y-T_G)_{0,1} + 0.51 \Delta T_G(0) - 0.03 \Delta G_0 - 7.90 \Delta PR_0 + 0.40 \Delta DJ_2 \quad R^2 = 89%
\]

\[
(t) \quad (5.2) \quad (1.6) \quad (5.5) \quad (-0.1) \quad (-3.5) \quad (2.0) \quad DW = 1.5
\]

\[
\Delta C_0 = 0.59 \Delta(Y-T_G)_0 + 0.11 \Delta AV(Y-T_G)_{0,1,2,3,4} + 0.55 \Delta T_G(0) - 0.02 \Delta G_0 - 7.27 \Delta PR_0 + 0.33 \Delta DJ_2 \quad R^2 = 88%
\]

\[
(t) \quad (15.1) \quad (1.8) \quad (5.4) \quad (-0.1) \quad (-3.2) \quad (1.5) \quad DW = 1.6
\]

\[
\Delta C_0 = 0.60 \Delta(Y-T_G)_0 + 0.12 \Delta AV(Y-T_G)_{0,1,2} + 0.54 \Delta T_G(0) - 0.09 \Delta G_0 - 7.72 \Delta PR_0 + 0.37 \Delta DJ_2 \quad R^2 = 89%
\]

\[
(t) \quad (14.4) \quad (1.6) \quad (5.3) \quad (-0.4) \quad (-3.7) \quad (1.8) \quad DW = 1.5
\]

\[
\Delta C_0 = 0.60 \Delta(Y-T_G)_0 + 0.10 \Delta (Y-T_G)_1 + 0.51 \Delta T_G(0) - 0.03 \Delta G_0 - 7.90 \Delta PR_0 + 0.40 \Delta DJ_2 \quad R^2 = 89%
\]

\[
(t) \quad (15.5) \quad (1.6) \quad (5.5) \quad (-0.1) \quad (-3.5) \quad (2.0) \quad DW = 1.5
\]

This dual hypothesis formulation of how income affects consumption adds from 0% to 1% more to explained variance than the current income variable alone. However, the added average income variable is only significant at the 10% (t=1.8) or 11% (t=1.6) level. For many, this would not constitute sufficient evidence that any significant portion of the population is of the (adaptive expectations version) Friedman Modigliani type.

Multicollinearity of the average income variable with the current year income variable could be, but does not seem to be, the reason for the low t-statistic in the six equations. For example, in the 6th equation below, where the average income variable is comprised of current and immediate past year income levels, the correlation between this variable and the Keynesian current income variable is only 0.17. By comparison, in the equation using current income and a three year average income (current and past two years), the correlation is far greater: 0.66. However, in both cases the average income variables' t-statistic is the same (t =1.6).

if you drop the Keynesian current disposable income variable from the joint hypothesis, leaving only the Friedman/Modigliani hypothesis, R^2 falls substantially, from 88-89% to at least 80% and usually much less. The relatively high 80% is only for the two-period average \(\Delta AV(Y-T_G)_{0,1} \) which includes current income, the one closest to the Keynesian formulation \(\Delta AV(Y-T_G)_0 \). Without the Keynesian current income variable as part of the average, other past income averages explain even less variance, usually much less.
However, if we drop the Friedman/Modigliani average income variable (at least in its adaptive expectations form), explained variance drops a maximum of one percent. Hence, it would seem that most consumers are Keynesian, with current year income driving the consumption behavior data. At best a small fraction may exhibit Life Cycle/Permanent Income Hypothesis behavior (at least of the adaptive expectations type).

Note: In the six equations above, software limitations only allowed 2SLS estimates of $\Delta(Y-T_G)_0$, but not the income averages containing the current year’s income. However, in previous tests comparing 1SLS and 2SLS results, when only an average income variable was used, we did not find any change in regression results when a income average containing current income was a one stage vs. a two stage estimated variable.

### Rational Expectations Hypotheses:

Our definition of rational expectations is that people view their permanent or life cycle income as average incomes received in the past and/or reasonably expected to be received in the future, based on the best available information. Below we present results for several possible definitions of the rational expectations income “average” that might determine current year consumption. The Keynesian “current income” result is also restated immediately below for ease of comparison.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Equation</th>
<th>$\Delta C_0$</th>
<th>$\Delta(Y-T_G)_0$</th>
<th>$\Delta T_G(0)$</th>
<th>$\Delta G_0$</th>
<th>$\Delta PR_0$</th>
<th>$\Delta DJ_2$</th>
<th>$R^2$</th>
<th>D.W.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\Delta C_0 = .66 \Delta(Y-T_G)_0$ (Keynes)</td>
<td>$+.52 \Delta T_G(0)$</td>
<td>$.10 \Delta G_0$</td>
<td>$-7.23 \Delta PR_0$</td>
<td>$.42 \Delta DJ_2$</td>
<td>$R^2 = 88%$</td>
<td>D.W. $= 1.8$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\Delta C_0 = .67 \Delta AV(Y-T_G)_0$</td>
<td>$+.54 \Delta T_G(0)$</td>
<td>$.08 \Delta G_0$</td>
<td>$-2.83 \Delta PR_0$</td>
<td>$.29 \Delta DJ_2$</td>
<td>$R^2 = 82%$</td>
<td>D.W. $= 2.4$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\Delta C_0 = .70 \Delta AV(Y-T_G)_0$</td>
<td>$+.63 \Delta T_G(0)$</td>
<td>$-0.02 \Delta G_0$</td>
<td>$-2.20 \Delta PR_0$</td>
<td>$-0.20 \Delta DJ_2$</td>
<td>$R^2 = 75%$</td>
<td>D.W. $= 2.2$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\Delta C_0 = .70 \Delta AV(Y-T_G)_0$</td>
<td>$+.61 \Delta T_G(0)$</td>
<td>$-0.05 \Delta G_0$</td>
<td>$-1.69 \Delta PR_0$</td>
<td>$-0.43 \Delta DJ_2$</td>
<td>$R^2 = 60%$</td>
<td>D.W. $= 2.0$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\Delta C_0 = .69 \Delta AV(Y-T_G)_0$</td>
<td>$+.68 \Delta T_G(0)$</td>
<td>$-0.14 \Delta G_0$</td>
<td>$-4.48 \Delta PR_0$</td>
<td>$-0.19 \Delta DJ_2$</td>
<td>$R^2 = 54%$</td>
<td>D.W. $= 1.8$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\Delta C_0 = .76 \Delta AV(Y-T_G)_0$</td>
<td>$+.62 \Delta T_G(0)$</td>
<td>$-0.33 \Delta G_0$</td>
<td>$-4.91 \Delta PR_0$</td>
<td>$-0.10 \Delta DJ_2$</td>
<td>$R^2 = 69%$</td>
<td>D.W. $= 2.1$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\Delta C_0 = .74 \Delta AV(Y-T_G)_0$</td>
<td>$+.61 \Delta T_G(0)$</td>
<td>$-0.23 \Delta G_0$</td>
<td>$-3.86 \Delta PR_0$</td>
<td>$-0.31 \Delta DJ_2$</td>
<td>$R^2 = 48%$</td>
<td>D.W. $= 2.0$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\Delta C_0 = .73 \Delta AV(Y-T_G)_0$</td>
<td>$+.67 \Delta T_G(0)$</td>
<td>$-0.19 \Delta G_0$</td>
<td>$-4.89 \Delta PR_0$</td>
<td>$-0.21 \Delta DJ_2$</td>
<td>$R^2 = 42%$</td>
<td>D.W. $= 1.8$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Here, the results are generally worse than the findings for the earlier-tested adaptive expectations models which used only an average income variable. For any number of forward lags here, (e.g., 0,+1,+2,+3) the rational expectations equation has a lower level of explained variance than the previously tested adaptive expectations model with the same lags, but backward rather than forward, e.g., (e.g., 0,-1,-2,-3). In this case, the difference is 60% vs. 67%.

What is most similar about these equations and the earlier adaptive expectations equations is that, generally, those without current income in the average explain less variance in consumption than those with current income in the average.

Hence, a rational expectations version of average income, when used as the only income variable in the consumption function, does not do well. However, it is possible that some parts of the population behave this way, while the rest - a larger group - behave in more Keynesian fashion. If so, we should test both income variables separately in our consumption function and they should explain different portions of the variance in consumption spending. In the equations below, we test the dual hypothesis that a portion of the population responds to income changes in a Keynesian fashion, the rest respond according to the various rational expectations formulations shown above. Again, we also include the simple Keynesian equation to facilitate comparison.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Equation</th>
<th>Coefficient Values</th>
<th>R²</th>
<th>D.W.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ΔC₀ = .66 Δ(Y-TG₀)(Keynes Model)</td>
<td>+.52 ΔT₀, +.10 ΔG₀, - 7.23 ΔPR₀, + .42 ΔDJ₂</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΔC₀ = .5Δ(Y-TG₀)₀ + .13 Δ AVG(Y-TG₀)₀+₁,</td>
<td>+.53 ΔT₀, +.03 ΔG₀ - 5.64 ΔPR₀ + .27 ΔDJ₂</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΔC₀ = .42Δ(Y-TG₀)₀ + .27 Δ AVG(Y-TG₀)₀+₁,</td>
<td>+.53 ΔT₀, +.03 ΔG₀ - 5.64 ΔPR₀ + .27 ΔDJ₂</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΔC₀ = .47Δ(Y-TG₀)₀ + .24 Δ AVG(Y-TG₀)₀+₁,₂</td>
<td>+.56 ΔT₀, - .04 ΔG₀ - 5.63 ΔPR₀ - .06 ΔDJ₂</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΔC₀ = .53Δ(Y-TG₀)₀ + .20 Δ AVG(Y-TG₀)₀+₁,₂,₃</td>
<td>+.53 ΔT₀, - .02 ΔG₀ - 5.26 ΔPR₀ - .40 ΔDJ₂</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΔC₀ = .55Δ(Y-TG₀)₀ + .17 Δ AVG(Y-TG₀)₀+₁,₂,₃,₄</td>
<td>+.56 ΔT₀, - .05 ΔG₀ - 6.56 ΔPR₀ - .20 ΔDJ₂</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΔC₀ = .58Δ(Y-TG₀)₀ + .15 Δ AVG(Y-TG₀)₀+₁,₂</td>
<td>+.56 ΔT₀, - .04 ΔG₀ - 5.63 ΔPR₀ - .05 ΔDJ₂</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΔC₀ = .58Δ(Y-TG₀)₀ + .14 Δ AVG(Y-TG₀)₀+₁,₂,₃</td>
<td>+.53 ΔT₀, - .02 ΔG₀ - 5.26 ΔPR₀ - .39 ΔDJ₂</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΔC₀ = .47Δ(Y-TG₀)₀ + .24 Δ AVG(Y-TG₀)₀+₁,₂</td>
<td>+.56 ΔT₀, - .05 ΔG₀ - 6.56 ΔPR₀ - .20 ΔDJ₂</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΔC₀ = .55Δ(Y-TG₀)₀ + .19 Δ AVG(Y-TG₀)₀+₁,₂,₃</td>
<td>+.55 ΔT₀, - .15 ΔG₀ - 6.68 ΔPR₀ - .20 ΔDJ₂</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ΔC₀ = .49Δ(Y-TG₀)₀ + .24 Δ AVG(Y-TG₀)₀+₁,₂</td>
<td>+.55 ΔT₀, - .15 ΔG₀ - 6.68 ΔPR₀ - .03 ΔDJ₂</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
\[ \Delta C_0 = 0.56 \Delta (Y-T_G)_0 + 0.18 \Delta AV(Y-T_G)_{-1,-2,-3,0,+1,+2,+3} + 0.53 \Delta T_G(0_0) - 0.054 \Delta G_0 - 6.07 \Delta PR_0 - 0.40 \Delta DJ_2 \]

(t) \hspace{1cm} (13.4) \hspace{1cm} (2.5) \hspace{1cm} (7.6) \hspace{1cm} (-0.3) \hspace{1cm} (-3.5) \hspace{1cm} (-1.5)

\[ R^2 = 87\% \hspace{1cm} D.W. = 1.8 \]

\[ \Delta C_0 = 0.57 \Delta (Y-T_G)_0 + 0.16 \Delta AV(Y-T_G)_{-1,-2,-3,0,+1,+2,+3,+4} + 0.56 \Delta T_G(0_0) - 0.04 \Delta G_0 - 6.81 \Delta PR_0 - 0.24 \Delta DJ_2 \]

(t) \hspace{1cm} (14.5) \hspace{1cm} (2.3) \hspace{1cm} (6.7) \hspace{1cm} (-0.2) \hspace{1cm} (-3.5) \hspace{1cm} (-0.8)

\[ R^2 = 86\% \hspace{1cm} D.W. = 1.8 \]

The results clearly indicate that rational expectations models of Modigliani/Friedman average income variables are more systematically correlated with movements in consumption than are adaptive expectations models. All have t-statistics between 2.3 and 3.1, indicating significance at least at the 3% level to well above the 1% level. The t-statistics on the average income variable are the generally the strongest for averages that include one or two years of both future (a proxy for estimated future earnings) and past earnings, and also contain the current year's income in the average. Nonetheless, though statistically significant, adding the rational expectations averages only slightly improve on the results from using adaptive expectations averages. There, we saw 0-1% increases in explained variance adding the averages to the Keynesian model, from 88% to 89%. Here we see at best a 1-2% - point increase in explained variance from 88% to 90%. This suggests that at best, only a small number of Americans relative to the total population involve themselves in more complex weighing of past and future income potential when deciding what level of consumption is appropriate their income level.

Note: In the last equation of the series immediately above, the correlation between the two income variables is .17. This would not suggest multicollinearity is responsible for the relatively low t-statistic on some of the average income variables is the last series of results. Other averages have higher correlations between the income variables, and have even higher t-statistics. For the current income variable and the average of the 5 periods from two forward to two past, the correlation coefficient is .54, but the t-statistic is 3.1. This again suggests the results may not be heavily distorted because of multicollinearity.

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DOES THE EXCHANGE RATE REALLY AFFECT CONSUMER SPENDING?

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**Abstract:** This paper examines the extent to which changes in imports or exports of U.S. consumer goods and services occurs in response to a change in the exchange rate, 1960 - 2000. The data used are taken from the *Economic Report of the President, 2002*. The findings indicate that an increase in the trade weighted exchange rate of about one percent is associated with an increase in imports of consumer goods of approximately $1 billion dollars. The same level increase seems associated with a decline in consumer goods exports of about $0.75 billion dollars.

For years now, the rhetorical battle in the United States has raged over whether the Chinese exchange rate is kept artificially high, thereby making it possible for Americans to buy many Chinese Yuan for each dollar they are willing to spend. This makes foreign goods seem cheap compared to American counterparts. Similarly, the more Yuan it takes to buy a dollar, the less American goods (exports) the Chinese are able to buy.

The argument is also made that if only the Chinese would lower their managed exchange rate to some "reasonable", but usually undefined, level, trade would again be fair, and a large portion of the trade imbalance between the two countries would disappear. Similar arguments are sometimes made regarding the exchange rates with some other American trading partners, such as Japan.

The question is, are American purchasing decisions as between domestic and foreign goods really that much affected by changes in the exchange rate between the United States and its major trading partners? That is an empirical question, and the one which this paper seeks to explore. We will examine the affect of changes in the exchange rate 1960-2000 on consumer goods imported into the U.S., and on consumer goods exported from the U.S.

**METHODOLOGY**

All data used in the study is taken from the Council of Economic Advisors’ statistical appendix to the *Economic Report of the President, 2002*, Tables B2, B3, B7, B26, B54,

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1 John J. Heim is clinical associate professor of economics at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. He has benefited greatly from the intellectual stimulation provided by his colleagues in the economics department at R.P.I. All responsibility for errors, of course, remains his own.
B60, B73, B82, B90, B95 and B110. Additional data on multilateral trade weighted value of the dollar, i.e., the foreign exchange rate, is taken from Table B110 of the *Economic Report…, 2001* and Table B108 of the *Economic Report…, 1997*. Exchange rate values 1960 - 1970 were assumed constant at 1970 levels, per the Bretton Woods protocols. All data are expressed in real 1996 dollars, or converted to same using the GDP deflator in Table B3.

To study the effect of exchange rate changes on consumption of domestically produced and imported consumer goods, it was necessary to adopt a theory of consumer demand for consumer goods. Essentially, this paper postulates a Keynesian theory of demand for consumer goods (described below) and assumes that in general, the determinants of the demand for imported consumer goods are the same as those mentioned in Keynes (1936) for domestically produced consumer goods, with the addition of two other variables: a “crowd out” variable to control for periods of limited consumer credit availability, and an exchange rate variable.

The Basic Keynesian Function:

Keynes argues in chapter 8 of the *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* (1936) that income, wealth, fiscal policy (taxes) and possibly the rate of interest might influence consumption. However, he felt

\[\text{... income...is, as a rule, the principal variable upon which the consumption-constituent of the aggregate demand function will depend....}(p.96)\]

though

\[\text{...windfall changes in capital-values will be capable of changing the propensity to consume, and substantial changes in the rate of interest and in fiscal policy may make some difference (pp.95-96)…}\]

where “fiscal policy” is a reference to tax levels. In chapter 9 he also notes other factors that might affect the level of consumption spending: precautionary saving (for unknown, but potential, future needs), saving for known future needs (like retirement), and saving to finance improvements in future standards of living.

Hence, we can sum up Keynes by saying his determinants of consumption spending included after tax income, wealth, and the interest rate, and a desire to save. To these, our consumption function below will add a crowd out factor as also being the result of fiscal policy (via government deficit effects on savings available to finance consumer or investment credits) and the exchange rate.

Keynes also argued (p. 97) that the proportion of total income saved would grow as income grew, resulting in falling average propensity to consume as income grew.

Typical tests in the late 30’s and early 40’s using cross-sectional data seem to verify this. For example, Ruggles & Ruggles (1956, p.306) attempt to describe the Keynesian function in their classic text on national income accounting. They use using the income and consumption patterns of almost 40 million U.S. families in 1935-36 to illustrate a declining average propensity to consume/increasing average propensity to save as
income increased. Their data are shown in Table C1. Note that about half of all personal saving was done by the top ½% of all income recipients – those families earning $15,000 or more, and that the bottom two income groups had negative savings, i.e., average propensity’s to consume greater than one. Data like this have provided our standard, though somewhat - even if only slightly – oversimplified (no provision for wealth or interest rate effects), interpretations of the Keynesian consumption function.

Table C1
Consumers’ Income and Expenditure, by Income Group, 1935-36
(in millions, unless otherwise noted)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Group (in dollars)</th>
<th># of Families (000)</th>
<th>Personal Income</th>
<th>Personal Taxes</th>
<th>Disposable Income</th>
<th>Consumption Expenditures</th>
<th>Personal Saving</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under $780</td>
<td>13,153</td>
<td>$6,190</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>$6,019</td>
<td>$7,226</td>
<td>-$1,207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>780-1,450</td>
<td>13,153</td>
<td>14,154</td>
<td>616</td>
<td>13,638</td>
<td>13,890</td>
<td>-252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,450-2,000</td>
<td>5,974</td>
<td>10,035</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>9,626</td>
<td>9,164</td>
<td>462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000-3,000</td>
<td>4,434</td>
<td>10,577</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>10,112</td>
<td>9,043</td>
<td>1,069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000-5,000</td>
<td>1,818</td>
<td>6,644</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>6,301</td>
<td>5,125</td>
<td>1,176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,000-15,000</td>
<td>749</td>
<td>5,839</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>5,426</td>
<td>3,529</td>
<td>1,897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15,000 &amp; Over</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>5,820</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>5,070</td>
<td>2,237</td>
<td>2,833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total..................</td>
<td>39,458</td>
<td>$59,259</td>
<td>$3,067</td>
<td>$56,192</td>
<td>$50,214</td>
<td>$5,978</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ruggles & Ruggles, (1956, p.306)

Of course, a declining APC means the function has a positive intercept, as is commonly shown in textbook presentations of the Keynesian consumption function.

In another study (Heim, 2007a), this author found that regression results on a modified Keynesian function of the following type explained about 90% of the variance in consumer spending in the 1960 - 2000 period:

\[ C_0 = \beta_1 + \beta_2 (Y - T_G)_0 + \beta_3 (T_G - G)_0 - \beta_4 (PR)_0 + \beta_5 (DJ)_{-2} + \beta_6 (XR)_{-2} \]

where

\( (Y - T_G)_0 = \) Total income minus taxes, defined as the GDP minus that portion of total government receipts used to finance government purchases of goods and services, i.e., total government receipts minus what’s needed to finance transfer payments in the current period.

\( (T_G - G)_0 = \) The government deficit (interpreted as a restrictor of consumer credit. Usually we will disaggregate this into two separate variables in regressions: \( \beta_{3A} T_G(0) \) and \( \beta_{3B} G \) because we found the effects of each on consumer spending to differ, with the tax variable the more important.

\( PR_0 = \) An interest rate measure, the Prime rate, for the current period. This rate is a base rate for much consumer credit.

\( DJ_{-2} = \) A stock market wealth measure, lagged two years.
XR-2 = The trade-weighted exchange rate, lagged 2 years. In some regressions, an average of the XR value for the past two years is used, denoted XR_{AV12}.

First difference versions of this modified Keynesian function (1) were used to reduce the distorting effects of multicollinearity and non-stationarity inherent in most time series models:

\[ \Delta C_0 = \beta_2 \Delta(Y-T_G) + \beta_3 \Delta(T_G - G) - \beta_4 \Delta(PR) + \beta_5 \Delta(DJ) + \beta_6 \Delta(XR) \]

or

\[ \Delta C_0 = \beta_2 \Delta(Y-T_G) + \beta_3 \Delta(T) + \beta_4 \Delta(G) - \beta_5 \Delta(DJ) + \beta_6 \Delta(XR) \]

We will test these hypotheses using regression analysis using different levels of lag in the exchange rate variable from no lag (current year value) to -3 lag (the exchange rate value 3 years ago), and we will estimate the regression using the average exchange rate value for the past two years (average of -1 and -2 lags).

Each regression below shows the estimated marginal effect (regression coefficient) for the explanatory variables, the t statistic associated with it, the percent of variance explained and the Durbin Watson autocorrelation statistic. Throughout the remainder of the paper, marginal effects with a t-statistic of 1.8 are significant at the 8% level, 2.0 are significant at the 5% level and t-statistics of 2.7 are significant at the 1% level.

Because of the simultaneity between C (or its component part, M) and Y inherent in these equations, two stage least squares estimates of \( \Delta(Y-T_G) \) were also developed, using the last five right-hand side variables as regressors. Newey-West heteroskedasticity corrections were also made. Testing for autocorrelation was also done. Where the autocorrelation variable’s coefficient was found significant at the 5% level, it was included; otherwise no correction was made.

FINDINGS

Early tests on total consumption indicated that only the two year lag and average of one and two year lagged values of the exchange rate were systematically related to consumption. Nonetheless, we also present below the results obtained using the current exchange rate, the one and the three year lagged versions of this variable.

Baseline findings for the model, absent only the exchange rate variable, are also given. They allow us to determine the amount of additional variance explained by adding the exchange rate variable. The extent to which adding the exchange rate variable increases explained variance need to be evaluated with care, since order of entry in an equation can affect how much additional variance is explained. This is a major problem when there is significant multicollinearity between the last variable entered and the explanatory variables already in the model. One important sign of success in avoiding this problem is finding little or no change in the estimated marginal effects (regression coefficients) of the variables already in the regression when the exchange rate is added.
Our first set of statistical analyses examine the effect of the exchange rate on total consumption, i.e., consumption of both domestic and imported consumer goods (C) as “C” is used in the GDP identity,

\[ Y = C + I + G + (X-M) \]

Results are shown below for the baseline consumption function without the exchange rate variable, and for the additional equations adding the exchange rate (with from 0 to 3 year lagged values).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>( \Delta C_0 )</th>
<th>( \Delta (Y-T_G)_0 )</th>
<th>( \Delta T_{G(i)} )</th>
<th>( \Delta G_0 )</th>
<th>( \Delta PR_0 )</th>
<th>( \Delta DJ_2 )</th>
<th>( \Delta XR_1 )</th>
<th>( R^2 )</th>
<th>D.W.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.66</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>-7.23</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(26.6)</td>
<td>(5.2)</td>
<td>(0.5)</td>
<td>(-3.0)</td>
<td>(2.2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>( \Delta C_0 )</th>
<th>( \Delta (Y-T_G)_0 )</th>
<th>( \Delta T_{G(i)} )</th>
<th>( \Delta G_0 )</th>
<th>( \Delta PR_0 )</th>
<th>( \Delta DJ_2 )</th>
<th>( \Delta XR_1 )</th>
<th>( R^2 )</th>
<th>D.W.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.66</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>-7.25</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>- .03</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(26.8)</td>
<td>(5.0)</td>
<td>(0.5)</td>
<td>(-3.1)</td>
<td>(2.1)</td>
<td>(-0.3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>( \Delta C_0 )</th>
<th>( \Delta (Y-T_G)_0 )</th>
<th>( \Delta T_{G(i)} )</th>
<th>( \Delta G_0 )</th>
<th>( \Delta PR_0 )</th>
<th>( \Delta DJ_2 )</th>
<th>( \Delta XR_2 )</th>
<th>( R^2 )</th>
<th>D.W.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.66</td>
<td>.53</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>-6.77</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(25.4)</td>
<td>(5.7)</td>
<td>(0.5)</td>
<td>(-2.7)</td>
<td>(2.2)</td>
<td>(1.4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>( \Delta C_0 )</th>
<th>( \Delta (Y-T_G)_0 )</th>
<th>( \Delta T_{G(i)} )</th>
<th>( \Delta G_0 )</th>
<th>( \Delta PR_0 )</th>
<th>( \Delta DJ_2 )</th>
<th>( \Delta XR_{AV12} )</th>
<th>( R^2 )</th>
<th>D.W.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>-7.07</td>
<td>.44</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>.76</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(28.4)</td>
<td>(4.8)</td>
<td>(0.3)</td>
<td>(-2.6)</td>
<td>(2.6)</td>
<td>(2.1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>( \Delta C_0 )</th>
<th>( \Delta (Y-T_G)_0 )</th>
<th>( \Delta T_{G(i)} )</th>
<th>( \Delta G_0 )</th>
<th>( \Delta PR_0 )</th>
<th>( \Delta DJ_2 )</th>
<th>( \Delta XR_{AV12} )</th>
<th>( R^2 )</th>
<th>D.W.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>-6.67</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>.76</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(26.4)</td>
<td>(5.5)</td>
<td>(0.4)</td>
<td>(-2.6)</td>
<td>(2.4)</td>
<td>(2.4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>( \Delta C_0 )</th>
<th>( \Delta (Y-T_G)_0 )</th>
<th>( \Delta T_{G(i)} )</th>
<th>( \Delta G_0 )</th>
<th>( \Delta PR_0 )</th>
<th>( \Delta DJ_2 )</th>
<th>( \Delta XR_{AV12} )</th>
<th>( R^2 )</th>
<th>D.W.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.66</td>
<td>.53</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>-7.82</td>
<td>.38</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(27.0)</td>
<td>(5.2)</td>
<td>(0.6)</td>
<td>(-2.9)</td>
<td>(2.0)</td>
<td>(2.0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Using the (T-G) form of the deficit causes marginal, but not fundamental changes to parameter estimates, suggesting that first differencing has been helpful in removing instability of estimates due to multicollinearity effects. Notice however, that because the two components of the deficit seem to have different marginal effects on credit availability, consolidating them into one variable with one estimated average marginal effect reduces explained variance a bit.

\[ \Delta C_0 = .73 \Delta (Y-\bar{T}_G) + .47 \Delta (T_C-\bar{G}) - 6.25 \Delta PR_0 + .52 \Delta DJ_2 - .95 \Delta XR_{AV12} \]

\( R^2=85\% \)

\( \) (25.4) (4.6) (-2.0) (3.0) (2.0) D.W. = 1.9

Our results using the two year lag or average one & two year lags is consistent with the notion that a one-point increases in the trade weighted exchange rate (then), making imports cheaper, increase current year demand for consumer goods by an estimated $0.76 - $1.14 billion dollars.

At this point, we cannot tell if this represents an increase in demand for imported goods only, without decreasing demand for domestic goods. It might also be a net increase resulting from a larger increase in imports demand, partially offset in “C” by a substitution-effect decline in demand for domestically produced consumer goods. However, regression models below dealing with just the demand for imports indicates that exchange rate increases are correlated with an increased demand for imports of
roughly the same magnitude. These findings seem to imply, somewhat surprisingly, that while demand for imports may increase with increases in the prior year or two year ago exchange rate, demand for domestically produced consumer goods may not fall much due to substitution effects when those rates change.

The two stage least squares/heteroskedasticity/autocorrelation correction process left results on all variables essentially unchanged compared to traditional, single stage least squares results (not shown here), except to markedly strengthen the t-statistic on the income variable and weaken slightly the average exchange rate for the past two years as a systematic influence on total consumption compared to the 2-year ago exchange rate. Note that the most systematic impact of the exchange rate on total consumption appears to occur when we use the 2-year ago version alone, or perhaps the average exchange rate for the past two years.

We might hypothesize that the reason for this delay in consumer reaction to a change in the exchange rate is a delay in the process of adjusting product prices to changes in the exchange rate. This might occur because orders for many consumer goods, e.g., cars, parts provided by car parts suppliers or woods for furniture, are made well in advance of payment, pursuant to multi-year price contracts. However, this is merely a hypothesis. Determining the reason for the two year or past two year average exchange rate being the most consistent with the theory that exchange rates systematically affect consumption is beyond the scope of this paper.

Above, we used both the (T\textsubscript{G}-G) and the disaggregated form of the government deficit (T, G separately) (in addition to the Prime interest rate) to assess the impact of scarcity of consumer credit on consumer demand. The need for additional variable(s) beside the Prime rate to capture the total effect of credit scarcity ("crowd out") is not surprising. In another study currently underway (Heim 2007b) compelling evidence is found that the prime rate, a base rate for much consumer credit, is institutionally adjusted by the banking community to reflect changes in the federal funds rate. Therefore, used alone, it is not as fully indicative of credit availability as a supply and demand driven interest rate might be.

Next, we will look at how total U.S. imports vary with changes in the determinants of consumer demand. Again we start with the baseline model, which does not include the exchange rate, and observe how adding the exchange rate augments our results:

\[
\Delta M_0 = 0.15 \Delta (Y-T_G) + 0.21 \Delta T_G + 0.07 \Delta G_0 - 0.08 \Delta PR_0 + 0.06 \Delta DJ_2 + 0.71 \Delta R(1) + 0.48 \Delta R(2) \\
(4.8) (3.4) (-0.6) (-0.7) (0.3) (4.9) (3.0) \\
R^2 = 87\% \hspace{1em} D.W. = 1.9
\]

\[
\Delta M_0 = 0.15 \Delta (Y-T_G) + 0.30 \Delta T_G - 0.22 \Delta G_0 - 2.27 \Delta PR_0 + 0.84 \Delta DJ_2 + 0.63 \Delta XR_0 \\
(5.8) (6.7) (-2.6) (-1.8) (7.3) (2.5) \\
R^2 = 85\% \hspace{1em} D.W. = 1.5
\]

\[
\Delta M_0 = 0.15 \Delta (Y-T_G) + 0.31 \Delta T_G - 0.28 \Delta G_0 - 1.66 \Delta PR_0 + 0.84 \Delta DJ_2 + 1.06 \Delta XR_1 \\
(6.5) (6.7) (-3.8) (-1.4) (6.7) (5.6) \\
R^2 = 87\% \hspace{1em} D.W. = 1.8
\]

\[
\Delta M_0 = 0.16 \Delta (Y-T_G) + 0.27 \Delta T_G - 0.29 \Delta G_0 - 2.22 \Delta PR_0 + 0.89 \Delta DJ_2 + 0.94 \Delta XR_2 \\
(6.1) (6.1) (-3.0) (-2.0) (7.2) (5.0) \\
R^2 = 86\% \hspace{1em} D.W. = 1.7
\]
\[ \Delta M_0 = 0.16 \Delta (Y-T_G) + 0.30 \Delta T_{G(0)} - 0.30 \Delta G_0 - 1.68 \Delta PR_0 + 0.85 \Delta DJ_{-2} + 0.92 \Delta XRAV_{12} \quad R^2=88\% \\
(\text{t}) \quad (6.8) \quad (7.4) \quad (3.6) \quad (-1.5) \quad (6.7) \quad (7.7) \quad \text{D.W.}=1.8 \]

\[ \Delta M_0 = 0.15 \Delta (Y-T_G) + 0.21 \Delta T_{G(0)} - 0.07 \Delta G_0 - 0.18 \Delta PR_0 + 0.05 \Delta DJ_{-2} + 0.08 \Delta XR_{-3} + 0.70 \text{AR}(1) + 0.49 \text{AR}(2) \quad R^2=87\% \\
(\text{t}) \quad (4.6) \quad (3.3) \quad (-0.6) \quad (-1.8) \quad (0.2) \quad (0.5) \quad (4.6) \quad (2.9) \quad \text{D.W.}=1.8 \]

and using the (T-G) form of the deficit leaves most estimates virtually unchanged:

\[ \Delta M_0 = 0.16 \Delta (Y-T_G) + 0.30 \Delta (T_G-G) \quad - 1.68 \Delta PR_0 + 0.85 \Delta DJ_{-2} + 0.92 \Delta XRAV_{12} \quad R^2=88\% \\
(\text{t}) \quad (8.1) \quad (7.5) \quad (-1.6) \quad (6.8) \quad (8.2) \quad \text{D.W.}=1.8 \]

Here again, our results are consistent with the theory that the demand for imports is significantly and positively affected by the exchange rate. During the 1960-2000 period, the exchange rate varied between 84 and 143, with a mean value of 107 (1973 = 100 for this index). An average increase in consumer imports of about $0.92 - 1.06 billion is found to accompany a one index point (or about 1%) strengthening of the dollar, i.e., increase in the exchange rate.

Even changes in the rate during the current year show some correlation with changes in total imports, though not as much as changes for the prior year or two. In this and subsequent analyses, we interpret the lesser change found when using the current year value of the exchange rate as akin to an errors-in-variables problem. That is, we viewing the current year rate as an imperfect substitute for the prior year or prior two years’ rates, which seem more systematically related to consumption, biasing the current year coefficient downward.

Our next analyses will attempt to separate consumer imports out of total imports. The data available in Table B104 of the statistical appendix to the *Economic Report of the President, 2002* breaks down all U.S goods imports into only the following categories:

**Total Imports**
- Petroleum & Petroleum Products
- Industrial Supplies and Materials
- Capital Goods, Except Automotive
- Automotive
- Other

(No comparable breakdown of services is provided in the various appendix tables.)

Some of these clearly are not consumer goods categories. For other categories, such as automotive, petroleum and “other”, some portion (not clearly identified) are consumer goods. We will try several alternative definitions of consumer imports, defining them as total imports minus either

- (only) the capital goods category,
- the capital goods category and the industrial supplies and materials category, or
- capital goods, industrial supplies and materials and half of the value of the petroleum products.

The results of these analyses are shown below.
The first analysis defines consumer goods imports as total imports minus capital goods imports (\(M_{m-k}\)):

\[
\Delta M_{m-k} = 0.11 \Delta (Y-T\mathcal{G})_0 + 0.27 \Delta T\mathcal{G}(0) - 0.08 \Delta G_0 - 2.30 \Delta PR_0 + 0.51 \Delta DJ_{-2} + 0.45 AR(1) R^2 = 86% \\
(\text{t}) \hspace{1cm} (4.7) \hspace{1cm} (4.2) \hspace{1cm} (-0.8) \hspace{1cm} (-2.2) \hspace{1cm} (6.8) \hspace{1cm} (2.6) \hspace{1cm} D.W. = 1.7
\]

\[
\Delta M_{m-k} = 0.11 \Delta (Y-T\mathcal{G})_0 + 0.28 \Delta T\mathcal{G}(0) - 0.16 \Delta G_0 - 3.00 \Delta PR_0 + 0.59 \Delta DJ_{-2} + 0.67 \Delta XR_0 R^2 = 87% \\
(\text{t}) \hspace{1cm} (5.9) \hspace{1cm} (6.2) \hspace{1cm} (-2.5) \hspace{1cm} (-2.9) \hspace{1cm} (8.6) \hspace{1cm} (3.8) \hspace{1cm} D.W. = 1.5
\]

\[
\Delta M_{m-k} = 0.11 \Delta (Y-T\mathcal{G})_0 + 0.29 \Delta T\mathcal{G}(0) - 0.23 \Delta G_0 - 2.39 \Delta PR_0 + 0.59 \Delta DJ_{-2} + 1.05 \Delta XR_{-1} R^2 = 90% \\
(\text{t}) \hspace{1cm} (7.3) \hspace{1cm} (6.3) \hspace{1cm} (-4.1) \hspace{1cm} (-2.4) \hspace{1cm} (8.0) \hspace{1cm} (6.3) \hspace{1cm} D.W. = 2.1
\]

\[
\Delta M_{m-k} = 0.12 \Delta (Y-T\mathcal{G})_0 + 0.25 \Delta T\mathcal{G}(0) - 0.24 \Delta G_0 - 2.96 \Delta PR_0 + 0.64 \Delta DJ_{-2} + 0.89 \Delta XR_{-2} R^2 = 88% \\
(\text{t}) \hspace{1cm} (7.7) \hspace{1cm} (5.7) \hspace{1cm} (-3.2) \hspace{1cm} (-3.0) \hspace{1cm} (8.9) \hspace{1cm} (4.6) \hspace{1cm} D.W. = 1.8
\]

\[
\Delta M_{m-k} = 0.12 \Delta (Y-T\mathcal{G})_0 + 0.29 \Delta T\mathcal{G}(0) - 0.23 \Delta G_0 - 2.39 \Delta PR_0 + 0.59 \Delta DJ_{-2} + 0.91 \Delta XR_{AV12} R^2 = 91% \\
(\text{t}) \hspace{1cm} (9.1) \hspace{1cm} (7.0) \hspace{1cm} (3.8) \hspace{1cm} (-2.7) \hspace{1cm} (8.0) \hspace{1cm} (8.4) \hspace{1cm} D.W. = 2.1
\]

Using the \((T - G)\) form of the deficit leaves the estimates virtually unchanged:

\[
\Delta M_{m-k} = 0.12 \Delta (Y-T\mathcal{G})_0 + 0.27 \Delta T\mathcal{G}(0) - 2.40 \Delta PR_0 + 0.92 \Delta XR_{AV12} R^2 = 91% \\
(\text{t}) \hspace{1cm} (11.0) \hspace{1cm} (7.3) \hspace{1cm} (-2.8) \hspace{1cm} (8.3) \hspace{1cm} (9.0) \hspace{1cm} D.W. = 2.2
\]

Here again we find a highly systematic, positive relationship between the changes in the exchange rate and changes in (this definition of) consumer goods and services imports. Again, lagged values of the exchange rate seem to be the ones driving current demand for imports, with the one year and two past year average lag most systematically related. Again the results suggest about a $1 billion increase in consumer imports accompanies a 1 index point increase in the trade weighted exchange rate.

Next, we try approximating the value of imported consumer goods as total imports minus imported capital goods and industrial supplies and materials. Doing so, we get :

\[
\Delta M_{m-ksm} = 0.08 \Delta (Y-T\mathcal{G})_0 + 0.25 \Delta T\mathcal{G}(0) - 0.61 \Delta G_0 - 3.61 \Delta PR_0 + 0.46 \Delta DJ_{-2} + 0.50 AR(1) R^2 = 86% \\
(\text{t}) \hspace{1cm} (4.9) \hspace{1cm} (5.5) \hspace{1cm} (-0.3) \hspace{1cm} (-3.8) \hspace{1cm} (5.5) \hspace{1cm} (4.6) \hspace{1cm} D.W. = 1.7
\]

\[
\Delta M_{m-ksm} = 0.08 \Delta (Y-T\mathcal{G})_0 + 0.21 \Delta T\mathcal{G}(0) - 0.6 \Delta G_0 - 3.21 \Delta PR_0 + 0.59 \Delta DJ_{-2} + 0.73 \Delta XR_0 + 0.44 AR(1) - 0.38 AR(2) R^2 = 89% \\
(\text{t}) \hspace{1cm} (6.3) \hspace{1cm} (5.4) \hspace{1cm} (-1.0) \hspace{1cm} (-3.6) \hspace{1cm} (11.3) \hspace{1cm} (3.8) \hspace{1cm} (2.7) \hspace{1cm} (2.2) \hspace{1cm} D.W. = 1.9
\]

\[
\Delta M_{m-ksm} = 0.08 \Delta (Y-T\mathcal{G})_0 + 0.26 \Delta T\mathcal{G}(0) - 0.16 \Delta G_0 - 3.54 \Delta PR_0 + 0.54 \Delta DJ_{-2} + 1.07 \Delta XR_{-1} R^2 = 91% \\
(\text{t}) \hspace{1cm} (5.6) \hspace{1cm} (6.0) \hspace{1cm} (-3.5) \hspace{1cm} (-4.0) \hspace{1cm} (9.7) \hspace{1cm} (6.1) \hspace{1cm} D.W. = 2.3
\]

\[
\Delta M_{m-ksm} = 0.09 \Delta (Y-T\mathcal{G})_0 + 0.20 \Delta T\mathcal{G}(0) - 0.17 \Delta G_0 - 3.96 \Delta PR_0 + 0.66 \Delta DJ_{-2} + 1.11 \Delta XR_{-2} - 0.42 AR(2) R^2 = 90% \\
(\text{t}) \hspace{1cm} (9.2) \hspace{1cm} (4.3) \hspace{1cm} (-2.6) \hspace{1cm} (-3.4) \hspace{1cm} (12.6) \hspace{1cm} (5.7) \hspace{1cm} (-2.1) \hspace{1cm} D.W. = 1.9
\]

\[
\Delta M_{m-ksm} = 0.09 \Delta (Y-T\mathcal{G})_0 + 0.25 \Delta T\mathcal{G}(0) - 0.18 \Delta G_0 - 3.57 \Delta PR_0 + 0.55 \Delta DJ_{-2} + 0.92 \Delta XR_{AV12} R^2 = 93% \\
(\text{t}) \hspace{1cm} (10.0) \hspace{1cm} (6.7) \hspace{1cm} (3.6) \hspace{1cm} (-4.6) \hspace{1cm} (9.3) \hspace{1cm} (9.1) \hspace{1cm} D.W. = 2.3
\]

Using the \((T - G)\) form of the deficit leaves the estimates virtually unchanged:
Again we find that adding the exchange rate variable adds as much as 6% to the variance explained, showing a significant influence of the rate on consumer import spending, by this definition of consumer imports. An average increase in consumer imports of about $0.92-$1.11 billion is found to accompany a one index point (or about 1%) strengthening of the dollar, i.e., increase in the exchange rate. We again interpret the lesser change found when using the current year value of the exchange rate as akin to an errors-in-variables problem, viewing the current year rate as an imperfect substitute for the prior year or prior two years’ rates, biasing the result downward.

Next, we try approximating domestically produced consumer goods from the data available to us as total C minus imported capital goods, imported industrial supplies and materials, and ½ of all imported petroleum:

\[
\Delta M_{m-ksmp} = 0.10 \Delta (Y - T_G)_0 + 0.24 \Delta (T_G - G_0) - 3.52 \Delta PR_0 + 0.56 \Delta DJ_{-2} + 0.94 \Delta XR_{AV12} \quad R^2 = 92%
\]

Again, using the (T – G) form of the deficit leaves the estimates virtually unchanged:

\[
\Delta M_{m-ksmp} = 0.10 \Delta (Y - T_G)_0 + 0.24 \Delta (T_G - G_0) + 4.57 \Delta PR_0 + 0.51 \Delta DJ_{-2} + 1.12 \Delta XR_{AV12} \quad R^2 = 93%
\]

Again, using this definition of consumer imports, our results are about the same, and adding the exchange rate variable to the demand for imports equation adds about 7% points to explained variance. A one index point change in the exchange rate is associated with a rise in imported consumer goods and services of $1.12 - $1.33 billion.

Graph 1 below plots the closeness of the fit between the level of consumer imports and the explanatory variables in the equation second above. The right scale measures, in billions of 1996 dollars, the predicted (“fitted”) value (green line) compared to the actual value (red line) of the change in imports each year 1962 - 2000. The left scale measures, in billions, the difference between the estimated and actual values for each
year. The blue line at the bottom of the graph shows this enlarged view of the gap shown in the upper curves.

Graph 1

\[
\Delta M_{m-kmp} = 0.08 \Delta (Y-T) + 0.25 \Delta T + 0.19 \Delta G + 4.57 \Delta PR + 0.51 \Delta DJ + 1.12 \Delta XR_{AV/12} \quad R^2=93\%
\]

Impact of Exchange Rate on U.S. Exports in Consumer Goods:

A simpler model was also run to determine the extent to which changes in total exports were determined by changes in the U.S. trade weighted exchange rate. The model is extremely simple, testing how systematically, and in what direction, total exports (and imports) moved as the exchange rate changed, controlling only for the sizable differences in the size of the economy between 1960 and 2000 (using the disposable income variable used previously in this study). Similar analyses were done for just consumer goods and services exports and imports.

Below we have shown the model used and the resulting sign, magnitude and statistical significance of the exchange rate variable: Two stage least squares, heteroskedasticity and autocorrelation controls were used, as in earlier statistical tests.
Table C2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model Used</th>
<th>Export Models:</th>
<th>Import Models:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Coef. (t-statistic) for Exch. Rate Variable</td>
<td>Coef. (t-statistic) for Exch. Rate Variable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total X or M</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \Delta X(\text{or M})(\text{Total})_0 ) = ( f(\Delta(Y-T_G)_0, \Delta XR_0) )</td>
<td>+ 0.02 (-0.3)</td>
<td>+ 0.64 (1.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \Delta X(\text{or M})(\text{Total})_0 ) = ( f(\Delta(Y-T_G)<em>0, \Delta XR</em>{-1}) )</td>
<td>- 0.91 (-4.3)</td>
<td>+ 0.62 (3.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \Delta X(\text{or M})(\text{Total})_0 ) = ( f(\Delta(Y-T_G)<em>0, \Delta XR</em>{-2}) )</td>
<td>- 0.57 (-1.2)</td>
<td>+ 0.74 (2.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \Delta X(\text{or M})(\text{Total})_0 ) = ( f(\Delta(Y-T_G)<em>0, \Delta XR</em>{-3}) )</td>
<td>+ 0.27 (0.8)</td>
<td>+ 0.01 (0.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Only Consumer X or M</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \Delta X(\text{or M})(\text{Total-ksm})_0 ) = ( f(\Delta(Y-T_G)_0, \Delta XR_0) )</td>
<td>+ 0.13 (-0.3)</td>
<td>+ 0.83 (1.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \Delta X(\text{or M})(\text{Total-ksm})_0 ) = ( f(\Delta(Y-T_G)<em>0, \Delta XR</em>{-1}) )</td>
<td>- 0.76 (-4.0)</td>
<td>+ 0.47 (2.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \Delta X(\text{or M})(\text{Total-ksm})_0 ) = ( f(\Delta(Y-T_G)<em>0, \Delta XR</em>{-2}) )</td>
<td>- 0.72 (-1.6)</td>
<td>+ 0.77 (2.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \Delta X(\text{or M})(\text{Total-ksm})_0 ) = ( f(\Delta(Y-T_G)<em>0, \Delta XR</em>{-3}) )</td>
<td>- 0.23 (-0.9)</td>
<td>- 0.20 (0.8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The best results are obtained when we hypothesize that it was last year’s exchange rate that is systematically related to exports. For imports, our results are about the same as for the more elaborate models estimated earlier: imports seem sensitive to both the one and two year lagged exchange rates.

Overall, the results we get are what theory leads us to expect. For total exports and for exports of consumer goods, one point increases in the exchange rate are highly statistically significantly associated with a decline in exports of about $0.76 billion for consumer exports, about $0.91 billion for all exports.

Increases in the exchange rate are again found significantly related to increases in imports. The findings here suggest about a $0.47 - $0.77 billion increase in consumer imports for a one point increase in the exchange rate. This is lower than the results for the more sophisticated imports model used earlier in this paper, probably because of the less adequate model specification here. (With the earlier specification the effects of a one point change were closer to $1 billion on average.) For all imports, the change was found to be about $0.62 - $0.74 billion for all exports.

**CONCLUSIONS**

Overall, then it does seem as though the exchange rate has an important influence on both U.S. exports of consumer goods and U.S. imports of consumer goods, and in the theoretically expected way. On average, our results suggest approximately a $1 billion dollar change in current year imports will occur for each on point change in the trade weighted exchange rate during the past year or two. Our findings also suggest a likely change in current consumer goods exports of about $0.76 billion for the same size change a year earlier in the exchange rate.

Left for further study is the issue of how domestically produced consumption varies with the exchange rate, which is only slightly, and inferentially dealt with here, with somewhat
surprising results. Also left for further study is the question of why import demand seems to lag exchange rate changes by one or two years.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


Abstract

“Minding” Knowledge:
Leaving the Body Behind

By Elizabeth Hendrix
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In this paper, using Max van Manen and Maurice Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology as my theoretical framework, I endeavor to understand the meaning of the body within schools and add to the dearth of literature in educational research pertaining to the body in core classes. My research questions guiding this study are: how is the body situated in the secondary core classroom; what is the meaning of the body in secondary schools; and what meaning(s) do teachers in public high school core classes give to the body?

Philosophers and scholars such as Cancienne (2002), Damasio (1994), Grumet (1988), Oliver (2002), and Snowber (2002) have addressed embodiment and the problems with the mind and body split, though with different lens, philosophies, and issues pertaining to the body. Cancienne (2002) and Snowber (2002) explore movement (specifically dance) as a way for teachers to theorize and do research. Damasio (1994), a neurologist, critiques the mind/body split as well as simplistic divisions and argues that emotions are essential to rational thinking. Similarly, Grumet (1988), a feminist educational scholar, disputes the mind/body split and binaries, and she adds, “To bring what we know to where we live has not always been the project of curriculum, for schooling, as we have seen, has functioned to repudiate the body, the place where it lives, and the people who care for it” (p. 129). Likewise, Oliver (2002) in her work on “bodily knowledge” points out the repudiation of the body in schools and addresses the dearth of research on the body in secondary schools in particular.

In my research, I intend to add to our knowledge of the body and the body’s meaning in the core curriculum, which has not been adequately addressed in the scholarly research thus far. I contend that the body is objectified in our schools and our curriculum.
Thus, the body is left out of most core classroom activities and becomes included in the hidden curriculum that secondary students are exposed to in their core classes. Drawing on phenomenology and embodiment theories, I maintain that a deeper understanding of the body's meaning in schools could inform and influence curriculum decisions and students' engagement, creating a healthier and more embodied learning environment, which would benefit both the teachers and students.
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Fears of Redistribution, Decentralization and Secession: Evidence from Bolivia’s Referendum for Departmental Autonomy*

Werner L. Hernani-Limarino
Preliminary Version
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Abstract

Recent years have witnessed strong movements toward decentralization and secession. The former Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Serbia and Montenegro have disintegrated. Movements for regional autonomy and even independence have gained larger support in Bolivia, Canada, Spain, France and Italy. What is the importance of redistributive politics in explaining decentralization and secession outcomes in a democratic polity? This paper attempts to answer this question building a simple rational choice model in which individuals’ preferences over alternative institutional regimes are derived from their economic and social consequences. The model predicts that, in a national referendum, relatively rich (poor) people in relatively rich regions and relatively poor (rich) people in the relatively poor regions will support (oppose) decentralization and secession. As a consequence, relatively rich (poor) regions will have an absolute majority supporting (opposing) decentralization. The national outcome will depend on the gaps between regional and national median incomes and the sizes of the population in each region. An important quality of the model is that it has sharp quantitative implications. Given information on regional and national median incomes, and the proportion of an electoral pool whose income is below these levels, the model predicts the proportion of the electoral pool that will support or oppose decentralization. I use data from Bolivia’s referendum for departmental autonomy and estimates of per-capita household income indicators to contrast observed vs. predicted voting outcomes. The model accounts for almost 2/3 of the variation in voting behavior. The fit is surprisingly good in light of model’s simplicity. This result suggests that fears of redistribution play an important role in shaping decentralization and secession outcomes, at least in the Bolivian case.

Keywords: Political economy; Median voter; Decentralization
JEL classification: D720; H110; H770

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Redistribution Fears,
Decentralization and Secession:
Evidence from Bolivia’s Referendum for Departmental Autonomy

Werner L. Hernani-Limarino

1. Introduction

Recent years have witnessed strong movements toward decentralization and secession. The former Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Serbia and Montenegro have disintegrated. Movements for regional autonomy and even independence have gained larger support in Bolivia, Canada, Spain, France and Italy. What factors motivate decentralization and secession movements and what is their likelihood of success in different political regimes and in different economic environments are interesting and (relatively) unexplored issues in political economy.

Bolton and Roland (1997) and Alesina and Spolaore (1997) construct interesting theories that explore the factors that motivate decentralization and secession outcomes. Bolton and Roland highlight a basic trade-off between the gains of unification (in terms of efficiency) and the costs (in terms of lost control on political decisions). Their model emphasizes political conflict over redistribution policies as central to break-up or unification decisions. When income distributions vary across regions and the efficiency gains from unification are small, separation occurs in equilibrium. When all factors of production are perfectly mobile, all incentives for separation disappear. Alesina and Spolaore highlight a basic trade-off between the benefits of large jurisdictions and the cost of heterogeneity of large and diverse populations. Their model implies that democratization leads to secessions, in equilibrium one generally observe an inefficient number of countries, and the equilibrium number of countries is increasing in the amount of economic integration.

Panniza (1999) and Arzaghi and Henderson (2005) used cross country data to analyze the factors that are correlated with more decentralized expenditure and tax powers. Panniza finds that the degree of fiscal decentralization - measured as the percentage of central government revenues (expenditure) on the total (central plus local) government revenues (expenditure), is positively correlated with county size, income per-capita, ethnic fractionalization and level of democracy. Arzaghi and Henderson find that the degree of decentralization - measured by indices of the local governments’ power and share in national government consumption, is positively correlated with income per capita, population, land area, and the degree of population concentration in the largest (typically capital) city.

Undoubtedly, many economic, political and cultural factors shape decentralization and secession movements, and their likelihood of success. This paper does not attempt to articulate a full theory of the determinants of decentralization and secession outcomes, but to evaluate the contribution of a single isolated factor: fears of the rich that the poor use their great numbers to redistribute to themselves. In some way, I attempt to estimate the effect of a cause rather than the causes of an effect.
In order to do that, I build a simple rational choice model that links redistributive politics and decentralization and secession outcomes in a democratic polity. The choice between centralized and decentralized regimes is modeled as a dynamic full information game. First citizens vote over alternative regimes in a national (regional) referendum. Then, equilibrium policies are determined in a direct democracy. Policies are determined by local governments if a national (regional) absolute majority supports the decentralization proposal. Otherwise, they are determined by a central government. After equilibrium policies are determined payoffs are computed and the game ends.

A key assumption of the model is that citizens are rational. Rationality does not mean that individuals always act according to some simple postulates or that only individuals – not social groups, matter in a society. Rationality means that individuals - or social groups, have well-defined preferences over the different economic and social consequences that follow from alternative regimes. They support or oppose a decentralization proposal depending on whether they are economic winners or economic losers under that particular regime. Therefore, distributional conflict between the relatively rich (who dislike redistributive taxation), and relatively poor (who are more in favor of taxation that would redistribute resources to them) plays an important role in my explanation.

Distributional conflict has been at the hearth of interesting political economy issues. The seminal study of Meltzer and Richard (1981) explained the increase in government expenditure -as a proportion of national income, in the United States during the 20th century by the fact that a voting franchise had been extended to the poor. They show that what matters for the equilibrium level of taxation is the relationship between the income of the median voter and the average income in society. The effect of increasing the franchise– adding poor people who were previously disenfranchised – is that it reduces the income of the median voter relative to the mean, and this tends to increase the preferred extent of redistribution that the median voter desires. Acemoglu and Robinson (2005) theory of democratization process also highlight the importance of distributional conflict between the rich and the poor as key factor to explain democratization processes. Since democracy is more redistributive to the poor, the poor prefer democracy to non-democracy. Therefore, when the poor have sufficient political power, democracy is much more likely to arise to secure redistribution policies not only today but also tomorrow.

The document is organized as follows. Section 2 presents the theoretical model. Section 3 contrast predicted vs. observed outcomes using data from the Bolivia’s Referendum for Departmental Autonomy. Section 4 describes the timing correlation between the rising political power of the poor in Bolivia and the decentralization and secession demands. Section 5 highlights some issues that were left open and points to some fruitful extensions of the model.

2. A Simple Model of Redistributive Politics and Decentralization Demands

This section presents a rational choice model that links redistributive politics with decentralization and secession outcomes. First, I derive political preferences from individuals' maximizing behavior. Then, I characterize equilibrium policies in a direct
democracy. Finally, I characterize equilibrium outcomes of two regime choice referendum games: a national referendum on regional autonomy, and a regional referendum on regional autonomy.

2.1. Political Preferences

Consider an endowment economy with an infinite number of citizens, indexed with the letter i, where i ∈ (0, 1]. Notice that we normalize the size of the population, N, to 1. Assume that individuals’ preferences are described by a utility function U(c_i, G), defined over individuals’ own consumption, c_i, and the level of government spending on a public good, G. Since G is a public good then it is not indexed by i. The provision of a public good simultaneously benefits all individuals. Unlike G, c_i is a private good, if individual i consumes a private good nobody else can. Notice that the utility function is taken to be the same for all individuals.

Assume also that these utility functions are linear in consumption of the private good,

\[ U(c_i, G) = c_i + v(G), \]

where v is an increasing \((v_G > 0)\) and strictly concave function \((v_G G < 0)\). These conditions correspond to the idea that marginal utility is positive (more is better), but diminishing (more is less better the more you have).

Assume that individuals’ endowments are exogenous. Individual i has a fixed endowment of income of y_i, which is distributed according to some cumulative distribution function F(y) with associated density function f(y), over the support \([1, \infty)\). Assume also that the mean endowment of income, \(\overline{y}\), is greater than the median, \(y_m < \overline{y}\). These assumptions are motivated by the fact that real world income distributions are close to log normal and skewed to the right.

Notice that in this model there are no economic decisions such as how many hours to work or how to allocate income between different types of goods. Thus individual i's consumption, c_i, is simply determined by individual i's income level and the level of the tax rate, \(c_i = (1 - \tau) y_i\), where \(\tau\) is the rate of proportional income taxation. Therefore, we can write an individual’s indirect utility function (the maximized value of utility), as a function of the government policy variables and his income:

\[ V_i (\tau, G) = V(y_i | \tau, G) = (1 - \tau)y_i + v(G). \]

Equation (2) expresses individual utility as a function of government policies, \(\tau\) and G. Since there are no real economic decisions, once we know \(\tau\) and G, we know the indirect utility. These two policies are not independent. They are linked by the government budget constraint:

\[ G = \tau \overline{y}, \]
Notice that I assume that the government can only spend on $G$ what it raises in tax revenue $\tau y$. Substituting for $G$ from (3) into (2), we obtain the indirect utility function over one policy variable, the linear tax rate, $\tau$:

$$V_i(\tau) = (1 - \tau)y_i + v(\tau y).$$

$V_i(\tau)$ defines the indirect utility of voters over the linear tax rate, $\tau$. It is straightforward to derive each individual $i$'s preferred tax rate from this indirect utility function. The ideal point (political bliss point) of individual $i$, denoted by $\tau_i^*$, will be defined as the tax rate $\tau$ that maximizes $V_i(\tau)$. This tax rate can be characterized as the solution of a simple unconstrained maximization problem. In order to satisfy the first-order condition, I set the derivative of $V_i(\tau)$ equal to zero:

$$-y_i + v_G(\tau_i y) y = 0$$

This first-order condition, (5), says that the ideal tax rate of voter $i$ has the property that its marginal cost to individual $i$ is equal to its marginal benefit. The marginal cost is measured by $y_i$, individual $i$'s own income, since an incremental increase in the tax rate leads to a decline in the individual $i$'s utility proportional to his income (consumption). The benefit, on the other hand, is $v_G(\tau_i y) y$, which comes from the fact with higher taxes there will be more public good provision. A marginal increase in the tax rate starting from $\tau_i$ increases the tax revenue by $y$. At $\tau = \tau_i$, total tax revenue and therefore the level of the public good is $\tau_i y$, hence the marginal increase in the individual’s utility from public good provision is $v_G(\tau_i y)$. The product of these two terms gives the marginal benefit from higher taxation. Notice that individual $i$ typically has an interior ideal tax rate, i.e. $\tau_i \in (0, 1)$, since, though he dislikes paying taxes, he does value the public good. The ideal point of individual $i$, $\tau_i$, comes from weighing these costs against benefits.

Notice that, holding $y$ constant, the higher is $y_i$ the lower is $\tau_i$. This follows because when $y_i$ rises, the left side of (5) increases, hence for (5) to hold, $\tau_i$ must change so that the right side, $v_G(\tau_i y)$, must also increase. Since $v$ is a strictly concave function the greater is $\tau_i$ the lower is $v_G$, thus for $v_G(\tau_i y)$ to increase, $\tau_i$ must fall. As $y_i$ rises, the costs of taxation go up but the benefits do not change. This implies the intuitive result that rich people prefer lower tax rates and less expenditure on public goods than poor people. This type of distributional conflict, the difference in the attitudes of the relatively rich and the relatively poor towards taxes, is the source of the results in this paper.

Finally, note that equation (5) can be rewritten to obtain a close form expression for individual $i$ policy preferences:

$$\tau_i^* = \frac{1}{y} v_G^{-1}\left(\frac{y_i}{y}\right)$$
2.2. Political Equilibrium in a Centralized Regime

Rationality implies that each citizen evaluate different tax policies according to their implications for his income and utility, and support the policy that he prefers the most. Since taxes are proportional to income, they are redistributive: relatively richer people will prefer lower taxes and lower public good provision, while relatively poor people will prefer higher taxes and higher public good provision. How can we aggregate the wishes of different groups, some of whom prefer one policy, while some others prefer another? Whose preferences will prevail? To answer this question we need to find some type of collective choice mechanism that allows a society to choose an equilibrium policy, i.e. a “political equilibrium”.

I assume that equilibrium policies are determined in a direct democracy where all individuals (above a certain age) can vote and voting determines which policies get adopted. A well known result in democratic politics is Arrow’s (1951) (im)possibility theorem. This theorem states that, under very weak assumptions, a democracy will not be able to make coherent decisions, i.e. it will not be possible to aggregate individual preferences into a “social welfare” function summarizing “society’s preferences”. Fortunately, under some mild restrictions on preferences it is possible to show that a social welfare function exists.

Proposition 1: Single Peaked Preferences

Policy preferences of voter i, described by equation (6) are single peaked, i.e. if \( \tau'' < \tau' < \tau_i^* \) or, if \( \tau'' > \tau' > \tau_i^* \), then \( V_i(\tau'') < V_i(\tau') \).

**Proof:** See Appendix A

It can be shown that if political preferences are single peaked then there exist a “social welfare” function that summarizes society’s preferences (Austen-Smith and Banks, Theorem 4.1 page 96). Since we need a sharp prediction of society’s choice, I use the Median Voter Theorem (MVT) to characterize the political equilibrium. The MVT establish that, in a situation with single-peaked preferences, not only a social welfare function exists but also that the outcome can be characterized by the ideal point of the median voter.

Proposition 2: The Median Voter Theorem

---

1 Undoubtedly, there are important features missing from the model. In practice, most democratic societies are representative democracies, where individuals vote for parties in elections, and the winner of the election implements policies. Even in this case, parties rarely make a credible commitment to a policy, and run not on a single issue, but on a broad platform. In addition, parties may have partisan (ideological) preferences as well as simply a desire to be in office. Sometimes policies are determined by legislative bargaining between various parties, or by some type of deal between presidents and parliaments, and not by the specific platform offered by any party in an election. Last but not least, interest groups influence policies through non-voting channels, including lobbying and in the extreme, corruption.
Consider a set of policy choices $T \in \mathbb{R}$, let $\tau \in T$ be a policy vector, and let $m$ be the median voter. If all individuals have single-peaked preferences over $T$, then majority voting with an open agenda always has a determinate policy outcome: the ideal point of the median voter, $\tau_m^*$.

**Proof:** See Appendix A

Together proposition 1 and 2 establish existence and uniqueness of a political equilibrium. Furthermore the MVT permits a closed form characterization of the equilibrium tax rate: the median voter political bliss point, $\tau_m^*$:

$$
\tau^c = \tau_m^* = \frac{1}{\bar{y}} v_G^{-1}\left(\frac{y_m}{\bar{y}}\right)
$$

where the sub-index $m$ refers to the median voter. The super-index $C$ denotes that this will be the political equilibrium under a centralized regime. Notice that since we have established that tax preferences are monotonic in income, then the median voter is the person who is exactly at the middle of the income distribution.

In a decentralized regime equilibrium policies will be determined within each region. Therefore, in a decentralized regime the equilibrium tax rate will characterize by the regional median voter political bliss point:

$$
\tau^d_j = \tau_{mj}^* = \frac{1}{N_j \bar{y}_j} v_G^{-1}\left(\frac{y_{mj}}{N_j \bar{y}_j}\right)
$$

where $N_j$ is the size of the population, $y_{mj}$ the mean income and $\bar{y}_j$ the median income of region $j$. The super index $D$ denotes that this will be the political equilibrium in a decentralized regime.

The tax rates determined by (7) and (8) are the basic prediction for what will happen in a direct democracy under a centralized regime and a decentralized regime, respectively. The usefulness of the MVT is not only that it produces a sharp prediction for the outcome of voting, but also that it allows us to build models which have empirical content predictions.

Notice that anything that makes the public good more valuable, for example, a shift of the $v(\cdot)$ function increasing its slope $v_G(\cdot)$ everywhere, leads to greater public good provision and therefore greater taxes. The public good become more valuable for everybody, including the median voter, whose preferences determine equilibrium policies. Notice also that what matters for the equilibrium policy is not the shape of the whole distribution, but simply the comparison between the mean, $\bar{y}$, and the median, $y_m$. When the median becomes relatively poor compared to the mean, i.e. $y_m/\bar{y}$ falls, the equilibrium tax rate $\tau_m^*$ must increase. Since $v$ is a strictly concave function, the lower is $y_m/\bar{y}$ the higher is $v_G$. 
Intuitively, when the median voter, who is at the middle point of the income distribution, becomes poorer relative to the mean, he would like to redistribute more resources towards himself. In this model, this can only be achieved by increasing taxation and investing more in the public good. Therefore, a bigger (proportional) gap between the mean and the median, i.e., a smaller $y_m/y$, leads to higher taxation and higher public good provision. This comparative static result was the main focus of Meltzer and Richard’s paper. They noted that, with the extension of a voting franchise to poor segments of the society, the gap between the median income of those with the right to vote and the mean income in society, widened, i.e., $y_m/y$ was now smaller, and this increased the demand for redistribution, pushing up taxes and public expenditures.

Before analyzing regime choice games I will make the model much simpler. I assume that $v()$ is a logarithmic function. Under this functional form assumption the distribution of political preferences will be given by:

$$\tau_i = \frac{1}{y_i}$$

And the centralized and decentralized equilibrium tax rates will be, respectively, given by:

$$\tau^c = \frac{1}{y_m}, \text{ and } \tau^d_j = \frac{1}{y_mj}.$$

2.3. Regime Choice Referendum Games

Now, suppose that citizens of this polity have to decide in a referendum whether to stay in a centralized regime or switch to a decentralized regime. There are two types of referendums that can be used to decide for or against decentralization: a national referendum and a regional referendum. In national referendum, policies are determined regionally if and only if a national absolute majority supports decentralization. Otherwise, they continue to be determined by a central government. In a regional referendum, regions with an absolute majority supporting the decentralization proposal acquired the right to determine their policies in autonomy. In the remaining regions, those with an absolute majority against the decentralization proposal, policies are determined by a central government. The next two propositions establish the equilibrium voting outcome for both types of regime choice referendum games.

**Proposition 3.** Equilibrium in a National Referendum Game

Consider the following dynamic full information game. In the first stage citizens, with political preferences described by equation (9), are asked to vote whether they prefer to stay in a centralized regime or switch to a decentralized regime in a national referendum. In the second stage, equilibrium policies are determined in a direct democracy. If a national absolute majority supports decentralization, policies are determined regionally. Otherwise,
they continue to be determined by a central government. After equilibrium policies are determined payoffs are computed and the game ends.

Then, the proportion of a given electoral poll, \( k \), in region \( j \in J \), who will vote against decentralization, will be given by:

\[
P_k[NO] = \min\{F_k(y_m), F_k(y_{mj})\} + 0.5 \abs{F_k(y_m) - F_k(y_{mj})}
\]

where \( F_k() \) is the income distribution of the electoral poll, \( y_m \) the national median income and \( y_{mj} \) is region’s \( j \) median income.

**Proof:** See Appendix A

An implication of proposition 3 is that, in a national referendum, regions with median income higher than national median income will have an absolute majority supporting decentralization, while regions with median income lower than national median income will have an absolute majority opposing it. The national outcome will depend on the gaps between regional and national median income and the sizes of the population in each region. Formally, the proportion of at a departmental level who will vote against the decentralization proposal will be given by:

\[
P_j[NO] = \min\{F_j(y_m), F_j(y_{mj})\} + 0.5 \abs{F_j(y_m) - F_j(y_{mj})}
\]

and the proportion of the national electoral poll who will vote against decentralization will be given by:

\[
P[NO] = \sum N_j P_j[No]
\]

**Proposition 4:** Equilibrium in a Regional Referendum Game

Consider the following dynamic full information game. In the first stage citizens, with political preferences described by equation (9), are asked to vote whether they prefer to stay in a centralized regime or switch to a decentralized regime in a regional referendum. In the second stage, equilibrium policies are determined in a direct democracy. Regions with an absolute majority supporting the decentralization proposal acquired the right to determine their policies in autonomy. In the remaining regions, those with an absolute majority against the decentralization proposal, policies are determined by a central government. After equilibrium policies are determined payoffs are computed and the game ends.

Assume that regions have different median incomes, i.e. \( y_{mj} \neq y_{mk} \) for all \( j \neq k \in J \). Then, the proportion of a given electoral poll, \( k \), in region \( j \in J \), who will vote against decentralization, will be given by:

\[
P_k[NO] = \min\{F_k(y_{m[-j]}), F_k(y_{mj})\} + 0.5 \abs{F_k(y_{m[-j]}) - F_k(y_{mj})}
\]
where $F_\delta()$ is the income distribution of the electoral poll, $y_{mj+[~j]}$ the median income of the coalition that excludes regions with median income higher than region’s $j$ median income $y_{mj}$.

**Proof:** See Appendix A

An implication of proposition 4 is that, whenever regions have different median incomes, full decentralization will be the sure outcome of a regional referendum. Intuitively, this occurs because in the relatively rich regions an absolute majority will support decentralization. This will give them the right to determine their equilibrium policies in autonomy. Therefore, the median income of the remaining coalition of regions will be reduced, creating relatively rich regions in the coalition. In a full information game, citizens of the relatively rich regions in the coalition will anticipate this outcome, and have an absolute majority supporting decentralization. Then, they will gain the right to determine equilibrium policies in autonomy, which will reduce the median income of the remaining coalition further. The process will continue until the second poorest region separates from the poorest region.

Formally, the proportion of the electoral poll opposing decentralization in each region will be given by:

\[
P_j[NO] = \text{Min}\{F_j(y_{mj+[~j]}), F_j(y_{mj})\} + 0.5 \text{ abs}\{F_j(y_{mj+[~j]})-F_j(y_{mj})\} \leq 0.50
\]

Notice that our model allows us to have sharp quantitative implications on the voting outcomes that will be expected if decentralization and secession outcomes are determined exclusively by redistribution concerns. Whether redistributive conflicts are in fact important in shaping decentralization and secession outcomes is an empirical question that I address in the following section.

**3. Empirical Evidence: Bolivia’s referendum for departmental autonomy**

How important redistributive conflicts are in explaining decentralization and secession outcomes is an empirical question. An important quality of our model is that it has sharp predictions on the expected voting outcomes. Given information on the regional and national median income, and the proportion of an electoral pool below these levels, the model can predict the proportion that will support or oppose decentralization. This quality allows us to estimate the percentage of the variation in observed voting outcomes that can be explained by our simple model of redistribution politics.

**3.1. The Data**

Observed voting outcomes come from Bolivia’s Referendum for Departmental Autonomy. On July 2, 2006 Bolivia has conducted a national referendum to determine whether people prefer to stay in a centralized regime or move to a decentralized regime. I describe the political process that lead to the referendum in section 4. An important point to note is that neither the referendum question nor the referendum law specified the political,
administrative and fiscal duties that regions will receive if the proposal was accepted by a national absolute majority. To be more precise, the question on departmental autonomy ask people whether they agree on elections for departmental authorities and desconcentration of normative and administrative powers as well as economic resources according the new constitution and laws. Ironically elections of departmental authorities had already taken place on December 12, 2005, more that five months before the referendum was conducted; and the new constitution and laws are still under discussion now.

Voting outcomes can be disaggregated by department, electoral circumscriptions, electoral districts, electoral zones, electoral recants and electoral books. Bolivia is politically divided into 9 departments: Chuquisaca, La Paz, Cochabamba, Oruro and Potosi belong to the west region; Tarija, Santa Cruz, Beni and Pando belong to the east region. For electoral purposes departments are divided in 3 to 15 electoral circumscriptions, which contain between 1 to 27 electoral districts. Electoral districts contain between 1 to 9 electoral zones, which group 1 to 55 electoral recants. Electoral recants are public facilities, usually public schools, where people emit their vote. Electoral recants group between X and X electoral books, which group between 10 and 325 citizens.

Predicted voting outcomes are based on estimates of the relevant income distribution indicators. Disaggregated information on the distribution of per-capita household income is available from household surveys only at a departmental level. However, in order to construct predicted voting outcomes we do not need information of the full income distribution of the electoral poll but only of the proportion of the poll that is below national and regional median income. I use Elbers et. al. (2003)'s approach to construct micro-level estimates of these magnitudes. Their approach takes advantage of the detailed information contained in household surveys and the comprehensive coverage of census data to construct geographically disaggregated welfare indicators.

Table 1 presents some descriptive statistics of national and departmental per-capita household income distributions. Appendix B displays Epanechnikov kernel density and cumulative distribution estimates. Per-capita income distributions were normalized so that national median income is equal to one. Clearly, in terms of median and mean income, departments of the west (east) region are relatively poor (rich). Departments of the west (east) regions also seem to be relatively more (less) unequal, although a much more analysis is needed to arrive to definitive conclusion. Both, relative poverty and inequality of the departments of the west are in part explained by the higher share of rural and indigenous population.

---

3 This methodology have been used in more that XX countries to construct spatial poverty and inequality maps. In Bolivia, Hernani-Limarino (2006c) and UDAPE-INE (2003) construct poverty and inequality estimates at the municipality level for the years 1992 and 2001, respectively.
4 Indigenous people are defined as those that learn to speak in an indigenous language, speak in an indigenous language and identified themselves as indigenous. Mestizo people are defined as those that either lean to speak in indigenous language, or speak any indigenous language or identified themselves as indigenous. See Hernani-Limarino (2006b)
### Table 1 Descriptive Statistics of the Normalized Per-capita Household Distribution by Department
(Population with 18 years old or more)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bolivia</th>
<th>Chuquisaca</th>
<th>La Paz</th>
<th>Cochabamba</th>
<th>Oruro</th>
<th>Potosí</th>
<th>Tarija</th>
<th>Santa Cruz</th>
<th>Beni</th>
<th>Pando</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% Nat.Population</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td>1.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sd.Deviation</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>1.26</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>1.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coef. of Variation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skewness</td>
<td>-0.26</td>
<td>-0.08</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>-0.16</td>
<td>-0.40</td>
<td>-0.28</td>
<td>-0.25</td>
<td>-0.40</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>-0.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurtosis</td>
<td>3.81</td>
<td>3.97</td>
<td>3.64</td>
<td>3.09</td>
<td>4.31</td>
<td>3.26</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td>4.87</td>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>4.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$y_{mj}$</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>1.22</td>
<td>1.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$F_j(y_{mj})$</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$y_m$</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
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<td>$F_j(y_m)$</td>
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<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### Table 2 Predicted vs. Observed Voting Outcomes
(Percentage of the Electoral Poll who Oppose Decentralization)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bolivia</th>
<th>Chuquisaca</th>
<th>La Paz</th>
<th>Cochabamba</th>
<th>Oruro</th>
<th>Potosí</th>
<th>Tarija</th>
<th>Santa Cruz</th>
<th>Beni</th>
<th>Pando</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Predicted</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P[NO]</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P[YES]</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$F_j[NO]$</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$F_j[YES]$</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicted-Observed</td>
<td>(5.03)</td>
<td>(5.27)</td>
<td>(20.92)</td>
<td>(11.40)</td>
<td>(21.07)</td>
<td>(14.71)</td>
<td>8.30</td>
<td>16.79</td>
<td>19.78</td>
<td>(2.58)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Bolivian National Electoral Court for the observed voting outcomes, and author's calculations for the predicted voting outcomes.
Figure 1 Predicted vs. Observed Voting Outcomes
(Percentage of the Electoral Poll who Oppose Decentralization)

Panel A: At the departamental level

\[ P_{\text{No}} = -0.800 + 2.646 P_{\text{No}} \]
with \( R^2 = 0.63 \)

Panel B: At the electoral circunscription level

\[ P_{\text{No}} = -0.309 + 1.710 P_{\text{No}} \]
with \( R^2 = 0.66 \)

Panel C: At municipality level

\[ P_{\text{No}} = -0.394 + 1.804 P_{\text{No}} \]
with \( R^2 = 0.67 \)

Source: Bolivian National Electoral Court for the observed voting outcomes, and author's calculations for the predicted voting outcomes.
3.2. Observed vs. Predicted Voting Outcomes

Table 2 and Figure 1 present scatter plots that contrast predicted versus observed voting outcomes. Notice that our model correctly predicts whether an absolute majority will oppose or support the decentralization proposal at the departmental level: An absolute majority oppose decentralization in the relatively poor departments (Chuquisaca, La Paz, Cochabamba, Oruro, Potosi); while an absolute majority support the proposal in the relatively rich departments (Tarija, Santa Cruz, Beni and Pando). However, our model underestimates the magnitude of people opposing and supporting decentralization in departments of the west and east regions, respectively. This fact suggests that regional ideologies over alternative regimes may also play a role in determining decentralization and secession outcomes.

To estimate the percentage of the variation in observed voting outcomes that can be explained by our simple model of redistribution politics. I run an OLS regression estimation of the observed voting outcomes on the predicted voting outcomes. The results are:

\[ P_{ij} = -0.800 + 2.646 P_{ij}^f \]

\[ \begin{array}{cc}
(0.392) & (0.771)
\end{array} \]

with \( R^2 = 0.63 \). Notice that the slope estimate is greater than one, which confirms that our model underestimates the magnitude of people opposing and supporting decentralization in relatively rich and poor departments, respectively. More importantly, our simple model of redistribution politics explains two thirds of the variation of voting outcomes at the departmental level.

Recall that our model predicts that rich (poor) people of relatively rich regions and poor (rich) people of the relatively poor departments will support (oppose) decentralization and secession. Notice that, due to the aggregation of votes, we can not be sure that the correlation between observed and predicted voting outcomes at the departmental level is indeed due to redistributive conflicts. The best alternative to quantify the importance of redistributive conflicts will compare predicted vs. observed voting outcomes at the individual level. However, since this type of information is not available, I estimate the importance of redistributive conflicts comparing predicted vs. observed voting outcomes at the two levels of desegregation that report significant welfare estimates: electoral circumscriptions and municipalities.

Panel B presents the comparison for 70 electoral circumscriptions. The OLS estimation results are:

\[ P_{i} = -0.309 + 1.710 P_{i}^f \]

\[ \begin{array}{cc}
(0.072) & (0.147)
\end{array} \]

with \( R^2 = 0.66 \). Panel C presents the comparisons for 314 municipalities. The OLS estimation results are
\[ P_{m[No]} = -0.394 + 1.804 P_{m[No]} \]
\[
(0.038) \quad (0.070)
\]

with \( R^2 = 0.67 \). Overall, the model accounts for 2/3 of the variation in voting behavior. The fit is surprisingly good in light of model’s simplicity. These results suggest that that, at least in the Bolivian case, the choice between centralization and decentralization in a direct democracy can be explained by redistributive conflicts. Specifically, fears of the rich that the poor use their great numbers to redistribute to themselves play an important role in shaping decentralization and secession outcomes.

4. Rising Political Power of the Poor and Decentralization and Secession Demands

The evidence presented in the previous section suggests that redistributive conflicts are important to explain decentralization and secession outcomes in a democratic polity. Are they important to explain decentralization and secession demands? Notice that, at least in the short run, national and regional income distributions do not change much. Then, it is difficult to argue that redistributive conflicts by themselves explain decentralization and secession demands. In this section, I show that there has been a significant increase in political power of the poor, which has triggered the fears of redistribution. Both the increase in political power of the poor and the fears that this power will be used to implement redistribution policies may play a role explaining the recent decentralization and secession demands in Bolivia.

4.1. Rising Political Power of the Poor

Recent years have witnessed an increase in political power of left-wing movements and political parties in Bolivia. Figure 2 presents the voting percentage obtained by political parties grouped according to their political inclination. Clearly there has been a huge rise in the political power of left-wing parties in the last two elections. In particular, the last presidential election has marked an icon in the history of Bolivian politics. Evo Morales, the leader of the Movement Toward Socialism MAS has won by absolute majority for the first time in the Bolivian democratic era. The last election was also the one with greater participation. The abstention rate on 2005 was only about 15% while the average rate in past elections was above 25%.

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6 In some way, an increase in political power of the poor can be seen as a democratization of the political process. After all, fears of the rich that the poor use their great numbers to redistribute to themselves can only arise under a democratic regime.

7 Most historians and political analysts will agree that the first relatively fair democratic election was held in June 29, 1980. Only “qualified” people were allowed to vote before 1952 and there were an absurd amount of electoral fraud in the elections between 1952 and 1980. See Mesa-Gisbert (2006) and APDH (1978) for details.
Figure 2. Rising Political Power of the Left
(Voting Percentage)

Note: Left, Center-Left, Center-Right, and Right give the voting percentage, with respect to the total number of valid votes, obtained by parties with such political inclination. The rate of abstention gives the percentage of people who were registered to vote but did not vote.

Source: Author's calculations based on presidential elections results. See Appendix C for details.

Acemoglu and Robinson (2005) define political power as the capacity of a group to obtain its favorite policies against the resistance of other groups. Therefore, another approximation of the degree of the political power of the poor is given by the nature of policies and laws that had been applied in the last years. Table 3 presents an account of the most salient facts, including laws and decrees, of Bolivian politics. Notice that on February 2003, Sanchez de Lozada had to withdraw a labor income tax proposal after more than 30 people killed in violent protest and on October 2003, he was forced to resign after more than 80 people were killed and hundreds were injured in violent protests over gas exports. From this tragic events emerge the “October Agenda” with two major demands: A national Gas Referendum to decide energy and gas policy, and a Constituent Assembly to re-write the entire constitution. The Gas Referendum was called on May 2004 (decree 27507) and was held on July, 2004. The Constituent Assembly was called on July 2005, confirmed on March 2006, and held on July 2006.

Carlos Mesa, Sanchez de Lozada successor, was also forced to resign on June 2005 due to large scale protests. The head of the Supreme Court, Eduardo Rodriguez, had to assume as interim president and call for early elections. On December 2005 elections were held and Evo Morales, an indigenous left-wing leader, was elected president. Morales
became not only the first indigenous president but also the first president to win by absolute majority in the democratic era. In his first year of government he has issued to major redistribute policies: decree 28701 putting energy industry under state control and Law 3545 aiming to expropriate unused land for redistribution to the landless poor.

4.2. Decentralization and Secession Demands

Demands for greater departmental autonomy are relatively new in Bolivia. Why decentralization and secession movements become suddenly important? Why decentralization now and not before? Notice that the first meeting that demand decentralization was held on June, 22, 2004, 8 months before the “October Agenda” was launched. The second autonomic rally was held on January 28, 2005, 8 days before Evo Morales assumed as president. The third, and most important meeting demanding autonomy and even independence was held on December, 15 2006, sixteen days after the land reform law was approved.

In the spirit of Meltzer and Richard (1981) and Acemoglu and Robinson (2005), I argue that the correlation in the timing of the decentralization and secession demands and the increase in political power of the poor suggest that fears of redistribution are related to who has political power in a democracy, and what they want to do with it. In particular, I believe that decentralization and secession demands in Bolivia were triggered by fears of the relatively rich of the increasing political power of the poor.

5. Conclusions

This paper applies rational choice theory to build a simple model that links redistributive politics with decentralization and secession outcomes. The choice between centralized and decentralized regimes is modeled as a dynamic full information game. First citizens vote over alternative regimes in a national (regional) referendum. Then, equilibrium policies are determined in a direct democracy. Policies are determined by local governments if a national (regional) absolute majority supports the decentralization proposal. Otherwise, they are determined by a central government. After equilibrium policies are determined payoffs are computed and the game ends.

A key assumption of the model is that citizens are rational. Rationality assumes that individuals have well-defined preferences over the different economic and social consequences that follow from alternative regimes. People support or oppose a decentralization proposal depending on whether they are economic winners or economic losers under that particular regime. Therefore, distributional conflict between the relatively rich (who dislike redistributive taxation), and relatively poor (who are more in favor of taxation that would redistribute resources to them) plays an important role in my explanation. The model predicts that, in a national referendum, relatively rich (poor) people in relatively rich regions and relatively poor (poor) in the relatively poor regions will support (oppose) decentralization and secession. As a consequence relatively rich (poor) regions will have an absolute majority supporting (opposing) decentralization. The national outcome will
depend on the gaps between regional and national median income and the sizes of the population in each region. The model also predicts that in a regional referendum decentralization occurs with probability one.

An important quality of the model is that it has sharp quantitative implications. Given information on the regional and national median income, and the proportion of an electoral pool whose income is below these levels, the model predicts the proportion of the electoral poll that will support or oppose decentralization. I use data from Bolivia’s referendum for departmental autonomy and estimates of per-capita household income indicators to contrast observed vs. predicted voting outcomes. Overall, the model accounts for almost 2/3 of the variation in voting behavior.

Two reasons justified the choice of such a simple model. First, although the model is only a crude approximation to reality, it is a useful way to simplify the answers to complex questions. An often cited principle of theoretical modeling of social phenomena is the so-called Occam’s razor. This principle states that one should not increase the number of entities required to explain a given phenomenon beyond what is strictly necessary. In other words, one should look for a high degree of parsimony in formulating answers to complex questions. Second, an explicit assumption of the model is that individuals are rational. This implies that individuals understand the consequences of their actions and they evaluate different alternatives, including centralization vs. decentralization, according to their assessments of their economic and social consequences. It is much more likely that people understand how different regimes lead to different outcomes when the mechanisms that operate are simple rather than complex.

A major implication of these results is that the key actors in the fight for and against decentralization and secession are not regional or ethnic groups, but income classes. In the spirit of Marx and Engels (1872) accounts of history and politics, the model emphasize that the conflict of interest is between the rich and poor. High proportional income taxes will take more money from the rich (who have greater incomes), and consequently, the rich would be generally more opposed to high taxation than the poor. Then, rising political power of the poor might lead to decentralization and secession demands in relatively richer regions.

It is important to notice that my intention here was not to articulate a full theory of the political economy of decentralization and secession outcomes, but to evaluate the contribution of a single isolated factor: fears of the rich that the poor use their great numbers to redistributive to themselves. This does not deny that many other factors may be at play. In particular, I do not deny the importance of ideological preferences over regimes or inefficient public good provision as potential determinants of decentralization and secession outcomes. To empirically analyze the contribution of these factors in shaping decentralization and secession outcomes is an interesting area for future research.

Another natural extension of the model is to analyze the importance of the form in which people hold their assets for redistributive politics I assume that individuals’ income is exogenous, which implies that individual’s assets are not directly taxable. In other words, the government chooses simply to taxes income, irrespective of how it is generated, and that individuals do not have the option of using their human capital or physical capital in other
activities. However, taxation can be applied on are typically generated from assets, such as land, physical capital and human capital. For example, land is immobile, while physical capital to some extent is mobile. This gives the owner of physical capital an option that a land-owner does not have. Similarly, land is much easier to redistribute than physical capital. Human capital, the skills, education and experience embodied in people, on the other hand, is practically impossible to redistribute. In all cases, although the theoretical extensions are relatively simple the empirical counterparts would require new data.

Finally, I must emphasize that this paper does not discuss the potential welfare effects of decentralization. There is a vast literature on this issue that I do not address. However, I must say that my own reading of this literature is that there are no general theorems on whether decentralization is welfare improving or not. Different types of decentralization may be efficient or not depending on the model’s explicit and implicit assumptions. Therefore, arguments supporting or opposing decentralization in a particular country should try to evaluate whether the institutional framework match the conditions for a successful decentralization program and not take decentralization effects for granted.

6. References


Hernani-Limarino, Werner (2006b). “Dimensiones del Ser Indígena y Procesos de Mestizaje Cultural en Bolivia”. Documento de Trabajo 0X/06. Fundación ARU.


Appendix A.

Proof of Proposition 1:

Notice that strict quasi-concavity of \( V_i(\tau) \) is sufficient for single peaked political preferences. It is easy to check that \( V_i(\tau) \) is strictly concave because \( v(G) \) is strictly concave. This can be establish by taking the first and second derivatives of (4):

\[
\frac{\partial V_i(\tau)}{\partial \tau} = -y_i + v_G(\tau) \text{ and } \frac{\partial^2 V_i(\tau)}{\partial \tau^2} = v_{GG}(\tau) < 0
\]

The first derivative may be either positive or negative, but the second derivative is clearly negative since \( v_{GG} < 0 \). This implies that \( V_i(\tau) \) is a concave function, and therefore quasi-concave. This then implies that preferences are single peaked Q.E.D.

Proof of Proposition 2:

Imagine the individuals are voting in a contest between \( \tau_m \) and some policy \( \tau' > \tau_m \). Because preferences are single peaked, all individuals who have ideal points less than \( \tau_m \) strictly prefer \( \tau_m \) to \( \tau' \). This follows because indirect utility functions fall monotonically as we move away from the bliss points of individuals. Since the median voter prefers \( \tau_m \) to \( \tau' \), this individual plus all the people with ideal points smaller than \( \tau_m \) constitute a majority, so \( \tau_m \) defeats \( \tau' \) in a pairwise vote. The same argument applies where \( \tau < \tau_m \). Q.E.D.

Proof of Proposition 3:

Since this a sequential game, we solve the game backward induction to find the SGPN equilibrium of the game. A rational voter will contrast equilibrium policies under both regimes and choose the regime that favors him most. Since this is a full information game voters know that in a centralized regime equilibrium policies will be determined by the political preferences of the national medium voter, while in a decentralized equilibrium policies will be determined by the regional medium voter. Therefore, he will vote in favor of the decentralization proposal if and only if his policy preferences are closer to the preferences of the regional medium voter, and vote against in the opposite case. More formally, citizen i in region j voting outcome will be given by:

\[
\text{vote}_{ij} = \begin{cases} 
\text{Yes} & \text{if } d(\tau_{ij}, \tau^c) \geq d(\tau_{ij}, \tau^p) \\
\text{No} & \text{if } d(\tau_{ij}, \tau^c) < d(\tau_{ij}, \tau^p) 
\end{cases}
\]

Notice that in our model voter’s political preferences are inversely related to voter’s income. Consider a region with median’s income below the national median income. People
with lower than the regional median income will prefer to set the tax rate at $1/tuj$. Half of the People with incomes above the regional medium income but below the national medium income will also prefer this tax rate. Now consider a region with median income above the national median income – say a “richer” region, citizens with incomes below the national mean will prefer to set the tax rate at $1/tm$. Half of the people with incomes above the national medium income but below the regional median income will also prefer this tax rate. Therefore the proportion the proportion of the regional electoral poll who will vote against decentralization will be given by: equation (11) and the proportion of the national electoral poll who will vote against decentralization will be given by equation (12). \(Q.E.D.\)

**Proof of Proposition 4:**
Order regions from richest to poorest, by proposition 3, relatively rich regions will have an absolute majority supporting decentralization. This will give them the right to determine their equilibrium policies in autonomy. Therefore, the median income of the remaining coalition of regions will be reduced, creating relatively rich regions in the coalition. In a full information game, citizens of the relatively rich regions in the coalition will anticipate this outcome, and have an absolute majority supporting decentralization. Then, they will gain the right to determine equilibrium policies in autonomy, which will reduce the median income of the remaining coalition further. The process will continue until the second poorest region separates from the poorest region. \(Q.E.D.\)
Appendix B
Figure 3. Per-capita Household Income Densities by Department
(Population with 18 years old or more)

Panel A. Chuquisaca
Panel B. La Paz
Panel C. Cochabamba
Panel D. Oruro
Panel E. Potosí
Panel F. Tarija
Panel G. Santa Cruz
Panel H. Beni
Panel I. Pando

Source: Author's calculations based on 1999-2002 Household Surveys.
Figure 4. Per-capita Household Income Distributions by Department
(Population with 18 years old or more)

Source: Author’s calculations based on 1999-2002 Household Surveys.
### Appendix C

#### Table 4. Bolivian Presidential Election Results in the Democratic Era

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Source: Bolivian National Electoral Court.
Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences 2007

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Title ‘Here I am!’ - recreation as personal and social identity: using the communication theory of identity to assist health behaviour modification strategies.

Topic area Communication

Presentation format Research paper

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Abstract

This project applies the communication theory of identity to messages in the public health area of older adults being physically active and investigates whether using the theory to reframe the messages is consistent with or can contribute insights into the construction of possible scripts to facilitate health promotion.

The paper contrasts the findings of an identity discourse analysis of the text of a physical activity promotion pamphlet for older adults with the results of a preliminary qualitative interpretive research project investigating the personal and social identity of a sample of 50-65 year olds expressed through favourite recreational activities.

The sense of identity expressed by the interviewees forms the basis for suggestions about reframing the health promotion messages around older adults and physical activity.

Introduction

Enjoyment is a major factor in developing and maintaining any behavioural characteristics, good or bad. The initial aim of this qualitative interpretive project was to examine ‘discourses of enjoyment’ in recreational activities for the 50-65 year old age group, as these were not a big emphasis in the promotional literature on ‘active ageing’ documentation, which focuses on physically active behaviour.

While the interviews were being conducted it became apparent that individuals were expressing their sense of personal and social identity. This was considered very valuable input into the issue of older adults and recreation, including being physically active. It was decided, for the purposes of the current project, to make identity in recreation the focus of research.

The project asks the question- is the communication theory of identity useful to assist with talking about identity and recreation? Can it help with health promotion initiatives aimed at promoting physical activity for the older age group? Can the technique of re-framing be facilitated by an understanding of identity and identity construction in health promotion material?

Literature review

The project is influenced by two complementary approaches to the challenge of health promotion involving behaviour modification. One suggests a technique called reframing to alter a health promotion message to reflect the identity of a target audience. The other is the technique of discourse identity analysis used for the analysis of the physical activity promotion pamphlet.
The communication theory of identity (CTI)

Hecht (1993) developed a communication theory of identity (CTI) out of investigations into inter and intra ethnic communication, suggesting four identity frames – personal, enacted, relationship and communal. He reasoned that communication was an enactment of identity. For Hecht identity has multiple loci described as four layers which are intertwined and sometimes contradictory but which cannot exist in isolation from each other. He advocated an analysis of several layers to achieve richness of data use.

Hecht stated (2005 p. 263) when describing the four layers:

Identity is stored in a personal layer as self-concept, self-image, self-cognitions, feelings about self and/or spiritual sense of self-being.

Identity is enacted in communication through messages. The self is seen as a performance, as expressed….

Identity is a mutual product, jointly negotiated and mutually formed in relationships through communication [there are three levels here-]

First, an individual constitutes his or her identities in terms of other people through social interaction……Second, an individual identifies him-or herself through his or her relationship with others. …Third, a relationship itself is a unit of identity.

A group is also a place where identity exists.

The application of CTI to areas other than ethnicity, such as illness and technology, has been fruitful. In the current project CTI is applied to the issue of health promotion.

Re-Framing

Slater (2006) builds on the communication theory of identity, suggesting that health promotion messages which do not appeal directly to personal and social identity are not going to be successful.

Given that many health promotion campaigns report little in the way of lasting behaviour change, Slater suggests that an alternative approach is necessary. For Slater, theories of behaviour change (2006, p. 156) ‘are far from adequate as a basis for developing communication content, communication strategies, and even, in some cases, evaluation designs.’

He suggested reframing the messages, saying (2006 p. 155) ‘Framing …refers to the social priorities and values with which a topic is implicitly associated, as a function of the context of a text or message.’ Reframing then, changes the focus of health promotion messages to incorporate a sense of personal and social identity. This idea is utilised in this paper.
Discourse analysis and identity

Discourse analysis, according to Damon and Holloway (2002, p. 10) 'appreciates that language or discourse...is a strategy which people use purposefully to try and create a particular effect'.

Discourse analysis can be used to examine the construct of identity in documents, such as the Australian 2005 active living pamphlet of the study. Benwell & Stokoe (2006) talk about commodified identities where identity is linked to consumption. Coupland and Gwyn agree (2003 p. 4) saying 'maintenance and positive presentation of the body involve regimes in pursuit of sociocultural norms of desirability that are almost invariably focused on youth, health and beauty'.

Discourses on active ageing are now being emphasised in the health promotion literature, linking into the emphasis on youth and health, and the nostalgia for it.

The Active Ageing discourses

The most common discourse of ageing is, as Hepworth states (in Coupland and Gwyn, p. 89) a 'biomedical one of decline' where growing older creates anxiety and a fear of illness and loss of independence. Hepworth (2002 p. 105) also discusses Gullette's alternative view of ageing and identity discourses where 'confronting the paradox of the ageing body, Gullette accentuates the notion of the core self, which she defines as 'a narrative of the persistence of the self engaged in a lifelong struggle to maintain individual integrity... a journey of the self into the future rather than a nostalgic fixation on an identity that has been buried somewhere in the past with the body of a previous identity'.

The idea of a core identity is a useful concept for looking at how older adults express their identity. The discourse of decline is currently counteracted by the discourse of 'active ageing' where the focus is on maintaining activity to maintain health.

'Active Ageing' is a popular discourse for encouraging older people to move more and to improve their overall health. It is a government discourse in Australia as in many other countries, where a realisation of the economic implications of an ageing population has given rise to strategies for addressing the problems of ageing, characterised by increased medical costs and dependent living arrangements.

Bauman et al (2002 p. 119) in an Australian government report ‘Getting Australia active’ acknowledged that being active has many benefits, which need to form part of health promotion initiatives:

There is also a need to explore the importance of physical activity in terms of social and productive activities, and to examine ways of motivating the 'young old' to become more active. It may be advantageous for communications to focus on contributions to community and maintaining 'a sense of purpose and meaning in life' Brown et al, 1999, rather than on 'prescription' of activity for aerobic or strength benefit.

The concept of ‘Active Living’ for older adults has also been characterised by Bercovitz (1998 p. 319) as ‘a rapid retreat of the welfare state from social
responsibility for fitness and health’. Writing in Canada, Bercovitz analysed the discourses of ‘lifestyle, empowerment, community and collaboration’ and predicted a continuation of this emphasis which we see today.

Rudman (2006 p. 181) states this position even more emphatically:

the personal ‘freedom’ promised with the idealised life practices is ultimately illusory, because they oblige older people to resist ageing through relentless projects of self –reflection and improvement, self-marketing, risk management, lifestyle maximisation and body optimisation.

This project acknowledges this perception of the active ageing discourse, but seeks, by focussing on the lived experience of those interviewed to develop the alternative concept of core identity and its relevance to health messages.

**Methods**

**Interviews**

For the project 30 volunteers from the 50-65 year old age group were recruited via an advertisement in the local paper and an ‘active ageing’ website. Volunteers were interviewed about their five favourite recreational activities (these could be either active or passive activities) - where and how they enjoyed them, how they found out about them and who they did them with.

A qualitative interpretive methodology was employed to find out, in their own words, how this sample enjoyed recreation. They were also asked to self-rate their own health on a scale from 1 poor to 5 excellent, with all volunteers rating themselves as good to very good.

Other papers from this project have focussed on a range of topics to do with the findings. The focus for this paper will be on those findings which present active recreational activities as an expression of social and personal identity.

**Document analysis**

The second qualitative research method employed was document discourse analysis. The text of ‘Choose health: be active – a physical activity guide for older Australians’ (produced in 2005 by the Commonwealth of Australia, the Repatriation Commission and the Australian Sports Medicine Federation) was analysed to examine the construction of identity presented to the target audience.

**Findings**

**Identity construction in a health promotion pamphlet**

The booklet ‘Choose health: be active’ (2005 p.2) is aimed at ‘people who are not currently building 30 minutes of physical activity into their daily lives’, but it also
targets those who are active (2005 p.5) saying ‘if you are already active, consider doing more activity—more time, more effort, more often. Be active in as many ways you can’. In effect, this means everybody in the target age range, (fifty years and over) so the social and personal frames can be analysed to understand what is the communication strategy being suggested.

It is however, hard to imagine that someone who is not already physically active would be attracted to this publication. The booklet contains sections on physical activity guidelines, getting started, making a plan, an actual monthly activity planner and diary, some ‘kettle’ (to be done while the kettle is boiling) stretching and balancing exercises and encouragement for those with chronic health problems, such as osteoporosis, heart problems and diabetes and tips for balancing activity with healthy eating.

The identity constructed by the guidelines is a composite of those who are confident and motivated enough to undertake a program of physical activity. This is a major weakness for those for whom identification with individual messages is essential for them to feel a connection. The pictures in the pamphlet are of older adults successfully undertaking physical activity—including some female members of parliament (a highly select group, both blonde and trim) MPs for the government departments which have put together the guidelines.

The tone is confident and reassuring—chronic health problems can be helped by activity, after consultation with a health professional. If you are not mobile—there are chair-based activities which can be substituted. The tone is also top down—the guidelines are handed down rather than having the sense of being written or compiled by the target age group, which is not stated, but reads like fifty years and older.

The assumption is that you will self-motivate, have the confidence to start something new and resume exercise if you have stopped your program for any reason. There is a section on ‘Excuses… and how to overcome them’ which list a composite of common reasons for not exercising such as, fear, lack of money, lack of facilities, or a lifetime aversion to being active—and very general solutions which often require the participations of others. The quoted excuse ‘I’m afraid I will wear out’, which is not linked to anyone real, carries the solution ‘you will wear out more quickly if you do nothing’. This solution is more like a telling off than a helpful suggestion.

How is this helpful to someone who is fearful, looking for advice, encouragement, reassurance and some activity they can identify with, enjoy and feel connected to?

The ‘kettle exercises’ describe the exercise and say generally what they are for e.g. ‘for strength and balance’ but do not say what they will feel like to your body or suggest some essential and enjoyable activities you need balance for.

Suggestions for motivation include putting your walking shoes by the door and giving yourself gold stars on the fridge for successfully completed activities. This implies a competitive sporting discourse where you are competing with yourself for rewards for being active. It does not suggest what the rewards might be, but they clearly cannot be anything which detracts from the program, such as eating, or drinking.

How does CTI apply to this document? Thinking about the four identity frames of Hecht can be useful for looking at what is suggested. As stated earlier, the four layers are self-concept, identity enacted through messages, jointly negotiated through relationships and identity expressed through being part of a group.
The guidelines are for everyone and no-one. Some actual statements are included but the identity of the speaker is unclear, their age and gender is suggested by an illustration near the quotations, but their age is not identified and there is no life story or experience suggested.

The richness of identity and relationships in the lives of older adults is not an emphasis of this document. The few quotations used focus on activity not self-concept. There is some acknowledgement of group identity and the importance of social interaction, but an awareness of the breadth of lives of adults in the target age group and how they feel about themselves and where they are situated in their lives is not presented.

Bearing in mind Slater’s suggestion that people need to identify with the activities or health promotion ideas presented, a sense of identity is not strong in this publication. Real people are not well represented. Positive feelings of happiness, being involved, interacting, moving, and drawing on a lifetime of experience and achievement are not emphasised.

Identity as expressed in interviews

The awareness of identity communicated by those interviewed for the project, indicates that CTI might be useful here. The four frames will be illustrated by statements from the interviewees as they talked about their lived experience of the enjoyment they experience through recreation.

Recreation is a strong part of their identity on all of the levels and they happily communicate this fact. ‘Who am I?’ is realised through recreation and communicated via a series of self-reflections reinforced by years of experience.

Helen talked about the strain of caring for elderly parents and using movement to keep calm:

Oh, it makes me feel euphoric, and normal, and healthy, and I use it for stress as well, because it—and that’s actually when I took up the gym, when I had my elderly parents, and I couldn’t find the switch to turn off, and that was the only time that I was totally engaged with something and I wasn’t thinking about it. And now, I’m using it because it makes me feel good, it calms me, I love to look and in the Botanic Gardens you’ve got the autumn colours and that appeals to my artistic sense, and also it’s helping to lower my cholesterol which is something I have to watch, through my…it’s hereditary…situation. So, I’m lucky. Doing that is what I love to do, so it’s easy.

Marie is conscious of keeping up her strength for everyday tasks by swimming:

Since I’ve been swimming regularly, my arms are stronger and that makes it easier in the workplace, easier domestically doing housework because you’ve just got more muscles there. And, I’m very conscious that as people get older, they often lose their shoulder muscles, you know, that just hanging washing on the line becomes a real chore for them. ...I mean not when you’re my age but you know, in twenty years time, so I hope that I keep up swimming and I won’t have that problem.
Evan uses walking to have a good think about things

I suppose the walking – of the activities I’ve mentioned, the one which has the most, I guess, sense of routine about it is the short walk around the neighbourhood – the 30 minute walk and it would be possible to just get bored with that. But I find it’s quite a good device of clearing the mind, of just chewing things over, so I get started on it, and because it’s a familiar thing and my mind wanders and so the walk is half done by the time I surface and then I start to be aware of the walk.

Bob is determined to enjoy surfing and enthusiastically describes the exhilaration of catching a wave:

I mean, I’m able to do the things when I was young, and it’s a nice feeling to know you can do those as you get older. I mean, we all recognise to some extent that we’re you know, ageing, but it’s important I think for a person’s mind-set and confidence to still be able to keep doing the sorts of things they did when they were very young. So I’m very pleased to be able to keep doing that and that’s what would drive me on. I intend to keep surfing well into my 70s and 80s, if I can manage it. I have slightly elevated blood pressure but I put that down to the fact that I’m working for a living and I monitor that fairly carefully, and that’s another reason why I exercise.

If the wave is steep, often you have to take a considerable steep drop down the face and that requires you being able to set the rail of the board into the wave and the feeling of the wave and so it’s – these are instinctive manoeuvres that you don’t think about – it all happens in your head, and it’s a bit like you’re on autopilot. But when it’s happening, your body responds and that’s one of the beautiful things about surfing, is that it’s very instinctive, very remarkable. In fact, when you finish, when you flip off a wave, you come to the end of it, you think back and you think, now what did I just do then? And you have to go back over it in your mind because it all happens so quickly. But, you know, you get this marvellous elated thrill about the fantastic thing that you’ve just done. You’ve just got to think down and think what was it I just did. So all of those things you need to consider. But, it’s legs, it’s arms, it’s upper torso and lungs.

Paula enjoys the camaraderie and the laughter of rowing:

I’m—when I’m sitting out on the water with that group of people in the boat—and we’re just finished a race, or we’re about to begin a race, or we’ve just had a really good row, and we have a lot of laughter—and er, it’s just refreshing, and sort of exhilarating and freeing. And you’re out in the fresh air; it’s mind-cleansing…

And it’s the social component too, you know. I’m not very good at doing things on my own, which is one of the reasons for rowing was to force me out of my, you know—comfort zone. And you can’t put things off if people are waiting for you, so that’s a very good feature too.

Meg’s sense of fun is reinforced by unexpected moves on the dance floor

If you can’t laugh, and we quite often laugh we’re out of the dance floor and I’ll do something or he’ll do something and we just crack up laughing. And it’s
– that's the way to go. You've got to laugh. If you don't laugh, you're a sad person, so we laugh a lot. And he will say, "Where did that come from?" We'll just crack up. That's it. I've ended up on the floor a couple of times with my skirts up around my neck, but, hey, I've got knickers on, and it doesn't matter.

Felix combines a good walk with a good meal and company:

It energises me, being out in open air. I mean, apart from the fact of using my body, it just does seem to be out – being out that is good for my feelings about life. So basically it makes me feel good and when I finish I feel good, you know. There's just nothing like coming home after a good solid walk and cooking a hot meal and having some wine. [laughing]

And has modified his camping needs:

Oh well, apart from – we've got good shoes, so the shoes, raincoats or it could be a good quality backpack, but that's about it. We're not, you know, yeah, we don't take it too seriously. Oh, we have – I mean, in the past we've always had bush walking tents, but I think that was the part of my identity that I let go of slowly and I just kept clear. So I did have a lot of gear at one stage for overnighting

Raymond likes the ritual of riding a bicycle to the market:

I mean, that's just such a ritual in my life which almost – however – and I always ride in with my panniers, and no matter how knackered I am on a Saturday morning, that's often the time when I do feel – probably because I'm more relaxed, you know, that's the let down after the week – I'm often feeling really knackered, but I always come home feeling happier.

Myra has allowed herself to relax now that she has retired and has started to lift weights:

I've been, in my life always very determined and I've been very governed by duty. So I was at the critical stage [stress-wise]. I don't do that now, anything I do has got to be fresh enough. I'll go and do something that I like, enjoy and rate dearly.

Pat still enjoys the tennis group she joined 30 years ago to do something for herself;

At the time I really needed something in my life besides the children. I mean the children were always welcome there as well, so there was always someone there to look after them. Yeah, and there's been the same, some of the women have been the same there for all that, you know, all that 30 years, so you know, come from all areas, and we sort of say that's our weekly laughing time, because we have a bit of a chat. There's always plenty of laughter there, so that's a very important thing I reckon. So that's the tennis.

Gwen is very active and walks a lot in her volunteer job so needs to be fit for that:
I do notice things like that if I am walking somewhere with perhaps another member of the family, perhaps my husband or one of my daughters and I think they’re not quite as fit as what I am, because I’ve noticed I can run around the tennis court better since I’ve been doing the swimming and I don’t seem to get as tired as early as perhaps I would have way back, so those things I’m noticing

Ron talked about how good fishing made him feel:

Well, it’s a bit more of a relax, because it gives you time to sit and think because you’re not pulling in fish all the time unfortunately... each wave looks much the same, they’re all different as well, so you can sit there and be mesmerized and staring at something that doesn’t change much, like a fire. You can look into and reflect on other things, so it’s a very gratifying, very quiet time. I remember times where I was down on a big beach with big surf .. and occasionally you’d get excited because you’d get a nip on your line. It’s that little tingle feeling in your right hand...

These interviews show a strong sense of personal and social identity, reinforced through recreation. Activities are enjoyed alone, in small groups, in large groups and with a partner. There is an enthusiasm and appreciation of what makes the activity enjoyable and how it affects relationships and skills needed for a purposeful life.

Discussion

Reframing

From the sense of identity expressed by those who volunteered for interviews and looking at the sense of identity expressed in the document, it is possible to suggest a different more inclusive framework for the guidelines.

An awareness of how people in the age group spend their time can be reflected in the way the health promotion material links to people, to ways of life and to activities which are enjoyed and which are made richer by specific examples illustrating feelings, relationships and life experience. This is the reframing suggestion made by Slater – make health promotion messages part of something people can identity and relate to.

For example – the guideline about being active twice a day could be enriched by listing something that people enjoy which happens to involve moving around. Perhaps it could be a description of a dance group and what they dance to and how that makes them feel. Or it could include a feeling about place and how that is calming and how people solve problems while they walk and get to have a look at how other people are arranging their gardens – and get some gardening hints for their own gardens.
It would also include an emphasis on friendships and the social aspect of some activities, as well as acknowledging the need for individual space, which is also an important part of who we are.

The whole being active emphasis could be reframed as ‘who am I?’ and ‘How can I keep doing the things which are important to me and keep being the person I am and want to be’. Being active needs to be reframed as part of our identity, not an artificially constructed part of who we are. Telling someone ‘inactivity is a health hazard’ is not likely to generate a positive reaction – but may generate a feeling of panic, inadequacy or denial, where it is all too difficult.

Saying instead – ‘what do you enjoy? ‘what do you need to keep on doing it?’ What would you like to do more of? might generate more interest. Acknowledging the range of activities people enjoy and seeing how being active benefits existing enjoyment is also another way of linking health promotion initiatives to real life situations. For example, someone who enjoys sewing or quilting might benefit from an understanding of how the major muscle groups used for these activities can be developed and maintained. They can then pass this understanding on to others.

This approach may have the possibility of being more meaningful to the general population than an exhortation to do 30 minutes of moderate physical activity on most days of the week. Being active and being healthy is obviously useful for every part of life, but focusing on enjoyment and on what people see as their core identity is much more likely to attract their attention.

Conclusion

The aim of the project was to look at the idea of reframing health promotion messages using the communication theory of identity. This was done using the qualitative interpretive methods of interviewing and document analysis, with the focus on active recreation for older adults.

In particular the concept of identity was examined in a recent health promotion booklet on physical activity for older adults and also examined in a series of interviews where older adults talked about themselves and how they enjoyed active recreation.

It is suggested that the health promotion messages might benefit from a reframing, using real life interpretations of the concept of a core identity, as expressed in their own words by the target age range. It is important to acknowledge the richness of lived experience and lifelong realisations which are vital to the age range and to combine this acknowledgement with useful knowledge about how to maintain the enjoyment and enthusiasm displayed.

The next step is to design a research project to examine the effect of reframed messages.

Names of interviewees have been changed.

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*Bibliography*


Blogging: Why International Students Blog?

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Objectives & Expected Outcomes

After ten years of its début, blog is now a wide-spread international medium. Its users are blogging in various ways: some users treat it as a bulletin board, such as Howard Dean’s campaign blog, who previously ran for nomination of presidential candidate; another utilize it to share his/her ideas on certain issues, such as Lawrence Lessig’s blog, a law professor who is basically concerned with the open resources and the innovation on the Internet; another use it to record their interests, such as cooking, traveling, reading, etc.; still another treat it as live journals. But why people choose to do all these via an online medium rather than an offline one. Are people self-creating via blogging? Are they lonely and/or need a community network? Are they eager to be seen and to prove their existence just as Bishop Berkeley says, “to be is to be perceived”?

This project will focus on international students’ use of blog and will investigate the reasons why they blog.

While international students carry their own cultures with them into a foreign culture, their blogs could function differently from other bloggers’ and could be influenced by more various reasons than other bloggers’. They might blog their school lives, social activities, traveling experience, etc. in the host country as a record of different life experience to network and communicate with family and friends back home en masse rather than via individual e-mails, or to seek for emotional support to confront all kinds of difficulties in the host country. They might blog to discuss all kinds of issues back home. They might also blog to affirm their existence and counter the anonymity they often experience in everyday life, or to reassert their “authentic” selves to longstanding friends and obtain a security in the sense of reasserting their “true” selves, which could be self-created on the Internet.

Methodology

The subjects of this project are international students, who must be foreign-born students and bloggers, in New York City, according to Institute of International Education, where hosts more than thirty thousand international students in its metropolitan area. Thus the city should provide a big enough and diverse enough population to the project. Students will be contacted via the mailing list of Metro International Organization, who reaches about 4000 international students and about 1200 visiting Fulbright students in the city.

I will initially administer an online questionnaire to gather general information of bloggers’ internet use experience and their blogs. Based on the questionnaire, I will conduct further in-person interviews with each subject and examine their blogs to see how different people blog differently and how their cultural backgrounds influence
Shu-Chun Hsu
Abstract

blogged content. When I examine their blogs, I will look for deeper motives in blogging—whether their blogs match their initial claims. For example, I will ask them what they usually describe in their blogs. In the follow-up interview, I will ask them to recount a specific experience they described in their blogs. Then, I will examine their blogs to see in what ways the written description matches or differs from their spoken account. This is a good research method, because they will be describing the incident to me in a one-on-one interpersonal “real-life” context, while their blog account is intended for dissemination to people who they may or may not know in the virtual world. Furthermore, I will try to explore why there is a match or difference by investigating their own culture and applying psychoanalytic theory to the mentality of their blogging experience.
The study of chronic psychiatric patients’ perceptual experience of social skills and self-efficacy

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Abstract

The foundation of psychiatric mental health nursing is the relationship between nursing staff and patients. When taking care of psychiatric patients by therapeutic relationship, nursing staff need to know their patients, so that they have to know patients’ perception and what the patients care. Therefore, this study takes the rehabilitation nursing of chronic psychiatric patients as the example to discuss the patients’ perceptual experience of social skills and self-efficacy. Data collection is conducted with questionnaires by purposeful sampling, of which the objects are the cases of psychiatric rehabilitation. This study gets 200 valid questionnaires, and adopts the statistical analysis methods such as frequency distribution, percentage, average, standard deviation and analysis of variance.

According to this study, chronic psychiatric patients are conscious that their social skills of “I could properly interrupt people’s talks” and “I could keep my body or emotions steady when facing others’ provocations” are a little bit insufficient and so are the self-efficacy of “I think that my abilities or conditions are good, and I won’t encounter many hardships when looking for a new job or changing my job” and “when I am looking for a job, I always think that many occupations are not difficult for me.” Besides, both the educational level of chronic psychiatric patients and participating in occupational training or not have great influence on the patients’ social skills and self-efficacy. The average values of social skills and self-efficacy of those with college (or above) educational background are obviously higher than the values of those with the educational level below college degree. And, the average values of social skills and self-efficacy of those participating in occupational training are also obviously higher than the values of those not participating in occupational training.

Therefore, this study proposes that psychiatric mental health rehabilitation nursing needs to combine community training and educational resources to strengthen the social skills and self-efficacy that chronic psychiatric patients need to adapt to the society.
Daughters of Abraham: A study in interpersonal relationships

Sociology/Women's Studies/Ethnic Studies

Paper sessions - Work in progress

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Daughters of Abraham: A study in interpersonal relationships

Abstract:

The Daughters of Abraham was formed after September 11, 2001 in an effort to explore the distinctives of the Muslim, Christian, and Jewish faiths and to work for restorative justice. As Janice Harris Lord, the founder states “The group has continued to grow in number, but more importantly, it has grown beyond mutual education and tolerance to genuine respect and love for each other.”

Involvement in the Daughters of Abraham has and will continue lead to restorative justice. This was first suggested to me when a Jewish woman said that she had never been able to trust a Christian woman before she spent time with this group. Even the name can be looked at in the context of recategorization, in which the categories of “us” and “them” are included in a superordinate “we” category. What could be a better name to recategorize Muslim, Jewish, and Christian women than as Daughters of Abraham.
Statement of problem

The Daughters of Abraham was formed after September 11, 2001 in an effort to explore the distinctives of the Muslim, Christian, and Jewish faiths and to work for peace. As Janice Harris Lord, (2003) the founder states “The group has continued to grow in number, but more importantly, it has grown beyond mutual education and tolerance to genuine respect and love for each other.” So if we look at this group through the eyes of a social psychologist what do we see? Rather than state this phenomenon in terms of genuine respect and love, this paper will view this in terms of reduced prejudice. To explain this phenomenon of reduced prejudice, we will look first look at intergroup contact.

The theory

In 1954, Gordan Allport described the effect of intergroup contact on reducing prejudice.

Prejudice…may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals. The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports (i.e., by law, custom or local atmosphere), and provided it is of a sort that leads to the perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups. (p. 281)

So there are four basic conditions that precipitate the reduction of prejudice by group contact. We will look at these four conditions in the Daughters of Abraham.
• Equal status is seen between groups. The meetings are rotated at a Jewish synagogue, Muslim mosque, and Christian church. Although the leader/founder of the group is a Christian, each month the group is facilitated by a woman of the host church.

• The two groups are working towards superordinate goals, or common goals based on co-operation. The stated goal of this group is expressed as "working for peace"

• Social and institutional support is given. The synagogue, mosques, and churches give use of their facilities for these meetings.

• Perceptions of similarities between groups. This group is called the Daughters of Abraham, and the common narrative of each religious tradition is acknowledged.

Pettigrew’s (1998) work with intergroup conflict added an additional condition, which is friendship potential. This is described as interactions sustained over time and with resulting self-disclosure. In Nagda and Truelove’s (2004) study of an intergroup educational initiative, they evaluated friendship potential along with a learning process “that involves sharing and learning about racial/ethnic identities, introspective learning about one’s own group and bridge building across differences.
The Types of Theories

Theories may be either a set of laws, axiomatic or causal process. Or the set of statements of a single theory may be organized as any of these three forms, such as the Reynolds’ example of *The Exercise of Influence in Small Groups*. In this paper we will look at Intergroup Contact Theory first in all three forms and then focusing on the causal process.

**Allport’s Original Form**

Prejudice…may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals.

**Set-of-Laws Form**

Law: In groups of equal status and in pursuit of common goals, if contact between majority and minority groups, then prejudice reduction.

Situation: In Daughters of Abraham, Jewish, Muslim, and Christian women have equal status and pursue common goals; they have contact.

Therefore: Women in Daughters of Abraham have prejudice reduction.

**Axiomatic Form**

Scope Condition: The theory applies only to groups with equal status between groups and in pursuit of common goals.
Axioms: If contact between majority and minority groups, then prejudice reduction

**Causal Process Form**

Figure 1 shows the causal process that forms this theory, and helps to place the pursuit of common goals as an active part.

![Causal Process Diagram]

One of the advantages of looking at this theory in the light of the causal process is that it enables the researcher to break down the theory and realize that the process of pursuit of common goals must be looked at in addition to intergroup contact. The mission statement of Daughters of Abraham, is stated as follows, “The Daughters of Abraham believe in and actively work towards peaceful and non-violent solutions to problems.” And this major focus is broken down in several areas:
- Community Service
- Coordination of Youth Presentations
- Publications

All of these may be looked at in terms of common goals, although all members of the group do not participate equally in these areas.

As the women in DOA become more involved and spend time in interaction, there is friendship potential. In Nagda and Truelove’s (2004) study they found that the friendship potential and prejudice reduction was enhanced by “sharing and learning about racial/ethnic identities, introspective learning about one’s own group and bridge building across differences.” Figure 2 below integrates the friendship potential in prejudice reduction.
In Allport’s (1954) terms “Prejudice...may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals.” So we will look at the two key abstract concepts in this theory, first prejudice and secondly intergroup contact. Both of these abstract concepts are not related to any unique spatial or temporal time setting. To better define prejudice, let's look to Allport (1954, p. 9) again, "Ethnic prejudice is an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization." As we break down this definition, Allport incorporates the attitude (antipathy) and the belief (faulty and inflexible generalization). Both prejudice and generalization may be looked at in a concrete situation, such as the Daughters of Abraham meetings.

Key abstract concept

In looking at this group, the abstract concept prejudice would be presented in the more concrete terms of negative attitudes and beliefs toward Christians, Muslims, and Jews by the women of Daughters of Abraham in face-to-face interaction at meetings of the Daughters of Abraham for a time period, for example the monthly meetings of 2006. Allport (1954, p. 446) addresses these three religions specifically:
Islam is more than a religion; it is a well-knit cluster of related cultures carried by ethnic cousins who are sharply demarcated from the non-Moslem world. Christianity is so locked with western civilization that it is hard to keep in mind its original core…. Most clear of all is the case of the Jews. While they are primarily a religious group, they are likewise viewed as a race, a nation, a people a culture.

**Concrete concept operationalized**

Prejudice, the attitudes and cognitions may be measured in several ways, similar to the operationalization of “anxiety” Reynolds (p. 53) gives. Individuals, specifically those women involved in Daughters of Abraham, would be the units of analysis. Below are some thoughts on how I will operationalize prejudice in studying this group.

1. Record who sits by whom – for example, when seats are available do the Christian women sit by other Christian women or by Muslim or Jewish women?

2. Use questionnaires measuring prejudice with the women and “study the pattern of responses”

3. Analyze the conversations
   a. For content
      i. How well the differences between the faiths are are respected?
      ii. What are some of the stories?
   b. For communication patterns
i. Who interrupts whom?

ii. Does any faith monopolize?

4. Look for patterns of attendance
   a. The meetings are rotated between a Jewish synagogue, Muslim mosque, and two Christian churches
   b. Are the groups overrepresented in their own settings?

5. Use Bogardus’ social distance scale

   For example, Parrillo and Donoghue found in 2001 that white Americans had the lowest Bogardus score, a 1.07, Jews ranked 11th, with a 1.38, and that Muslims ranked second to the last or 29 with a 1.88. In comparison, African-Americans ranked 9th, with a 1.33.

   Two relational statements

   A friend asked me if the women in this group tended to be conservative and my response was that most conservative Jews, Muslims, and Christians would not be meeting with each other. In the same sense, most women who choose to be in this group typically would not have as high level of prejudice as the general public. So an associational or correlational statement concerning the concrete concept of participation in Daughters of Abraham could be stated as follows: Intergroup contact between Muslims, Jews, and Christians would have a negative association with prejudice. However, a causal statement would be that intergroup contact between Muslims, Jews, and Christians would lessen prejudice. But this causal relationship is a bit harder to measure, than
simply a correlational. Pettigew and Tropp looked at this relationship in *A Meta-Analytic Test of Intergroup Contact Theory* and found that contact does reduce prejudice, even taking self selection into account. “Longitudinal studies also have revealed that optimal contact reduces prejudice over time (e.g., Eller & Abrams, 2003, 2004; Levin, van Laar, & Sidanius, 2003), even when researchers have eliminated the possibility of participant selection.”

Another focus of this study would be the effects of common goals in decreasing prejudice. In the Sherifs camp experiment, they found that having competing groups work for a superordinate goal would create less outgroup hostility. The effects of working for common goals in Daughters of Abraham should be measured.

**Implications**

Involvement in the Daughters of Abraham will decrease prejudice, because of equal status, common goals, social support, and perceptions of similarities. This was first suggested to me when a Jewish woman said that she had never been able to trust Christian women before she spent time with this group. And one of the dimensions seen as a participant observer in this group is that Then as a sociologist I thought of Allport's Group Contact Hypothesis. Even the name of this group, Daughters of Abraham, can be looked at in the context of Allport’s work. Gaertner, Mann, Murrell, & Dovidio, (1989) derived a recategorization model, in which this intergroup contact is effective if the categories of “us” and “them” are included in a superordinate “we” category.
What a better name to recategorize Muslim, Jewish, and Christian women than as Daughters of Abraham.
Sources


Understanding the Effects of the Interaction in the Writing Center and the International Student’s Expectations on Their Future Use of the Writing Center

Student: Maosheng Hung
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Date: December 18, 2006
Understanding the Effects of the Interaction in the Writing Center and the International Student’s Expectations on Their Future Use of the Writing Center

Maosheng Hung

I. Introduction

A. Research Problem

Since the early 1970s, the writing center has become a very unique place in American universities, colleges, and even high schools. Its core theoretical assumption—that writing is a fluid learning process which occurs in an active social context—has been very popular and widely adopted within academia. In addition, it is rapidly replacing the traditional approach to composition teaching practice (Jones, 2001). Although there is a great deal of research about the writing center during the past twenty years (Murphy, Law & Sherwood, 1996 p.xi), I find through my search of the literature that only a few studies evaluate the performance of the writing center in improving student writing skills but none investigates the efficacy of the writing center in helping international students as well as international students’ perception and perspectives about it. The current study is conducted toward these goals.

The writing center at the University of Kansas offers its services at different locations on campus. The home base is in Wescoe Hall and other locations are in the main libraries (Watson and Anschutz) and some residence halls (Oliver and Ellsworth). Normally, students can get the services from 9AM to 9 PM during the weekdays. The main purpose of the writing center at KU is to help students become good writers by having tutors guide and coach them to revise and improve their paper. When a student
walks into the writing center, the writing consultant will want to know what he or she would like to work on and what goals he or she has for his or her writing. The session is primarily based on the tutee’s request.

Generally speaking, a session lasts about thirty minutes. Because graduate-level writing is more demanding, the KU writing center offers one hour “appointments” exclusively for graduate students. However, these appointments are extremely limited, and only one appointment is available per student every week. For those who don’t make an appointment in advance, they can only have a regular session, which lasts for thirty minutes.

From the viewpoint of many students (especially international students), faculty members and administrative staff at KU, the writing center is supposed to help students enhance their writing skills by “proofreading” their paper. However, a great number of international students complain a lot about its functions and practice. I have been hearing some of my friends talking about their feelings and experiences of being in the writing center. They thought that after they brought their paper to those “professional” writing consultants, then their paper should be fine to turn in. However, when receiving their paper from their professor, they realized that the paper still had some problems, either because they got a bad grade on it or because there were still many grammatical errors pointed out by their professor. In addition, they described when sitting in the center, they were asked to do some work, which they did not think was related to helping improve their articles. For example, normally in the beginning of the consulting session, they would be asked to read the whole paper out loud rather than the consultant did it himself or herself. Many of my friends felt very uncomfortable about this practice. They even had
no idea why they had to do so and how this would help them. I personally had the same experience that made me not return to the center for almost a year. From my own perspective, this read-out-loud strategy might work for native speakers of English to find mistakes in their article, but it is not effective for international students, because of their limited grammar knowledge. Owing to these issues, I became interested in investigating what’s going on in the writing center at KU and what makes many international students not like it.

**B. Research Questions**

This research mainly focuses on the experiences of those international students who do not like the writing center at KU. Therefore, the research questions are devised toward this particular community as opposed to all of the international students. They are as follows:

1. What were the expectations of the international students who had had bad experiences in the writing center at KU whenever they visited it? What was the actual practice of the writing center?

2. What previous experience(s) did they have in the writing center? How did they feel about it/them?

3. What factors made them have a negative view about the writing center and influenced their future use of it?

**C. Significance of the Study**

As I mentioned in the beginning of this study, from the perspectives of many students, faculty members and even administrative staff at KU, the function of the writing center is supposed to help those who need assistance in their writing. International
students especially need it, since English is not the native language of most of them. One year ago, I had a chance to observe in the KU writing center for more than fifteen hours for the class I was taking. I figured that most of the students coming in the writing center were international students. The writing center seemed to have become a place where international students would go and ask for help in their writing. Hence, in order for the KU writing center to function more effectively and for foreign students to get more and more assistance on their schoolwork from the writing center, this study can provide the writing center staff with very valuable information for reconsidering the objectives of their practice and the functions of the writing center. The other subgoals of this study are trying to grasp the following issues:

1. to understand what international students usually expect the writing center to help them

2. to discover what procedures and strategies the writing consultant normally utilizes to help their tutees and how they interact with each other in a writing session

3. to investigate the causes that decrease international students’ motivation to use the writing center for help

4. to help myself and those current FL (foreign language) teachers understand the needs of our students and then try to come up with good methods to help them (the students) in terms of their writing skills

5. to apply the results of this research to other universities in the United States

D. Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework of this study consists of two parts—the literature review and my own experience. In terms of the literature review, some studies demonstrate that
the writing center has a great impact on student writing ability improvement. For instance, Doris Sutton and Daniel Arnold (1974) conducted a study by dividing a sample of basic English composition students at a community college into two groups—control and experimental groups. In the control group, students received “standard classroom” freshman composition lessons, whereas in the experimental group, students received instruction in composition at a writing center through one-on-one tutorials. Then, the researchers compared the grade point averages of these two groups at graduation and concluded that the students in the experimental group had accumulated significantly higher GPAs than the ones in the control group.

John Sadlon (1980) did a similar experiment in which the experimental group consisted of students assigned to attend writing center tutorials on a weekly basis and the control group of freshman attending composition classes without tutorials. The results showed that all of the students in the experimental group did at least as well as those in the control group when measured by grades in a second semester freshman composition course and that many who received the tutorials did far better than those who received the traditional freshman composition approach. Afterwards, Carol David and Thomas Bubloz (1985) used a pre- and post-test design for their research. They put a sample of students who failed freshman composition in the writing center to enhance their grammar skills. They found a statistically significant improvement in grammar skills on post-tests after the students in their sample had received individualized instruction focusing on error correction and increased understanding of grammar rules. In addition, Linda Wills (1984) revealed that after some five hundred college freshman students were exposed to one-on-
one tutorials at a writing center, their mean scores on an error-recognition test improved significantly.

On the contrary, some research indicates that the writing center doesn’t help improve student writing ability much. For example, James Bennett, in his 1988 doctoral dissertation, examined the effects of required writing lab assignments upon the writing performance of community college composition students. He compared grades given by a panel of composition teachers to assignments submitted prior to the intervention with those given by the same panel to assignments submitted after the tutorials at the writing center. Then, he found out that there was some improvement indicated by the results but it was not at a statistically significant level. Moreover, David Roberts (1988) compared the effectiveness of credit-bearing courses offered by two writing centers to effectiveness of conventional classroom instruction. The findings of his study pointed out that in the light of writing quality, understanding of writing process, and levels of writing apprehension, the courses offered by the writing centers was a little more effective than the conventional classroom instruction, but again the variance did not meet the study’s criteria for statistical significance.

From the aforementioned discussion of previous research, there is no absolute answer about the effectiveness of the writing center in improving student writing skills. Also, no study is found discussing how well the writing center helps international students and how international students value the writing center in terms of its function, practice and effectiveness. Therefore, the current study is conducted toward investigating international students’ perception and perspectives about the KU writing center to understand more about the efficacy of the KU writing center. The following is what the
writing center at KU should typically do and the role it should typically assume according to their mission statement:

1. It will provide qualified writing consultants who support the academic mission of the university.
2. It will create an environment that is accessible, comfortable and productive.
3. It will help students understand and practice writing-to-learning for writing in all subjects now and for writing in the future.
4. It will help students understand practice many strategies effective writers use, from brainstorming to editing.
5. It will support students’ growth as a writer and provide the expertise, the resources, and the space and time to work with them on their writing.
6. The writing consultants are students’ peers who have completed a course and continue to learn through staff education workshops. They are tutors, not teachers, trained to coach and guide students.

With regards to my own experience, when I first started my master’s studies at KU three years ago, I went to the writing center to get my assignment proofread. I had a very bad experience at that point, because everything there was completely different from what I had expected. I originally thought the writing consultant would help me look at my article and find out those grammatical errors, followed by correcting them for me. However, instead of focusing on my grammar, she emphasized the content of my article. After the session was finished, I was really upset with her practice and never visited the writing center until after a year when I took a class with the former writing center director. From then on, I came to realize that the content part was also very important for good
writing. However, for most of the international students, grammar correction is still their first need to be met when they go to the writing center.

A research article written by John Truscott argues that grammar correction in L2 writing classes should be abandoned for three reasons: (a) Substantial research shows it to be ineffective and none shows it to be helpful in any interesting sense; (b) for both theoretical and practical reasons, one can expect it to be ineffective; and (c) it has harmful effects. This argument is consistent with the practice of the writing center, but doesn’t match many international students’ need. Hence, one of the main purposes of this study is to investigate if grammar correction is the most important concern of international students and if it is the main issue that makes many international students not like going to the writing center very often.

II. Methodology

A. Data Collection & Methods

The data in this study were collected from two sources. The main source was based on five interviews, and the supportive one on two observations.

1. Interview

In this study, interview is the main method used to investigate the research questions and collect data. In total, I conducted five interviews. Each of them lasted around twenty five to thirty minutes. I interviewed three of them in Jayhawk Tower A, one at her own house and one in JRP. Most of the sites are where the participants live, except for JRP. The advantage for doing the interview at their place is that it’s quiet and no other people
would bother and interrupt our conversation. Also, the quality of the recordings would be much better than in the public place.

In order to make myself, a novice researcher, feel more comfortable beginning an interview, I started with my own friend. Rubin & Rubin (2005, p.80) points out that being relaxed on the part of the interviewer may lead to a thoughtful and rich interview. Moreover, before formally asking the participants questions and tape recording, I usually spent a few minutes chatting with them, trying to make them relaxed so that they could elaborate more on their responses. As Rubin and Rubin (2005, p.115) indicate, “Some interviewees are nervous and may lack confidence that they can answer your questions. In this first stage, you may want to spend a little time tactfully reassuring the conversational partners that they are competent…. When chatting with them, I also introduced myself (including my research role) and the purpose of the study (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p.116). Furthermore, after finishing an interview, I asked the interviewee if he or she would like to be identified in this research (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p.116). They all gave me their permission to mention their name. Therefore, their names can be found in the introductory section of Sampling and beside quotations.

Rubin & Rubin (2005, p.110) mention that “the researcher needs to keep a record of what was said for later analysis.” Hence, I also tape recorded the content of each interview, followed by transcribing it verbatim, including pauses and hesitations.

2. Interview Protocol

My original interview questions were developed based on my own experience of visiting the KU writing center. I began my questions with the locations and open hours of the KU writing center, through the practice of the center, the interaction between the tutor
and the subject, to the perception of the subject toward the consultant and the entire
writing center. I came up with six main questions. Under each main question, I also had
several follow-up and probe questions (see Appendix 1). I tended to design all the
questions to be open questions so that all the interviewees could offer as many responses
as they could. However, after I did my pilot study with my classmate in class and my first
interviewee in Tower A, I figured out that there were some leading questions on my list.
Then, I started to revise them and ended up with the current questions that I used to ask
the rest four interviewees (see Appendix 2). Aside from the leading questions, I tried to
remove or change some questions that would only retrieve answers like “yes” or “no”
from my subjects. The purpose for doing this was to have all my participants thoroughly
describe their experiences and opinions to enrich the whole study and to make the
findings of the study more complete.

3. Selection of Samples

I used the “Snowball Sampling” approach to select interviewees for this research
(Merriam, 1998, p.63). Totally, there were five people interviewed. I started with a
Taiwanese friend, whose name is Yuru Lee. She is currently pursuing her master’s degree
in linguistics. She has studied at KU for more than 2 years. She goes to the writing center
whenever she needs to turn in her paper. My second interviewee is Yuru’s roommate,
whose name is Sooa Im. She comes from South Korea. Yuru recommended her to me
because she knew that Sooa could also offer very useful and insightful information for
the topic I was working on. Sooa is a doctoral student in the Art History department. She
began her studies at KU two years ago. But she has visited the writing center only once.
Before she came to KU, she was pursuing her master’s degree in the same field at
Rutgers University, New Jersey. The third interviewee of mine was referred by Sooa. Her name is KyungAe Keum, who is also from South Korea and is doing her PhD in audiolodgy (from the department of Speech Language and Hearing). She has studied at KU for two years as well. She goes to the writing center approximately three times a semester.

Yuka Naito-Billen, my fourth interviewee, comes from Japan. She was recommended by my Japanese classmate, Mishizu, who took this course last year. Yuka is also a doctoral student and majors in foreign language education. She finished her master’s in music therapy at KU and has studied here for six years. However, during these six years, she just visited the writing center twice. My last interviewee, Essa Alrehaly, is a master’s student in science education. We take the same class in Qualitative Research together this semester, but I don’t know him very well. I happened to recognize that he might offer very insightful information about my topic due to a class activity. Therefore, I included him as one of my interviewees. He had been studying at KU for three year since he came here from Saudi Arabia. However, he had visited the writing center only twice.

4. Purpose of Sampling

One of the reasons that these people were selected as my participants in this study is that all of them have had a bad experience in the KU writing center. The experience has caused many of them to turn to their own friends for help instead of using the writing center. The second reason is that these subjects come from different countries as opposed to a single one. Their opinions about the function of the writing center and descriptions of their previous experiences in it would be diverse and could make the findings of this
study more reliable and generalizable. In addition, using the “Snowball Sampling” procedure to choose samples can make the results more valid by preventing the outcomes from being biased by the interviewees with whom the researcher is acquainted.

5. Observation

The second (supportive) element of the data collection process consisted of observing two sessions in the writing center located in the Watson library and the Anschutz library respectively. During each of the sessions, I focused on the interaction and conversation between the tutor and the tutee along with the tutor’s consulting procedures and strategies. I also wrote down details about the tutee’s requests for the consultant and the physical properties of the writing center (Merriam, 1998, p.97-98).

In terms of the first observation, it was conducted in the writing center on the third level of the Watson library. When I entered the center, a receptionist was looking into the screen of his laptop, two tutors were helping their tutee and the other tutor was surfing the Internet. After I explained my intention to the receptionist, he introduced me to the only available tutor and asked me to have a seat until the next student came in for a new session. I waited there for fifteen minutes and there arrived an American undergraduate student. The tutor asked the tutee if she minded that I observed the session and she said no. Then, they started their consulting session and I began my observation. For this session, the student’s paper was to apply to a job position. The tutor who helped her majored in two areas—Religious Studies and Linguistics.

The next day, I changed the place of observing. I went to the writing center in the Anschutz library. In addition to a receptionist, there was only one tutor available at that moment. When I got there, three students already signed up and waited for their own
session. I followed the same procedures from my last experience and told the receptionist about my intention for coming there. Likewise, she asked me to be seated and wait for the next session. This time, the session I observed consisted of a tutee, who was a Chinese graduate student in linguistics, and a tutor, who was an undergraduate student in English and Journalism. The student’s paper was summary of a journal article and was written for one of her linguistics classes. The content of these two observations will be further discussed in the following section of research findings in conjunction with the interview data.

After observing, I immediately reviewed my notes to increase their completeness and legibility, and the resultant field notes were then available for analysis. These observations allowed for comparative analysis of my observation data with the interview data in order to locate patterns of consistency or discrepancy.

Merriam (1998, p.100-101) points out four possible stances that a qualitative research can hold. The first one is complete participant—“The researcher is a member of the group being studied and conceals his or her observer role from the group so as not to disrupt the natural activity of the group.” The second one is participant as observer: “The researcher’s observer activities, which are known to the group, are subordinate to the researcher’s role as a participant.” The third one is observer as participant: “The researcher’s observer activities are known to the group; participation in the group is definitely secondary to the role of information gatherer.” The last one is complete observer: “The researcher is either hidden from the group or in a completely public setting such as an airport.” In this observation, I functioned as an observer as participant.
The tutor and the tutee both knew what I was doing. Most of the time, I observed their interaction as opposed to joining them.

D. Data Analysis

Whenever I finished an interview or observation, I organized it and turned it into a detailed transcript or field note. When I had all the transcripts and field notes ready, I began my analysis. I first recognized relevant concepts, themes and patterns in my data. Then, I figured out a brief label to designate each concept and theme, followed by marking in the interview and observation text where the concepts or themes were found. After I physically coded the interviews and field notes, I sorted the data by grouping all of the data units with the same label into a file. In this case, I can look for how the concept or theme was seen overall, and then examine for subtle differences in the way the concept or theme was used (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 207-208). In terms of the data that clearly seemed unrelated to the purpose of the study, I did not further examines or categorize them. Overall, the first consideration for identifying emerging categories was related to the research questions and guiding questions. The second was semantic homogeneity based on conceptual similarities between utterances.

E. Validity & Credibility

In order to make this research more valid and credible, I used several strategies. First of all, I included in my study people that I didn’t know and people from different countries to see if they all had the same or similar patterns. Second, I utilized “Snowball Sampling” to select my participants. I asked my friend, the first interviewee, to refer me to her roommate and her roommate then referred me to her friend. Merriam (1998, p.63) indicates that this strategy is “perhaps the most common form of purposeful sampling.”
Third, I went to the writing center in the Watson library to observe a consulting session. Then, I compared what my interviewees said and what I actually observed to come up with some similar and different patterns (Triangulation). Maxwell (2005, p.112) shows that this approach “reduces the risk of chance associations and of systematic biases due to a specific method, and allows a better assessment of the generality of the explanations that one develops.” Merriam (1998, p.204, 207) also suggests this strategy. In addition, this method helped test the validity and reliability of my research findings (Maxwell, 2005, p.113). Last, after I transcribed all the interviews, I presented each of them to the respective participant for confirmation of the content (Respondent Validation in Maxwell, 2005, p.111; Member Checks in Merriam, 1998, p.204). The reason for doing this was to avoid some biases and misunderstandings from my own part as a researcher.

In terms of the first strategy, owing to various cultural backgrounds, people from different countries might have diverse perceptions or opinions of what’s happening in the writing center. Therefore, in order to make this research more generalizable and more trustworthy, I tried to collect my interviewees from as many different nations as I could. Also, using the “Snowball Sampling” approach can avoid Maxwell’s so-called “Reactivity” that is “the influence of the researcher on the setting or individuals studied” (Maxwell, 2005, p.108). If the interviewees I included in this research were people I knew, they would have provided the answers that I personally wanted to help complete my study. This will make the findings of this research biased and invalid.

Regarding my last two strategies, adding an additional method to collect, which is “observation” in this study, can further support the evidence from interviews and increase the validity and credibility of the research. Furthermore, as Maxwell (2005, p.108)
mentioned that the subjectivity of the researcher is one of the main causes resulting in the research bias. As a result, presenting the transcription to the subject for confirmation of the content can decrease the researcher bias and make the results of the study more believable and readable.

**F. Ethical Issues**

Before the five interviewees were asked to participate in the study, they were presented a consent form in which the right of the participant, the purpose of this research, the use of this study and the contact information of the researcher etc. were all included. If the participants didn’t feel like being part of the study, they could withdraw from it any time (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p.104). In addition, after finishing transcribing the interviews, I provided my interviewees with the rights to look over the transcriptions and edit them, followed by asking if they would like to be identified in this study (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p.101). These were the approaches I used in this study to protect my interviewees.

**III. Findings**

After analyzing the data from the five interviews and two observations, I found out that all of the international students I interviewed or observed visit the writing center mostly because they have an assignment due and need to have a native English speaker look at it to make sure that the paper has no grammatical errors. However, some bad experiences they had in the writing center have made them have a negative view about the center or even influence their future use of it. As Essa (a master’s student in Science Education) said in the interview, “I quit really. Because I think they don’t help me at
all…. My experience with the writing center is that they almost don’t help at all…."
These experiences, after I collected and analyzed, are related to three major categories. The first one is the policies and practice of the KU writing center. It includes some subcategories such as open hours, locations, session time, tutor arrangement, late openness, and insufficient tutors. Some of them complained that the open hours and locations were inconvenient for them. Some of them indicated that they were not allowed to choose the consultant they liked. Many of them even suggested that the session time and the number of the tutor should be increased (Quotes related to these points and the sequent ones are provided in the detailed analysis that starts on p.20).

Second, some issues on the part of the tutor also cause a great number of complaints from the interviewees. For instance, some participants are not comfortable with the consultant’s procedure/strategy--reading out loud. Some pointed out that when they were reading their article out loud, the tutor was not listening and paying attention. It turned out that they (the tutor and my interviewee) had to go over the whole paragraph(s) again from the beginning, which wasted a lot of time. Furthermore, none of the interviewees trust the consultant in helping them with their paper, because they all think these tutors are just undergraduate students and do not know anything in their (my interviewee’s) field. One more issue my interviewees also mentioned is the tutor’s attitude. Some of them said that when they were in the process of reading their paper, they figured that the tutor was sometimes absent-minded. For example, the tutor would look at his or her watch or the clock on the wall without paying attention to the tutee’s reading. My field notes from the two observations also provide some evidence about this phenomenon. One of the tutors, while helping her tutee, kept fiddling with her hair and
the other one always took out her cell phone from her pocket to see if somebody had called her or left a message to her.

I add the third category, which relates to the tutees (the interviewees) themselves. The relevant subcategories under it are their expectations towards the tutor/writing center, their comparison with the school they attended, and asking for their friend’s help. From the data I collected, the purpose of all the interviewees for going to the writing center is to have a native speaker proofread their article and correct all their grammatical errors. However, they complained that more than often, when they got their assignment back from their professor, there were still some mistakes pointed out. Sometimes, the professor would ask them to go to the writing center to ask for help, although they had already done that. One of the interviewees talked about the writing center in her previous university—Rutgers University. She complained that the tutors in KU’s writing center were mostly undergraduate students. They worked for the writing center just to make money. The tutors in Rutgers University were teachers in the Applied English Center. They were more experienced and better at helping international students. One of the interesting finding in this study is that all of the interviewees all prefer asking their own friends to help proofread their paper. One of the reasons is that they don’t have to make an appointment with the writing center and go there on time. It’s more flexible to ask their own friend for help in terms of time.

In the following section, I will talk about each of separate findings supported by quotes from my interviews or field notes to capture the real answers that address my research questions. As I mentioned previously, I categorized the data I collected into
three major parts—the Writing Center, the Tutor and the Tutee. The details of them are all presented and analyzed below.

A. the Writing Center

The policies and practice of the KU writing center is the first major category that will be discussed here. It is composed of six subcategories. They are open hours, locations, session time, tutor arrangement, late running, and insufficient time. The analysis begins with open hours.

1. Open hours

The writing center at KU has its open hours: 9am-4pm at Wescoe Hall, 11am-3am at Anschutz Library, 6pm-9pm at Watson Library and 6pm-9pm at Oliver Residence Hall. These times only apply from Monday to Thursday. On Fridays, the writing center doesn’t have evening consultations available for students and no service is for Saturdays. On Sundays, only Watson Library offers evening consultations.

It’s very interesting that not all of my interviewees knew about the time schedule the KU writing center offers. Many of them just knew the schedule(s) of the place(s) they used to visit. However, two out of the five interviewees expressed their dislike of the writing center’s open time. They said that it usually conflicted with their class or working schedule. As one interviewee noted:

…but I more frequently went to the writing center in Wescoe. It seemed to open at 8 am and close around 4pm. Then, in addition, the one in Watson Library started at 6 pm and ended at 9 pm. But it was sometimes inconvenient for me, because the one in the Wescoe usually opened during the time when we needed to go to class. Normally,
when you got out of your class, it would be always after 3 pm. But at that time, if you had any report due the next day, then you couldn’t ask people to proofread your article immediately… (Yuru Lee, a master’s student in Linguistics)

2. Locations

As I mentioned previously, there are several locations at KU where students can go and ask for help. They are Wescoe Hall, Watson Library, Anschutz Library and Oliver Residence Hall. The data I gathered show that most of my interviewees tended to go to the writing center in Wescoe more often than other locations. Many of them thought that the locations were fine with them and also worked for them. Only Yuru had something to say. She said, “… I feel that the locations in the libraries would be very inconvenient for those living off campus and even in the dorms, especially after the weather gets cold….”

3. Session Time

According to the policy of the KU writing center, if a graduate student doesn’t make any appointment in advance and walk in the center directly, he or she can just have thirty minutes for a session. However, if he or she makes an appointment, then he or she can have an hour for a session. Even so, all of my interviewees still thought that time was very limited and insufficient for them to finish proofreading their paper. When they couldn’t finish correcting their article within a session, they had to come back again for another session. According to them, they normally had to return to the writing center at least three or four times to get their assignment done. That’s very time-consuming for them. All of the interviewees had the same argument as the following quote I took from Essa:
About the time, they said this is not enough time to deal with that [the assignment]. Sometimes, they just told me you have to fix this problem, but they don’t tell me in which way I have to fix it, you know. I said, ‘no, you have to help me.’ They said, ‘your time is limited. Because there are some people, some international students waiting, we can’t deal with all of them. So you can have another option. You can send your assignment via the Internet.’ I tried this way, but they don’t really look at my assignment only after three or four days later, sometimes after my due date for my assignment done, you know…. You will not be able to finish your assignment in one period…. I have to come [to the writing center] again at least four times…. (Essa Alrehaly, a master’s student in Science Education)

4. Tutor Arrangement

Some of the interviewees also pointed out that sometimes they could meet a good tutor, who really helped them a lot and gave them useful advices on their assignment. For example, the tutor would “correct sentence, give some information how to organize writing, put his effort to help and guide me to organize in an American writing way, because we are accustomed to my country’s system. So he really helped not only grammar but format.” (KyungAe Keum, a doctoral student in Audiology) Therefore, they would hope that they could have the same person help them next time when they came back to finish the rest of their article or to have a new assignment proofread. However, in fact, they couldn’t pick their favorite consultant to assist them. Instead, the manager in the writing center would pick one for them no matter if they liked him or her. This also
leads to some complaints from the interviewees such as wasting time. The following quote illustrates the theme mentioned.

…So when you come again, the other guy [the manager in the writing center] don’t give you the guy you originally got last time…. They change people who originally helped you. So you have to go over the whole assignment again. It’s very disturbing and wasting time. (Essa Alrehaly, a master’s student in Science Education)

5. Running Late

Among all the interviewees, only one complained that the KU writing center didn’t open when it was supposed to. When this happened, people working there didn’t say anything and even ignored that she was present, which made her feel very upset. The following quote express her anger:

Sometimes, I find them insincere. For example, when I went to the writing center, they were supposed to start the service at twelve, but nobody was there. I waited them for ten minutes and they came late, and just only one consultant arrived and the other person just manage the consulting. Uh….she didn’t explain what’s going on in the writing center….(KyungAe Keum, a doctoral student in Audiology)

6. Insufficient Tutors

When trying to categorize my interview data, I found out that Essa and KyungAe both mentioned that there were normally many students waiting in the writing center, but
only few tutors were working there. Hence, they sometimes had to wait. The field notes from my observations offer evidence to support their statement. When I did my second observation in the Anschutz Library the other day, I found out that a lot of people were sitting in the writing center area talking to each other. At that moment, I thought that all of them were either tutors or tutees and were being in their session. However, I was mistaken. After the Chinese girl I observed came in and signed up, I heard that the manager asked her to wait for thirty minutes, because they just had two tutors helping out there and two students were already waiting. What I personally observed was exactly the same as what Essa and KyungAe complained about:

…And I was just kind of waiting and waiting. So after twenty or thirty minutes, she [the manager] just tried to assign me into another place [means to another tutor]…

(KyungAe Keum, a doctoral student in Audiology)

B. the Tutor

The second major category that will be analyzed here is related to the part of the tutor. It is also the part that the interviewees complained about most. There are several issues under this title—the tutor’s procedures/strategies, profession/knowledge, attitude and skills/training. They are discussed in sequence below.

1. Procedures/Strategies

According to my interviewees and my observations, before starting the consulting session, the tutor would normally ask the tutee of the following questions: what is your article about? What subject is this article written for? What would you like to work on?
Then, the consultant would ask him or her to read his or her assignment out loud by telling them that this strategy could help them find their own mistakes. Regarding this practice—reading out loud, Yuka (a doctoral student in Foreign Language Education) said, “After that [I read my article out loud], they went over sentence by sentence, and make better sentence, improve each sentence. But it takes forever. So usually they finished like one page out of a five-page paper.” Essa (a master’s student in Science Education) described, “I feel not comfortable with that [reading out loud], and I think I spent a lot of time, because my reading slow. So I spent most of my time just correct one page.” These interviewees both expressed that the reading-out-loud strategy was very inefficient and time-consuming.

2. Profession/Knowledge

After I finished each of the observations, I had a short talk with the consultant to know about their professional background. Both of them are undergraduate students at KU. One majors in English and Journalism and the other in Religious Studies and Linguistics. In addition, one of the students working in the KU writing center told me that there were currently eighteen writing consultants offering services in the center. Twelve of them were undergraduates and only six of them were graduates (two-thirds are undergraduates). These findings are congruent with what all of the interviewees criticized in this research. They all indicated that tutors in the writing center were mostly undergraduate students and they knew very little about their (interviewees’) professional field. As a result, my interviewees normally just asked them to correct their grammar as opposed to focusing on their content. All the interviewees agree with the following quote from Sooa:
Uh…but uh…in terms of content, I don’t think any consultant in the writing center could help my writing. My content is very specific topic in art history. They [consultants] don’t have any idea about my topic. I don’t think they have knowledge background about my field. I feel more comfortable to ask my friend in my department to help and read my paper, because they know what I’m talking about. (Sooa Im, a doctoral student in Art History)

3. Attitude

Another interesting thing has something to do with the tutor’s attitude while the interviewees were reading their paper out loud. Four of my interviewees stated that when they followed the consultant’s instruction to read, they figured that he or she was neither listening nor paying attention. Instead, he or she was looking somewhere else or talking to other consultant or friend. I also noticed this interesting phenomenon from my observations. For the first session I observed, the tutor fiddled with her hair throughout the session. For the second one, the consultant constantly took out her cell phone from her pocket to see if somebody had called her or left any message to her. These minor actions would normally lead tutees to think that the tutor’s attitude was bad. The following quote is from one of the interviewees. It expresses his feeling when the tutor didn’t pay attention to what he was asked to do:

They are not listening carefully about it [my reading]. Sometimes, I see this in their face. Sometimes, they are looking at time. I feel not comfortable. So I am gonna end it
as soon as possible. (Essa Alrehaly, a master’s student in Science Education)

4. Skill/ Training

Two interviewees indicated that helping international students proofread their assignment also needs some skills or training. They both complained that the consultant in the writing center only knew how to speak English. They had no idea how to explain grammar to international students and how to deal with their questions. Like KyungAe (a doctoral student in Audiology) said in the interview, “it seemed like they were also learning how to help people. So, they also, you know, kind of getting kind of training by the experience [advising people].”

C. the Tutee

1. Expectations

The purpose of all my interviewees for visiting the writing center was to have a native English speaker look at their grammar and correct it. However, some of them were very disappointed at the consultant’s practice, because their paper still had a few mistakes found out by their professor after their assignment was returned. Sometimes, their professor would suggest they go to the writing center and ask for help, although they had already done that. Yuru has experienced the same situation as Essa on this issue:

Before I go to the writing center, I thought they’re gonna handle everything…. They are gonna fix my grammatical mistakes. They gonna rephrase some sentences. They gonna told me the perfect or the special item I have to use in this place or that place. But really they didn’t do that. (Essa Alrehaly, a master’s student in Science Education)
2. Comparison with Previous School

Among the five interviewees, only Sooa (a doctoral student in Art History) has the experience of being tutored in the writing center of other universities. She finished her master’s studies at Rutgers University, New Jersey. She described that the writing tutors in her previous university offered more professional assistance to all the students at the university than those at KU. She said, “They [Rutgers University] also have a writing center. One of the things is I found that here [the writing center at KU], those consultants are young. But the writing center in Rutgers, the consultants there are kind of professional. They are teachers in Applied English Center. I had a regular consultant. I don’t really go to many [consultants]. I had just one consultant. And I always made an appointment with her. She is a teacher. And she is like forty years old. And she’s really good at it [advising students]. The consultants in my previous school are more professional than those at KU.”

3. Friends

Very surprisingly, all of my interviewees expressed that they all prefer asking their own friend for help in proofreading their article rather than having a tutor in the writing center assist them. From the interviews, I found out that different interviewees chose different friends for help for different reasons. For instance, Sooa likes asking her American classmates in her department to correct her paper, because they know her field and can focus on the content of her assignment. Yuru often goes to her Taiwanese friend, because they speak the same language so that she can get her intention and meaning across easily. KyungAe has the feeling that “my [Korean and American] friends are more
willing to help me, because they’re more familiar to me and they know my concerns in
detail. And it’s easier for us to communicate with each other and get my questions
across.” Yuka thinks that proofreading is the task of the consultant in the writing center.
If they don’t do this work, who will do it? However, they don’t actually do it. So she
normally asks her American friends to help her, because they would do the consultant’s
work for her. As for Essa, his perspective is the same as Yuka’s. He is disappointed that
the tutor in the writing center doesn’t always do their job very well.

IV. Conclusions and Implications

Obviously, grammar correction is the first priority that the international students
want the tutor in the KU writing center to do for them. It is also one of the main factors
that affect the international students’ future use of the writing center. As my interviewees
indicated, although they had had the writing consultant look at their paper, their professor
still could find out some grammatical mistakes, which sometimes would influence their
grade. Also, when they asked the tutor questions about grammar, many of them couldn’t
explain their answers very well. As a result, the writing center needs to increase training
on the part of the tutor in terms of grammar knowledge and explanation so that not only
can the international student’s paper be more correctly proofread, but their writing skill
can also be greatly enhanced.

In addition, my interviewees are not satisfied with the qualification of the tutor in
the writing center. Many of them do not think that the writing consultant can help them
with the content of their assignment. One of the main reasons is that most of the
consultants are undergraduate students and they do not know anything about my
interviewees’ field. As a result, in order to be able to serve more international graduate students, the writing center should consider hiring some native speakers of English who are graduate students from different disciplines.

In terms of session time, only thirty minutes or an hour for an international graduate student to get his or her paper proofread is actually insufficient. Many of my interviewees complained that they normally can not finish correcting their article within a session, so they have to keep going back to the writing center many times. They all hope that the writing center can extend the consulting time and arrange the same tutor to help them so that it can save them a lot of time for not coming back again and get their work done at a time.

In this study, the last but not the least important finding I would like to mention is that four of my interviewees were not content with the tutor’s attitude. They all expressed that when they followed the tutor’s instruction to read their paper out loud, he or she was listening. Instead, he or she was looking somewhere else or talking to other tutor. My observations also indicate the same problems. Consequently, the consultant in the writing center should pay attention to their attitude when they are helping their tutee. Moreover, they should try to focus on the tutee’s reading and writing and avoid talking to others or showing absent-mindedness during the session. In this case, international students would feel much safer to ask them for help and more trust them in correcting their mistakes.

The aforementioned points are what most of my interviewees complain about and have problems with. They are also good tips for the writing center at KU to improve their service quality. Hopefully, this study can also offer useful and helpful suggestions for the
writing centers in many universities in the United States to increase their effectiveness in assisting international students.

V. Reflection

Generally speaking, my experience of doing this research was full of some unexpected difficulties and challenges—from thinking of interview questions, through doing interviews and observations, to analyzing the data and writing up the results. For instance, I originally thought my first interview protocol looked pretty good, but it turned out to be not a good one. It had many leading questions and questions that would only retrieve “yes” or “no” from my interviewees. I figured this out right after my pilot study with my classmate and the first interviewee. Then, I spent a lot of time going over the questions again and again to come up with a new list of more workable questions. The goal was finally achieved by many revisions. Another challenge was transcribing interviews. Owing to the fact that all of my interviewees are not native speakers of English, I had some difficulties understanding their accent and had to rewind the tape back and forth many times to get an accurate transcription of what they said. In terms of the whole process, this step was one of the most time-consuming procedures.

In the future, if I have another opportunity to conduct qualitative research like the one I did this time, I would consult some well-experienced qualitative researchers (like my professors or colleagues) for the interview questions I will have developed. I would use them as my interviewees in my pilot study and have them give comments on my questions, followed by revising or removing the ones that are inappropriate. Hopefully, this approach would help me shorten some time in designing interview questions. In
addition, whether or not I will transcribe the interview verbatim depends upon how long it will take. If it takes more than thirty minutes, I will just come up with an overall summary of the interview and have the interviewee examine the content. On the contrary, if it takes less than thirty minutes and the number of interviews is not many, I will continue doing the verbatim transcribing to fully describe my interviewees’ experiences.

In the course of doing this study, I also found out that it would be very helpful to collect rich data if the interviewee could see the interview questions before he or she participated in the interview. In my case, I showed my questions to my interviewees and allowed them some time to think about the questions before I started to tape record their answers. Doing so not only enabled my interviewees to logically answer each of the questions, but also enabled me to follow my research protocol more easily.

In all my interviews, I used two tape recorders to record my interviewees’ experiences. This strategy benefited me in some ways. The first one is when I was transcribing the interviews, it’s always easy for me to push the wrong button and erase some contents of the interview. Having a second set of data prevented me from having to redo the interview. Second, some of the recordings didn’t have good quality, such as the interviewee’s voice was not clear or there was too much background noise. In this case, the second data helped.

With regard to the limitations of this study, insufficient participants might be the main problem for generalization and reliability. Although I have tried my best to choose people from different countries, most of the interviewees are from Asia. They all come from a very similar cultural background, so they might have the same perceptions toward what happened to them in the KU writing center. In order to have richer data to know if
what these interviewees perceived is different from what people from other areas did, I need to include more variety of people in my next research to enhance the reliability and generalize the findings of the research.

From this study, I learned that teaching international students how to write a good article is not an easy job. It takes a lot of patience and energy. It also needs good training and skills in teaching. Above all, a writing teacher/tutor should know how to explain grammar to help international student improve their writing skill. The results of this research gave me many insights into how I should teach writing to my future students back in my country, Taiwan. I expect that other foreign language teachers can also benefit from this study.

Furthermore, when conducting this research, I had tried my best to pick up every useful piece of knowledge from each class discussion and my professor’s research experiences to make my first qualitative research paper complete. It can be said that I had a very wonderful learning experience by doing this study. I believe that this precious experience will be definitely carried over into my future career as a teacher and researcher.
Appendix 1

Interview Questions

1. As far as I know, the writing center at KU has its open hours and locations. Do they work for you? Can you elaborate on your answer?

2. Can you tell me in what situation(s) you would be motivated to visit the writing center?
   - Before you first visited the writing center, what were your expectations?

3. Can you describe your previous experience(s) in the writing center?
   - Can you tell me about how the writing consultant helped you during a session? What procedures and strategies did he or she use?
   - Can you describe your feeling(s) about the consultant's practice and what you did to respond to it?
   - Can you talk about how your liked the interaction between the consultant and you?

4. What's the consultant’s attitude towards you as an international student in the writing center? Can you describe it?
   - Was he or she racist against you?
   - Was he or she paying attention to your questions?
   - Was he or she trying his or her best to help you?

5. Have you ever visited any place like the writing center before? Or have you ever asked your English-speaking friend(s) to help you with your writing? Can you tell me how that experience was different from your experience in the writing center?

6. What do you like most about the writing center and what do you like least about it?
• In what ways do you feel like not visiting the writing center again? Can you talk about that?
Appendix 2

Interview Questions

1. The writing center at KU has its open hours and locations. How do you think of their accessibility to you? Can you elaborate on that?

2. Can you describe in what situation(s) you would be motivated to visit the writing center?
   - What were your expectations whenever you visited the writing center?

3. Can you talk about your previous experience(s) in the writing center?
   - Can you tell me about the procedures and strategies the writing consultant normally used in helping you?
   - Can you describe your thoughts or feelings about the consultant’s practice?

4. What’s the consultant’s attitude toward you as an international student in the writing center? Can you describe it?

5. Have you ever visited any place like the writing center before? Or have you ever asked your English-speaking friend(s) to help your writing? Can you talk about how that experience was different from the one(s) in the writing center?

6. What do you like most about the writing center and what do you like least about it? Can you elaborate on your answer?
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Teachers’ productivity and perceived self-worth in Taiwan

Education

Paper

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Chih-Hung Wang
Teachers’ productivity and perceived self-worth in Taiwan

Abstract

This study explored factors that influence teachers’ productivity and its relationship with perceived self-value. There are 194 teachers participating in this study: 65 senior high school teachers, 45 junior high school teachers and 83 elementary school teachers respectively. All participants are requested to fill in “Teacher Productivity Inventory” (Cronbach α=.91) and “Perceived Self-worth Inventory” (Cronbach α=.78). The results indicated that:

(1) There were significant differences in teacher productivity of various individual background in terms of age, school type taught, years as a teacher, educational background, and numbers of published works.

(2) There were significant differences in self-worth of various individual background in terms of school type taught, numbers of published works.

(3) Teacher productivity and perceived self-worth are highly correlated.

(4) Career attempt, the awareness of environmental support, and teaching enthusiasm are good predictors of perceived self-worth.

Keywords: teachers’ productivity, perceived self-worth
DEPRESSION AS A BARRIER TO EMPLOYMENT IN THE TANF (TEMPORARY ASSISTANCE TO NEEDY FAMILIES) POPULATION

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Abstract
ABSTRACT

DEPRESSION AS A BARRIER TO EMPLOYMENT IN THE TANF POPULATION

II. RESEARCH PROBLEM

The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA) reformed the nation’s 60 year old welfare system from one of entitlement – Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) to one of temporary assistance – Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF). The goal of PRWORA was to transition welfare recipients from welfare to employment, accomplished through limiting lifetime welfare cash benefits to 60 months. But many barriers to employment, including depression and other mental health disorders, have prevented individuals from successfully making the transition. This study examined depression’s affect upon the transition from welfare to work by looking at its associations with employment and welfare usage.

III. RESEARCH QUESTION(S)

Questions for this research focused on depression and how it may be a barrier to individuals transitioning from welfare to employment. First the association of depression and employment was examined to determine if depression symptoms are associated with lower levels of employment. Second, the association of depression and duration of welfare was analyzed to determine if depression resulted in more welfare usage (duration on welfare). Psychological distress variables (i.e. education, income, hardships, marital status, parental status) were examined in terms of their association with depression, employment, and duration on welfare.

IV. RESEARCH METHOD, ANALYSIS

This study attempted to determine if depression is a good predictor of employment status and duration of welfare. This research is a cross-sectional, non-experimental, quantitative study using secondary data analysis to examine the relationship between depression and employability in past and present welfare recipients in a south-central state in the United States. This secondary data analysis utilized data collected for a welfare reform evaluation in the same south central state. A path diagram was developed to graphically express the complexity of the relationships between variables of psychological distress, (i.e. educational attainment, hardships, race, negative life events, number of children, and marital status) and depression, and to examine the associations
of depression, employment, and welfare usage. Structural equation modeling was utilized to analyze these relationships.

Instruments

The survey instrument originally designed to examine welfare and self-sufficiency was developed using items from standardized scales including self-assessment of depression symptoms, a self-esteem, and measure of life events scales.

Analysis

Structural equation modeling was utilized as the method of multivariate analysis. A model was developed in line with empirical and theoretical information from the literature review. Specifically, co-variance among all exogenous variables was examined. Second, psychological distress variables (i.e. education, hardship, race, life events, parental status, and marital status) were examined as exogenous variables in terms of their associations with the variable of main interest, depression. Third, the model examined the association between depression and all other endogenous variables (i.e. earnings, number of months employed, number of welfare episodes, and number of months in most recent welfare episode). Although the main focus of the research is the association of depression to the endogenous variables, the literature supports the association of several of the exogenous variables with employment and welfare usage. Consequently, to examine direct and indirect effects of exogenous variables education, hardship, and race, on earnings, number of months employed, and number of welfare episodes, paths were added to the model (See Figure 1.0 below).

Figure 1.0. Path Diagram for the WSSS Data—Initial Model
After testing, the original model was revised to exclude co-variances among the exogenous variables with non-significant p values. Indicated by modification indices was the addition of paths and the reduction in the chi square value as a result of adding the paths in the model. Also, modification indices indicated co-variance between error terms resulting in paths being added between these error terms. Non-significant co-variances among exogenous variables were removed from the model. A revised model was generated and tested.

V. Summary of Results

Results revealed a good fitting revised model that well represents the observed data as indicated by the following model fit indices: chi square = 57.700, p = .136; RMSEA = .043; and CMIN/DF = 1.228.

Further results from the research project suggest that depression is negatively associated with earnings and length of employment, and positively associated with welfare recidivism. In addition, psychological distress variables, hardships and negative life events, were positively associated with depression and single women had significantly more depression symptoms than their married counterparts.

Race/ethnicity plays a dominant role in earnings; African Americans transitioning from welfare to work earned significantly less than their Caucasian counterparts. Race was not found to be significantly associated with the number of months of employment, welfare recidivism, or the number of months of welfare benefits used.

VI. Implications for Social Work Practice/Policy

PRACTICE IMPLICATIONS

The direct and moderating effects of depression suggest social work practitioners must be competent in mental health intervention, and incorporate both the biological and sociological causes of depression. Although sociological causes of depression have been researched extensively, this perspective is less utilized in treatment planning. For example, hardships, and negative life events are very much related to macro level issues of socio-economic status, neighborhood disadvantage, and race discrimination. Consequently, social work practice strategies to reduce depression and other mental health problems must include not only micro, but macro level interventions of advocating for resource reallocation to reduce aggregate hardship found in populations residing in disadvantaged neighborhoods. Reallocation of resources to help overcome negative life events such as alcohol/drug abuse, legal, and financial problems must occur on the community level where high concentrations of negative life events are occurring. The positive association between negative life events and depression, and hardships and depression, and the disproportionate amount of depression found in welfare populations suggests that social work interventions designed to alleviate depression must include sociologically-based strategies. The reduction of these community hardships will result in reduction of psychological distress experienced by individuals living in disadvantaged
communities, and can result in the reduction of depression. The reduction of depression can then enable individuals to function in a manner conducive to economic self-sufficiency.

Case Management

Case management must move toward a rigorous management of clients with psychosocial needs in order to help individuals meet the goal of moving from welfare to work. The welfare population is heterogenous with varying levels of strengths and needs. Consequently, case management must be conducted in a way that reflects this. Assessment tools must be used to screen for clients who may need mental health intervention which means case managers must be trained to assess and intervene. While many clients may easily make the transition from welfare to employment, this research has demonstrated the need for customized case management for a ‘hard to serve’ population hindered by multiple barriers.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Policy makers must continue to address welfare outcomes, but must also keep in mind the complexity of the factors that plague this population. Depression and other barriers greatly impact employability; consequently, outcomes must be examined not only economically, but socio-economically. For example, the state in which this research was conducted ranks in the lower 20 percentile in its per capita spending on mental health. Increased resource allocation for mental health intervention is a necessary policy revision. Policy must reflect the appreciation for the complexity of transition from welfare to work.

Depression is shown to have both direct and indirect effects on employment and welfare usage. Currently, exemptions on time limits are given to recipients who experience domestic violence and related hardships which affect the ability to transition. While social workers are intervening with recipients who are suffering from depression and other mental health disorders, policy changes which also exempt those with mental health disorders may be in order.

Though many physically and mentally disabled recipients move from welfare to social security disability benefits, the link between these two benefits should be improved in order to smoothly move eligible individuals from the welfare rolls to Social Security disability benefits. Policy should be explicit in terms of how to expediently transition disabled individuals from welfare to Social Security. Implementation of the policy should include the readily available Social Security eligibility information to respondents. That information should be systematically distributed through both welfare and Social Security case management personnel.

Much of the success of welfare reform was evaluated in terms of the reduction of the welfare rolls. But as time progressed, researchers looked at the outcomes of former welfare recipients in terms of well-being. Specifically, researchers examined the physical and mental well-being of individuals as well as financial well-being. What was discovered was that although the welfare rolls had been reduced drastically, many former recipients were plagued with multiple barriers to family well-being. The reduction of
welfare rolls must be accompanied by other forms of evaluation including multiple measures of family well-being. Policy should specifically outline how the goals of welfare reform are to be evaluated including evaluation of family income, employment patterns, employment benefits, child well-being, and educational attainment of both welfare recipient and children. The success of welfare reform must be measured not only in terms of the reduction of welfare rolls, but in terms of family well-being.
Post-Apartheid South Africa in the Global Economy

by Ajani Husbands
“At the center of all (our multilateral) engagements I have mentioned is the critical question of our time, of how humanity should respond to the irreversible process of globalization.... These include poverty, underdevelopment, the growing North-South gap, racism and xenophobia, gender discrimination, ill health, violent conflicts and the threat to the environment...We must and will actively continue to engage the rest of the world to make whatever contribution we can to ensure that the process of globalization impacts positively on those, like the millions of our people, who are poor and in dire need of a better life.”

Thabo Mbeki, Budget Vote of the President in the National Assembly, June 13, 2000

Introduction

This snippet from Thabo Mbeki’s speech is part of his Global Initiative, in which he sets the outline for South Africa’s placement in the face of globalization. On the outset of South Africa’s liberation from Apartheid, it seems that there has been a palpable global pressure on determining South Africa’s standing in the changing world. Part of this is due to the immense popularity of Nelson Mandela and his role as an international role model for the fight against freedom and injustice. In short, he set the bar high. After 1994, South Africa could not retreat into political isolation to work out its own future, nor did it want to. The crumbled wall of Apartheid left South Africa newly exposed to the world and South Africa embraced the situation.

Thabo Mbeki’s speech at the National Assembly outlines a South Africa that is not only very analytical of the facets of globalization, but is determined to act as a force for good, particularly for other developing countries. Mbeki’s speech continues by mentioning the necessity to restructure the UN, review the functions of the IMF and World Bank, and to analyze the agenda of the WTO and the G7. On the surface it appears that Mbeki’s 2000 speech is a call to arms for developing nations; his words are of a nature that implies that South Africa will lead the charge towards a restructured global economy that sees to the best interests of developing nations, especially the least-developing countries (LDCs) in Africa.

A large part of the perceived success of Mbeki’s speech and South Africa’s global role depend on how we choose to define development, in particular, sustainable development. This definition will be the scope with which we measure South Africa’s proposals for the global
economy as well as serve as the tool with which we analyze South Africa’s measures for self-improvement, i.e. its own economic policies.

Defining Development

There are many ways in which to define sustainable development. The most common definition is that of Brundtland’s, which states: "Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." This is a rather broad definition and, though true, does not go into enough depth to suit our needs for the common era. Sustainable development today must encompass a wide range of factors in order to account for the pressing issues of the day. “Green” energy, labor standards, gender equity, and access to clean water are all issues that spring up when the words “sustainable development” are brought into the playing field. In the case of South Africa, specifically, sustainable development would most of all encompass attempts at post-Apartheid reconciliation.

Apartheid was infamous for its legacy of excluding Black South Africans from social and economic advantages. The Apartheid system was so successful that integrating Blacks into the “norm” of South African productive society became a challenge arguably greater than abolishing the effects of the Jim Crow system in the United States. Whereas Jim Crow had a profound demoralizing effect on the Black population of America, its effects on the social and economic status of the American Negro have been noticeably lessened, by most counts, since the advent of the Civil Rights Movement. Apartheid, however, had a stranglehold effect on not only the morale of Black South Africans, but was just as effective at building seemingly unshakeable walls with which to prevent Black South Africans from taking an equitable part in South African society. Apartheid successfully set up a system of “separate development,” paving the way for
two separate tracks of development between White South Africans and Black South Africans. The evidence is quite astonishing. Holistically, South Africa has a Gini coefficient of inequality of 57.8, making it one of the most unequal countries in the world.\textsuperscript{4} This is a direct result of “the asymmetrical nature of South Africa’s development… [which] produced a first/third world society: an industrialized, urban, technological society running in parallel with an impoverished rural hinterland.”\textsuperscript{5} In order for South Africa to move towards any type of sustainable development, tearing down the lingering effects of Apartheid exists as a massive prerequisite. In essence, whereas we acknowledge the South Africa case for sustainable development is one where the Brundtland definition wholeheartedly applies, we also acknowledge that within this definition one must speak specifically of equitable rights among ethnic groups, as that this is perhaps where the greatest source of inequity and unsustainability lies. Successfully integrating former marginalized groups into South African society will have a chain reaction. Not only will it prove to be of an overall benefit for South Africa in macro-economic terms, but it will also provide the necessary base of support for initiatives that fall in line with the more conventional sense of development, such as the aforementioned issues of labor rights, gender equity, and environmental issues. For instance, one cannot fight for labor rights when the entire community is bereft of job opportunities. One cannot concern themselves with issues of sustainable environmental use when the greatest concern is finding a meal for the day. Because these issues (joblessness and poverty) are very closely tied with the effects of Apartheid, it is certain that sustainable development encompasses addressing these issues.

\textit{South Africa’s Role in the Global Economy}

Such is South Africa’s task as it enters the global arena, to not only eradicate its own evils of Apartheid, but to do so in a manner that lays a foundation for varying layers of
development to build upon. The pressure South Africa faced to eradicate a discriminatory system that at one point the greater part of the world condemned is the same pressure the country faces in order to use its status as an economic heavyweight (comparatively speaking) on the world’s poorest continent as an example of what is possible given the right opportunities.

Mbeki’s speech hints at what is now considered to be a vital part of South Africa’s role in Africa, that of the self-proclaimed global investigator and protector for the third-world. Though the validity of South Africa’s ability to take on this role is easily questionable, it is not difficult to see how a great number of development and political analysts have come to this conclusion; the answer is simply Nelson Mandela.

In a famed 1993 article in *Foreign Affairs*, Nelson Mandela lays the foundation for what will be South Africa’s relationship to the global economy. Within the article, he states that “the concerns and interests of the continent of Africa should be reflected in our foreign policy choices,” as well as definitively stating:

> “South Africa cannot escape its African destiny. If we do not devote our energies to this continent, we too could fall victim to the forces that have brought ruin to its various parts. Like the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity needs to be attuned to the changes at work throughout the world. A democratic South Africa will bring to an end an important chapter in Africa’s efforts to achieve unity and closer cooperation, but it will not close the book.”

Thus is the beginning of what analysts refer to as the “heroic” mentality for South Africa’s foreign policy, a mindset that quickly runs into several problems. In the Mbeki and Mandela speeches that were becoming more and more frequent around this time, one of the common themes was the common economic needs of southern Africa. However, due to South Africa’s unique economic success, the country immediately placed itself in a quandary. As seen in Figure 1, South Africa represents almost 66% of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) economy. There is not a nation within the region that comes close to having the economic prowess of South Africa. What then results is a conflict of interests. South
Africa cannot possibly hold the same economic concerns as its surrounding partners; these are countries beset on all sides by the traps and pitfalls of globalization. Amidst them is the virtual anomaly of South Africa, an industrial engine with more economically in common with the West than with Africa.

This paradox has been a crippling point for South Africa’s credibility in the realm of foreign policy. On the one side, the country, at least in rhetoric, wants to desperately stand up for impoverished African nations and ensure an eventual equality in the world order. This is evident in the stance the country took in favor of debt relief for the world’s poorest nations. On the other side, there is no denying that South Africa is an industrialized nation with economic needs and concerns vastly different from its African counterparts. As such, there is an inherent disparity between the policies and procedures it must advocate for itself, and the policies and procedures that would be best for its African counterparts. The result has been a situation in which South Africa presents itself as the leader of a rollback community of African nations, but in practical policy recommendations, proceeds as a reshaper in the global community.

This same paradox can be seen in South Africa’s domestic policy. The country is in desperate need of fast acting policies to reverse the damming effects of the Apartheid regime, in particular, by creating a means of sustainable development for the entire country and not merely a handful. The exacerbation of South Africa’s numerous woes can be tied directly to Apartheid, including various environmental dilemmas, severe unemployment, poverty skewed along racial lines, intense crime activity, and human rights violations. Instead of addressing these issues with heavy-handed restructuring policies, South Africa’s domestic policies seem to be geared more towards advancing its macro-economic agenda than towards being a leader in social innovation.
This paper will use the similarities between South Africa’s multilateral agenda and the country’s domestic policies to express the fact that the country is in fact not leading the charge for an intrinsic change in the global economy that would benefit the world’s poorest nations, but is instead choosing to focus on a series of macro-economic policies both domestically and internationally that, in rhetoric, are beneficial to its poorest citizens and to the poorest parts of the African population, but, in action, pan out to be exceedingly harmful to these very populations.

**South Africa’s Multilateral Agenda**

South Africa’s multilateral agenda can be divided into four time periods: the ‘heroic’ period from 1994 to early 1996, the uncertainty/recalibration era from 1996 to 1997, a ‘routine’ era of multilateral orientation from 1998 to 1999, and the return to the heroic agenda from 1999 to present.9

The first time period found South Africa attempting to define itself as a voice for the economically and socially oppressed, especially in Africa, leading to South Africa’s unilateral opposition of the execution of Nigerian journalist Ken Saro-Wiwa by the Nigerian government.10 Unfortunately, South Africa was the only country on the continent to oppose the execution, leaving the country politically isolated amidst rumors of pro-Westernism from its counterparts. There were additional failed measures of heroism that led the country towards its undefined period of global interaction. These included the failed negotiations Nelson Mandela mediated between Mobuto Sese Seko and Laurent Kabila, attempts at resolving a crisis in Libya, and several other diplomatic endeavors that did not go as planned.11 As such, the country moved into a period of multilateral haze, in which they implemented what was jokingly referred to as ‘ad hoc diplomacy.’12 However, the country benefited from this time period in that by not making
any major waves, so to speak, they gained approval from a variety of international circles. This helped to pave the way for the first few months of the Mbeki presidency, which began to refocus its efforts on serving as a heroic world player. This self-styled role of heroism and its apparent conflict with the needs of the African continent is the focus of our analysis in this section.

*Debt Relief*

Several stances held by South Africa made it clear that although the country would like to be known as a spokesperson for Africa, its own economic and political needs overrode the heroic agenda and set it firmly as desirous of being known as an emerging industrial nation. Perhaps no situation shows this better than the Global Debt Relief Campaign. Although South Africa advocated for debt relief for the world’s poorest nations, which were located primarily in Africa, the country made a defiant stance against any debt relief for itself, with the adamant statement made by the South African Director General of Finance, Maria Ramos, that “South Africa has no debt to write off.”\(^{13}\) Though this was not entirely true (the country was actually in debt R377 billion due to foreign national debt accumulated by the ANC-led government\(^{14}\)), the point was made that the South African case is not the African case. Nonetheless, refusing to support the Global Debt Relief Campaign altogether would have been political suicide. The country would have lost its support base, that of the African continent, and would be quelled as a potential spokesperson for developing countries. At the same time, South Africa was compelled to appear as an emerging international leader to the developed world. Doing so meant that it could not classify itself as one of the world’s poorest countries. In essence, this led to South Africa playing both sides; the country sought “to stifle the anti-debt argument domestically, whilst differentiating the South African case internationally”\(^{15}\) The South African position to the Global Debt Relief Campaign was a clear indication of where the country stood, or sought to
stand, in relation to both the developing world and the developed world. A more in depth analysis of the duality of South Africa’s international politics can be obtained by looking at the country’s involvement in the World Trade Organization.

**South Africa and the WTO**

South Africa has made it clear that its position on sustainable development is one that firmly believes an increase in trade is tantamount to an increase in development. In a 1999 speech, President Mbeki asserted South Africa’s dedication to a neo-liberal ideology towards trade and development “by praising the IMF, the World Bank and the WTO as examples of the kind of ‘human intervention’ that is needed”¹⁶ in order to bring about economic benefit to the world’s poorest countries.

This argument has two distinct halves. The first is the vein of study showing that a net increase in trade does not necessarily bring about sustainable development nor equitable development. Instead, it continues the tradition of the global economy that keeps poorer countries involved in what can be termed as a Colonial Division of Labor (CDOL). Following this logic, South Africa would be in support of the Stewart and Ghani argument that “trade should be the servant of development, not its master.”¹⁷ These sentiments are also echoed by Kofi Annan and the UN in an argument stating that trade is able to effectively serve the needs of development only when both sides play fairly,¹⁸ insinuating that industrialized countries must drop their subsidies and other trade blockages in order for developing countries to gain a foothold on the global playing field, bringing up the second half of the argument; in order for a net increase in global trade to be effective, both rich and poor countries must be subjected to a liberalized trading regime. South Africa recognized this fact via its condemnation of the developed nations’ refusal to liberalize their own trading regimes. Without a liberalized Western
economy to which developing nations can export their products, these countries become ensnared in the trade trap of importing foreign goods while seeking to stabilize their own economies via exporting primary products. The end result is a downward-spiraling circle in which developing countries are perpetually in a state of to-be-developed and poverty is only exacerbated.

At the same time, South Africa becomes a clear proponent for trade liberalization and emphasizes a sense of fair play across the board by insisting that the developed countries liberalize their trade borders as well, in an effort to provide markets for developing countries to export their products. This tactic, of pushing the U.S. and EU in particular to follow through on trade liberalization, allows South Africa to build credibility among its African counterparts by showing that it is still representative of the African continent and is not beyond criticizing the Western powerhouses. Hence we have what can be seen as only a partial challenge to the WTO; South Africa has taken a stance of promoting the WTO regime “whilst putting forward propositions that would aid developing countries to cope with the liberalizing agenda of the organization.”19 This aid to development comes in the form of encouraging a relocation of “production and investment to developing countries in sectors such as agriculture where developing countries enjoy comparative advantage.”20 In essence, South Africa would still be encouraging the CDOL by promoting an agricultural-based economy on the continent, one that is able to freely export its goods, but remains a primary product exporter nonetheless. As the lowest rung on the economic ladder, primary product exports show little chance for building an intricate economic infrastructure. One could make the case that South Africa was once a primary product exporter, reliant on gold for more than 40% of its external revenues,21 and that the country is an example of a pull-yourself-up-by-the-bootstraps mentality, where mining (platinum
and gold), now account for only 5.8% of the GDP, indicating an impressive shift towards a more diversified economy and an increase in processed and manufactured goods (i.e. processed gold). The reality is, however that South Africa was never a colony in the classic sense of many of the other African countries. South Africa was constructed to be a working, viable economy as opposed to being a pool of resources to be harvested. Thus, South Africa’s gradual transition to a manufacturing economy was made with relative ease due partly to already favorable ties with industrialized nations. Nevertheless, in South Africa’s promotion of free trade, the country is itself attempting to promote positive, albeit limited, change for the African continent under the presumption that if it worked for them, it should work for others.

This middle-of-the-road strategy is quite indicative of South Africa’s middle-power position in the global economy. Though the country seeks to be known as a top international player, its power is in reality quite limited, as shown by its inability to prevent the collapse of discussions in the Doha Round due to a North-South disconnect on the very issues of agricultural liberalization. Simultaneously, South Africa’s difficulty in forging political alliances with their African counterparts is evident in that while the G20+ and the Africa Group adopted a “won’t do” strategy at the Doha Ministerial Conference, South Africa clearly acted in a “can do” manner. Acting in such contradiction to its regional partners is only sustainable due to South Africa’s rhetoric that ensures the notion that trade equals development and that additionally pins the blame of the current failures of trade to bring about economic equalization on the unwillingness of industrialized nations to cooperate.

One must also consider the potential benefits towards South Africa of adopting such a dual-sided strategy. Aside from the political benefits of attempting to gain support from both the industrialized countries and the African countries, South Africa economically stands to benefit
greatly from trade liberalization. In 2003, 35% and 12% of South Africa’s total exports were
directed towards the EU and the U.S. respectively. Increasing market access to these
industrialized countries would only increase those numbers. Of additional consideration is the
fact that South Africa “already accounts for more than two-thirds of the combined GDP of sub-
Saharan Africa, and a third of the GDP of the whole continent.” As such, a move towards
economic liberalization amongst the African countries might lead to a sort of economic flight
towards South Africa, further encouraging capital development in the country, while spelling
economic stagnation at best for many other African nations. Hence, South Africa is in a position
to benefit greatly from an economic standpoint, as well as a political standpoint, by supporting
trade liberalization. South Africa pursues this same type of win-win strategy in its regional
policies as well.

South Africa and SADC

It has often been stated that South Africa’s involvement in the SADC region, comprised
of the 14 nations in southern Africa, parallels the interaction between industrialized nations and
the developing world. Much of this claim can be seen in the SADC agreements concerning rules
of origin. Rules of origin are a set of codes and standards used to determine whether products
and goods were in fact made in the country where they claim to be from. For instance, a rules-
of-origin code may require that 55% of a product be produced in a country or that no more than
25% of a product’s value added can come from outside the country. In the SADC case, the rules
of origin were initially set at a minimum of 35% of the local content or no more than 60%
content from non-SADC imported materials being necessary for approval. At the behest of
South Africa, however, these rules were made much stricter. The current trade structure is a set
of complex codes and asymmetric prerequisites that mimic the trade regimes of highly
industrialized countries;\textsuperscript{30} this is a setup that mostly favors South Africa’s industrialized nature. There have even been complaints that the country has been \emph{dumping} its goods on other SADC countries.\textsuperscript{31} One such complaint comes from the Zambian company Chloride CA, which lodged a complaint with SADC over South Africa subsidizing its own manufacturers up to 50\% in order to sell its products for cheaper prices in Zimbabwe.\textsuperscript{32} This is ironic due to the fact that the issue of product dumping was a primary concern of developing nations against industrialized nations. Thus, South Africa again faces a paradox of reality versus interest. The country’s interest to be respected as an international player runs against the realities of the African continent.

Additionally, the country has adopted the standpoint that success can only be achieved by taking on the persona of countries already successful. Though there is truth to the concept of mimicking success to achieve success, there is also much to be said for taking a definitive stance on issues rather than attempting to play to everyone’s interests.

Nonetheless, the benefits of South Africa being considered an emerging world power by the industrialized nations at the sacrifice of building a foundation of support for rollback initiatives have done much to lure the country towards its middle-of-the-road initiatives in an attempt to someday gain full membership in the elite squadron of industrialized nations. The question now, is whether or not South Africa has shown the macro-economic flare to actually be known as a world power. And if so, then what is the cost that South Africa is willing to pay to achieve that status? This next section analyzes the success of the South African economy matched with the realization of the country’s inequality.

\textbf{South African Domestic Policy}

"No economy can grow by excluding any part of its people, and an economy that is not growing cannot integrate all of its citizens in a meaningful way."\textsuperscript{33} – South African Department of Trade and Industry
One of the primary challenges South Africa faced upon liberation from Apartheid was the order, the priority, in which it would carry out its development objectives. The two main paths of choice were to either confront the issue of stabilizing economic growth, or the issue of economic distribution. Apartheid left both of these aspects in disarray simultaneously. A prime example is seen in Table 1, which shows the dramatic differences between wages of Whites and Blacks during the Apartheid regime. This not only set the stage for socioeconomic disparities, but also for macro-economic retardation as a result of having a majority of the population impoverished. As a result of such policies, the country was left with the critical decision of how to begin the economic healing process. What South Africa attempted was to address both concerns, that of growth and that of distribution, concurrently through both the GEAR program and the BEE initiative respectively. Although each of these programs was designed to address either the macro-economic or the socioeconomic disparities leftover from Apartheid, the economic ideology of South Africa, constituted in a set of neoliberal policies, left the socioeconomic aspect severely lacking in effectiveness when compared to the moderate success of the macro-economic framework.

_Growth, Employment and Redistribution_

Though South Africa has shown consistent growth from post-Apartheid to present-day, this success has been termed as “jobless growth.” The term points not only to the population expansion that has indeed made it somewhat difficult for job growth to keep up with population growth, but more so points to the notion that South Africa’s economic prowess may be constructed without a social development factor in mind. Such a notion could be emphasized by the Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy (GEAR) implemented in 1996, which
encompasses the country’s macro-economic Washington Consensus styled framework. These policies included:

“increasing non-gold exports, brisk expansion of private sector capital formation, a faster fiscal deficit reduction programme to contain debt service obligations, counter inflation and free resources for investment, stable exchange rates, anti-inflationary monetary policies, tariff reduction, and tax incentives to stimulate new investment in competitive and labour absorbing projects.”

The GEAR policy framework was lauded as a set of “internationally acclaimed macro-economic policies.” In terms of economic influence, these policies led to a 2.6% growth in GDP in 1997 and a 2.1% increase in 1999. The government budget deficit declined from 3.7% to 2.9% in the 1998-99 fiscal year and inflation dropped from 4.9% to 7.3% the same year. These numbers are the types of trends that are indicative of favorable Washington Consensus policies, pointing towards all the right trends. Nonetheless, this same growth strategy has been criticized for neglecting a human factor that tackles social inequities in addition to economic difficulties.

Unemployment in 1998 was estimated at 33% (in comparison, U.S. unemployment in 1998 was at 4.5%), and remains roughly the same today. Much of the unemployment can be directly tied to Apartheid. Blacks have nearly a 7x higher unemployment rate than Whites, with Black South Africans having a 26.2% unemployment rate and White South Africans having a significantly lower 4.2% unemployment rate. Historic inequities can also be seen quite plainly in land distribution; “roughly 42% of South Africa’s population of 41 million reside on 13% of the land” as a result of the forced removal policies that displaced millions of Black South African residence. Of this 13% of land, only 15% is arable (or roughly 2% of the total land). It is on this tiny tract of land that more than 14 million Black farmers eek out an existence. Needless to say, the high concentration of individuals in such a small area, combined with attempted agriculture, wreaks havoc on the environment, including inefficient use of water
resources, a loss of approximately 400 million tons of top soil each year, desertification, and pollution due to pesticides, herbicides, and insecticides.\textsuperscript{46}

There are many other environmental and social woes that, though may not affect the population disproportionately due to race, are still directly linked to the Apartheid regime. The reason for this is that Apartheid constructed a society where “state survival was equated with the maintenance of minority white privilege at the expense of all else.”\textsuperscript{47} As a result, all thoughts of sustainable development were foregone and the economy was structured in a manner to suit the population’s minority ruling class. This characterized itself through an over-consumption of resources by a small percentage of the population, and a marginalization of the rest of the population onto a minority of resources. In the sense of eliminating disparities caused by Apartheid, it would seem that addressing these deep-seeded economic and social divides would be the primary concern of the country in order to progress economically. Unfortunately this has not been the case. GEAR and similar macro-economic initiatives have taken precedent, leaving social woes to hopefully rectify themselves through an increase in GDP. There has been a small modicum of measures, however, to place Blacks on equal economic footing as Whites. However, the success of these measures has been limited at best due to the same neoliberal theology that dictates increased trade equals increased development. The most prominent of these examples is the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) initiative.

\textit{Black Economic Empowerment}

The BEE initiative was created as a means of directly addressing the lack of Black ownership in the South African economy as a result of the Apartheid regime. To date, Black ownership exists at around 2\% of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE),\textsuperscript{48} whereas Black citizens make up 76.6\% of the country.\textsuperscript{49} The BEE initiative includes efforts to increase this
ownership and by doing so, hopes to eradicate visible inequality caused by the Apartheid era. The checklist of strategies to increase Black economic empowerment includes “ranking businesses on their purchases from black-owned suppliers; their skills development of black workers; and their efforts to increase black ownership.”\(^5\) This ranking will then be used to determine which companies receive grants, licenses, and new contracts. As such, the BEE initiative encourages businesses to increase their hiring practices of Blacks and other minorities. The BEE initiative has met with surprisingly little resistance or criticism on the claims of racism,\(^5\) as compared to affirmative action measures in the United States. Part of this is due to the widespread acceptance of the fact that Apartheid was morally reprehensible and that in order for South Africa to move forward, any after-effects must be eradicated. Unfortunately, even without the political slow-down of controversy, the BEE initiative is doomed to only be so successful for several reasons.

The BEE initiative is essentially a top-down program that instructs businesses to hire more Black workers and increase their dealings with already Black-owned firms. In order for foreign contracts to do business in South Africa, they have to work out an arrangement that adheres to the BEE mission. To date, there have been numerous BEE arrangements announced. South Africa’s largest Black-owned gold producer, African Rainbow Minerals (ARM), was successfully transferred to 43% Black ownership in 2003, far-outweighing the 25% Black ownership required of mining industries by the South African government.\(^5\) 2004 saw the arrival of Anglo American’s first black Deputy CEO, Lazarus Zims, making him “South Africa’s most powerful Black executive in a publicly traded company.”\(^5\) Though these are impressive facts and achievements, they speak to the same type of comparison that might equate the exception to the norm. What becomes billed as a testament to building bridges towards racial
equality may simply be societal exceptions that slipped through the socioeconomic confines of reality. The result is a dangerous disconnect between targeted achievements and actual social benefits; it becomes a numbers game.

There is the additional problem in that South Africa has not put resources into building an infrastructure that creates the workers and contract seekers that BEE is hoping to assist. Only 14% of Blacks have a high school education or greater, compared to 65% of whites. Schools are still segregated on the basis of user fees, where financially empowered parents can afford to send their students to far superior schools. Invariably, these financially empowered parents are white. With these types of numbers, the pool of available applicants to benefit from BEE initiatives is quite small.

Another problem is the danger of creating an isolated Black middle class that benefits from the BEE initiative but without creating opportunities for the greater proportion of the Black population to increase their economic standing as well. This is not an unjust fear, as examples of similar occurrences have been shown worldwide in small communities where, say, a Coca-Cola factory or shoe factory or any such manufacturing building opens up, creating a small pocket of wealth surrounded by institutionalized impoverishment. In the case of BEE, the isolated Black middle class results from “a massive transfer of corporate wealth to a small but growing black elite,” many of whom were former anti-apartheid activists and were very active in the post-Apartheid government. Though this sounds suspiciously paternalistic, it is not too far-fetched if one takes into account the professional connections necessary to start a business with ease, the fact that many of the top and mid-level politicians were former anti-Apartheid activists, and that South African politics are notorious for lengthy bundles of red tape (often taking four or five months for paperwork to come to fruition). Nonetheless, the emerging Black middle class
remains highly isolated, if not by attitude, then by sheer numbers. A recent study shows that 47% of Blacks are poor compared to just 1% of whites. Although the Black middle class is growing, there is not much room for transfer of wealth to the poorest of Blacks. This is where South Africa fails to address social policy in the wake of its macro-economic policies.

The presence of government efforts aimed at social reform is either virtually non-existent or ineffective. The focus of attention has been primarily on the macro-economic policies such as GEAR and the BEE initiative as indicators of overall social progress, which is directly spawned from the neoliberal ideology upon which South Africa has based its multilateral agenda. As a result, South Africa’s marriage to neoliberalism has done more harm to the country than good. Despite the country’s belief that its policies have allowed it to earn acceptance from industrialized nations, given it a place of authority among African nations, and have allowed for an increase in equity among its population while increasing its overall economic status, South Africa’s policies remain to have more of a limiting effect than a liberating aspect.

**Implications of Neoliberalism**

South Africa has taken on its current foreign policy stance as a means of pleasing everybody. Its middle-ground policies allow it to bring the concerns of African nations to the forefront of international politics, while simultaneously giving it a degree of credibility among industrialized nations. Its domestic policies have aggressively sought to carry out macro-economic reforms with the hopes of a trickle-down social benefit taking place. The truth is that neoliberal policies have provided no such benefits for South Africa. It is more accurate to say that the country is a political enigma weighed down by the possibility of ending up as a pariah on the African continent.
The South African situation is representative of the many inconsistencies and inefficient paradigms that exist in the global economy today. When one looks at the world’s leading industrialized nations and the extent of their wealth, there are common factors that led to that accumulation. Among other factors, these included numerous other countries (usually former colonies) into which to export their products, an abundance of cheap labor due either to slave labor or colonial labor, and rich levels of natural resources. Though not all of the major industrialized countries may have had all these characteristics, these traits nonetheless serve as loose guidelines for the type of conditions industrialized countries were allowed to thrive in.

Today, the fact of the matter is that developing countries do not have the luxury of attaining their wealth in the same manner that the world’s leading industrialized nations have attained theirs. The more common scenario is that developing nations are being encouraged, for all intents and purposes, to achieve a higher economic standing via the pre-approved channels of development. Currently, one of those pre-approved channels is free trade. The tagline is usually something to the effect that free trade creates economic opportunities for developing countries to stabilize and build their own economies by providing their goods with access to foreign markets. Dilemmas begin to arise when one analyzes the accompanying caveats of such deals. These usually include factors such as escalation measures that make exports disproportionately more expensive for developing countries when they seek to export manufactured goods as opposed to primary products. Additionally, developing countries are faced with the duality of the global economy in that industrialized countries can afford to heavily subsidize their farmers and producers, allowing them to export their own products into developing countries for a fraction of the cost it would take for the poorer country to produce the same product.
The South African Case

South Africa is virtually an active metaphor for the poorest of the poor attempting to gain the same prosperity of the industrialized nations by emulating their policies. Although the country is clearly on a plane of economic existence much higher than any of its African counterparts, in comparison to the world economy, the South African GDP is less than 2% of the U.S. GDP.61 Try as the country might, its efforts at being recognized as a world economic influencer are admirable at best, and overall unrealistic. There is much evidence to suggest that the country is in fact being respected by the industrialized nations. From the end of Apartheid to the present, South Africa has been appointed numerous leadership positions in the global community: Chair of SADC (1995-1999); Presidency of the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) 1996-1999; Chair of the Non-Aligned Movement (1998-2001); Chair of the UN Commission on Human Rights (1998-1999); Chair of the Commonwealth (1999-2002); and Executive Boards of UNESCO, UNDP, UNFPA, UNICEF, and UNHCR; G-20 (appointed in 1999).62 Simultaneously, many of these appointments can be seen as efforts of tokenism by the global community, attempts to appease the developing community by appointing one of their own to a level of perceived prestige and by showing them that by following the “rules of industrialization” they too can achieve greatness. This can be seen in the fact that South Africa was allowed in the Seattle ‘green room’ meetings at the 1999 Ministerial Conference, and was also selected to be the ‘green man’, or ‘Friend of the Chair’, at the 2002 Doha Ministerial Conference.63 South Africa was carefully selected to fill these positions precisely because the country views itself as a bridge between the North and the South. In actuality, the country serves more as a siphon from the South to the North, siphoning support, resources, and economic infrastructure from the South to support the desires of the North. If
South Africa were actually the bridge between the North and the South that it claimed to be, then the flow of traffic is certainly going one way.

On the one hand, South Africa’s actions are not any different from those that would be undertaken by any other country in its position. As was eloquently stated by Asante, “no government can be expected to justify its participation in a grouping to its people by saying that their interests should legitimately be sacrificed to those of the group as a whole.” What more alienating of a policy could there be than for a country to sacrifice the interests of its own people in order to benefit those of another country? The greater majority of the American people have a hard enough time accepting the billions of dollars that go from the United States into foreign aid each year. Imagine the political alienation the government would face from wanting to take a more direct role in the interests of foreign governments. Why then, do we expect South Africa to make this sacrifice? Why not, for instance, Zimbabwe (using the early-Mugabe era Zimbabwe as an example)? The answer is simply because South Africa presents itself as a transformative state that can protect developing nations from endemic poverty. Yet what is the point of carrying out ‘heroic diplomacy’ tactics if at the end of the day they are self-serving? That is the conundrum of South Africa: the country has made itself a bed where it proclaims that it actively seeks to protect human rights and developing countries, but has become too preoccupied, almost enamored, with the allure of international recognition that it has yet to lie in that bed. In the midst of this preoccupation is an egregious failure to protect human rights in its own borders. This is not only a failure in its responsibility of shielding against institutionalized poverty and unemployment, but also in protecting its people from excessive environmental decay. South Africa is only .07 percent of the global population but accounts for more than 2% of global carbon emissions. The country is also known for an exceptionally weak environmental
regulatory system, further condemning its people to a limited standard of existence. Even when attempting to enact social reform in order to provide its people with the restitutions from Apartheid that they need and deserve, South Africa’s limiting neo-liberal policies place the country in a continued conundrum. The country’s planned land redistribution policy fully exemplifies this dilemma.

**Land Reform**

To understand South Africa’s full dilemma in its land reform policy, one must first analyze this same policy as carried out by Zimbabwe. In both cases, land reform was billed as a means of restitution for Black farmers displaced by colonialism and Apartheid in the respective countries. Carrying out land reform, in which farm land from descendants of these original colonists would be redistributed to the Black citizens it was forcibly taken from, was described as a symbol of a new day in Africa in which the continent could stand up and begin to claim its rights against the legacy of injustices that it has endured. The actuality of the event was much different.

The Zimbabwean Land Acquisition Act, led by President Robert Mugabe, served as a forcible removal of white farmers from their land with the consequences of all but halting the country’s food production. In 2002 nearly all of the country’s 3,000 white farmers were first ordered to stop production on their land, and then later given an ultimatum to remove themselves from the premises or face criminal prosecution. As a result of the hasty land grabs, the country has suffered an immense food shortage and economic inflation that, several years prior, would have been considered unthinkable in Zimbabwe, once known as a burgeoning bread basket in southern Africa. The food shortages, loss of over 1.5 million jobs by Black farm workers, and chokingly high inflation have led to more than 70% of the population living
below the poverty line.\textsuperscript{70} The \textit{coup de grâce} of the situation is that Mugabe has distributed this farmland to close allies in his ruling ZANU-PF political party as well as to the military.\textsuperscript{71}

As the economic hegemon of the southern African region, all eyes were upon South Africa to take a stance one way or another on the issue. Though perhaps not a balanced scenario, the perception was that either the country would find a way to stand with Africa and support the land reforms in some form, or the country would side with the West and condemn Zimbabwe. Both sides had their own series of benefits and pitfalls. Siding with Zimbabwe would earn great favor with many countries in Africa, who felt that Zimbabwe was being disproportionately punished by the West because its policies affected White citizens. Siding with the West would earn South Africa continued “favorite African nation” status among the world’s heavyweight economies. The situation became more complex, however, with the fact that South Africa had for quite some time been planning its own series of land reforms on Zimbabwe’s same justification of righting past wrongs.

Because of the wall of contradiction that South Africa had built for itself in its attempts to appease the industrialized countries and its African counterparts, South Africa adopted a policy of “quiet diplomacy,”\textsuperscript{72} in which Mbeki asserts that Zimbabwe’s problems are best handled by Zimbabwe. Of all the options for diplomatic action available, quiet diplomacy is a combination of the least effective and, ironically, most logical choice. South Africa is Zimbabwe’s largest trading partner, accounting for 43\% of imports and 16\% of exports according to the IMF.\textsuperscript{73} Additionally, Zimbabwe and South Africa have a shared history in that the African National Congress (ANC), the frontline of activists for the anti-Apartheid movement was also involved in fighting against the Zimbabwean (then Rhodesian) Unilateral Declaration of Independence.
(UDI). On the other hand, however, the United States unofficially appointed South Africa as the point man to handle the Zimbabwe crisis and bring a return to order.

South Africa was caught trying to grasp a double-edged sword of diplomacy, and instead, chose to let the sword fall to avoid its own bleeding hands. In the process of trying to save itself from injury, South Africa may have cut its own feet when the sword landed. The quiet diplomacy strategy attracted immense ridicule from the world’s industrialized leaders and murmurs that South Africa may be in over its head. Also, by refusing to take a direct stand in defense of Zimbabwe, South Africa openly diminished its own stance as a spokesperson for the African continent. Though the land reform issue is literally a drop in the foreign policy bucket of South Africa’s international affairs, there is danger that if South Africa continues down the middle-road path of diplomacy, that bucket might quickly fill with failed diplomatic solutions.

An Alternative South Africa

While in South Africa, I was fortunate enough to attend a series of panel discussions hosted by the Institute for Global Dialogue (IGD), a Pretoria-based think tank that focuses on South African foreign policy as well as wide-reaching global issues. One of the discussions involved the Russian Ambassador to South Africa and the former South African Ambassador to the Russian Federation. At one point during the discussion former South African Ambassador remarked to the Russian Ambassador that the Russian foreign policy was mistakenly construing Russia as a world power, when in fact, at best, it was a regional power. He suggested that as a regional power, Russia could best serve its own interests of strengthening the region as well as stabilizing and increasing its economic standing. Though the Russian Ambassador, in noticeable shock, attempted a rebuttal in defense of his country, what he did not mention was that the same
advice is quite true for South Africa. South Africa is far from a world power, but is quite clearly a regional powerhouse. Economically and politically, South Africa has an unmatched stature on the African continent. The sad truth of the matter is that the country is stretching itself thin by attempting to be seen as having this same stature on a world scale. Although there is some truth to the notion that South Africa can contend in an industrialized world, there is just as much evidence to point out that the country will not rise beyond a certain status as long as it accedes to the rules set by those in charge, including the world’s leading industrialized nations and multilateral dominants such as the WTO and the IMF. If South Africa were to truly take measures towards increasing the social and economic equity of its citizens with the same alacrity it sought out macro-economic discipline, as well as genuinely wants to serve as a representative voice for the African continent, there are several guidelines the country might follow to bring it closer to these goals.

Policy Suggestions

The simple part of the solution would be to scale back. Taking oneself out of the spotlight or by ceasing to deliberately seek out the spotlight is critical for South Africa’s efforts of establishing a stronger sense of credibility on the African continent. South Africa’s early diplomatic history even shows that when it chose to step out of the immediate spotlight and served more as a background agent, the country was given more favoritism and less critique in the international community. Perhaps the best resource South Africa has for making statements of international importance is not Nelson Mandela, who is officially retired from the political spotlight, but the Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who continues to make profound statements on world affairs. Even as recently as late November of 2006, Desmond Tutu has been named to the head of a UN fact-finding mission in the Gaza Strip. He has been known to criticize the
current South African government as well as provide insightful commentary on world events where the Mbeki government has chosen to keep quiet, such as the Zimbabwean land tenure policies. Politically speaking, he is South Africa’s best weapon. However, he can only be definitively heard by a world audience if South Africa were to remove itself to the backburner of international affairs. This would include not seeking nomination as chair of various committees and conferences, or shying away from the ‘point man’ position it is sometimes accorded. Simultaneously, the voice of Desmond Tutu, a non-partisan Nobel Peace Prize winner and world hero, becomes proportionally heard.

The next phase of development concerns the actual policies involved in ending Apartheid’s legacy of socioeconomic discrepancies. The most appropriate solution to ending such discrepancies do not come from the government, but from good governance. Using the UNDP definition of good governance, the process “encompasses mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations, and mediate their differences.” Using this framework, the government is not necessarily responsible for micro-managing the development of South Africa’s most impoverished districts. Instead, the government is responsible for ensuring that there are resources available for those impoverished districts to attain a satisfactory level of sustainability. These resources are obtained and efficiently distributed through the elements of civic participation, community/NGO partnerships, and government accountability to the public. In essence, these policies do not let the government out of its responsibilities of caring for its people, but they place an increasing amount of responsibility on the citizens to take action once the opportunities are made available.
Civic Participation

Though the poverty in many parts of South Africa seems to be essentially ingrained into the way of life, there are bright spots that must be focused on in order to begin the path of development. A prime example of civic participation planting the seeds of development change is the Berakah Educational Foundation, a community-driven NGO in the Mamelodi townships that focus on providing care for orphans and at-risk youth as well as providing small economic opportunities for many of the townships women. The organization was conceived and initiated by South Africans and is sustained through the volunteer capacity of various community members. The creation of such an organization on its own is not development; if anything, the very need for such an organization is a red flag to the fact that measures for sustainable development are desperately needed in that area. What the organization does signal to, however, is the fact that even in the absence of government induced measures towards development, there are opportunities available to begin the process. Once that process has begun, however, the heavy burden of sustaining such organizations, organizations that are created to make up for the very lack of government policies to prevent the poverty that these organizations are attempting to reverse, should not rest on that organization. Instead, there needs to be an efficient system of sponsors, grants, advisors, and policies in place to help ensure that the Berakah Foundation, and organizations just like it, are able to adequately address the needs of the community.

Community/NGO Partnerships

One of the primary ways to ensure that the Berakah Foundation and similar organizations are able to carry out their intended goals is via partnerships with either outside NGOs, the World Bank, or aid programs from other countries. This is where the local South African government can step into the picture. Because organizations similar to the Berakah Foundation are equipped
with the bare minimum of staff members (most of them volunteers), resources are already stretched thin. This means that these organizations may not have the time or resources necessary to research funding opportunities and write the appropriate proposals. To alleviate this burden, the local government should make itself readily available to these organizations. This would entail not only free counseling and advice, but also desperately needed outside services such as writing grant proposals, creating websites, legal counseling, opportunities to meet with heads of other similar organizations, and even access to a development specialist who can take the time to tour the organization’s facilities, interview the staff and participants, and make appropriate recommendations. The provision of many of these services would simply require the appointment of a middle-man, so to speak, in municipal governments that can find the resources the organization needs. The fact of the matter is that there are innumerable grants available for community-led NGOs, but they lack the ability to apply or the knowledge of their existence. The North-South bridges that South Africa is so fond of building can best be served by bridging divides between struggling NGOs in the South and rich humanitarian donors in the North.

*Government Accountability*

The piece of the development puzzle that would take the most effort from the government is that of accountability. This is more than simply providing bridges to outside resources, as described in the last section. Government accountability for its people is critical in the sense that “where local governments are neither accountable nor responsive, local citizens will be reluctant to participate and this will jeopardize local economic development initiatives.”79 The necessary measures here include a responsive attitude to community concerns and pro-active solutions to community issues. In practice, this literally means removing the red tape and making government services easily accessible to the community. Perhaps it is in the form of regular
town hall meetings where community members can voice their concerns, perhaps it is constructing a plan to provide access to drinking water, or perhaps the solution is in the local government’s ability to successfully bring the concerns of its representative community to the forefront of national issues. Because each community is different it is difficult to say what in what specific ways the local government can assist them. However, in all of South Africa’s impoverished districts, townships, and neighborhoods, there is the common need for a representative who will not allow conditions to grow worse and who will actively seek solutions to existing problems.

Once these pieces are put into place on South Africa’s end, there remains the positioning of the rest of the international community, particularly that of the countries and the multilateral institutions responsible for the world’s aid programs. Addressing the realities of foreign aid is a critical factor that must be completed in order to assure the maximize resource availability for South Africa’s poorest communities.

*Liberalizing Aid*

Mapping out how the situation *should* be is always a simple process. Of course local governments should not be bogged down with bureaucratic proceedings so that they are able to address the concerns of the people. Simultaneously, foreign aid should benefit the community groups that seek to improve the living conditions of their communities. The fact of the matter, though, is that this is not the case in the world today. Foreign aid has historically been controversial in that it has either come in the form of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) or a similar set of prerequisite policies before they are distributed to the recipient country. Even then, the aid is put through the threshing floor of administrative costs, political debates, and lengthy timelines, leaving a feathery, light-weight version of what may have started as a hefty
aid package. The same is true for the debt relief programs for the world’s poorest countries. Although the IMF last year approved over $4.8 billion in debt relief, much of it going to sub-Saharan Africa, the relief still comes only after the recipient countries undertake specific economic reforms. In essence, debt relief has become SAPs with the reforms being required before the disbursement of any funds. In its current form, aid is a way to subtly encourage developing nations to take on the characteristics desired of them by industrialized nations. This is not true for all aid packages, but exists as a fact for the majority of larger aid programs. There are, however, numerous smaller grant programs that are more indicative of what development-seeking communities in South Africa might need. A perfect example would be the Self-Help Fund that exists in all U.S. Embassies. These funds are given to community organizations that wish to take on a community-oriented project and are in need of additional funds. Though such funds are essentially what the Berakah Foundation needs, the problem is that funds in this format are limited. If there were to be a call on the global community to do act in the interest of other nations without increasing the amounts they already spend on doling out aid, the call would be to restructure the existing aid programs so as to meet the needs of the local community. Both Warren Buffett and newly crowned king of philanthropy Bill Gates agree that “philanthropy is a tougher game than business,” which is evident in the difficulties with which governments and multilateral organizations are creating effective aid packages. However, what both Buffett and Gates display to the world via the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation is that by removing the politics of aid, a great deal of good can be achieved. Tying aid packages to insistence on good governance and specific economic reforms does nothing to help the nation’s poorest individuals. Perhaps it is foreign aid that should be liberalized in place of trade. In the case of South Africa, a liberalized aid regime would allow for the country’s neediest sectors to obtain the aid they need.
while the country is able to continue to devote what resources it has to macro-economic
development.

**Conclusion**

Though South Africa has shown an intense yearning to be recognized as a world player, a
global heavyweight, it is doing so at the expense of credibility on the African continent, and at
the expense of providing for its percentage of the population that still feel the brunt of
Apartheid’s after-effects. To gain the confidence of the African community, South Africa
simply needs to step off the main stage of politics and run its course as a background supporter,
offering advice here and there, but declining positions that will give the country notoriety. To
focus on its widespread poverty and economic inequality, South Africa’s best chance is to
empower local governments with the ability to assist community development endeavors. Such
assistance will provide pathways to international linkages such as grant money and foreign
sponsorships of these programs. The greatest step to be taken, however, is by the international
community. Aid must be reformed and liberalized in order for it to reach the people that need it
most. Turning aid into an apolitical matter, rather than a vehicle for political agendas, is the
most important step in assuring that resources are available for community groups in need.
Appendix

Figure 1
SADC GDP 2002

Source: SADC

Table 1
Average Annual Gold Mine Wages, 1911-82 (in rands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Africans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>2632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>992</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>753</td>
<td>2214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>848</td>
<td>2312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>1,609</td>
<td>2745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>2,477</td>
<td>3184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>4,633</td>
<td>4379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>4,936</td>
<td>4368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>7,929</td>
<td>5035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>16,524</td>
<td>4501</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: University of Kwa-Zulu Natal


8 "Selected Macroeconomic Indicators." SADC. 7 Dec 2006


10 Ibid 114

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid. p. 47

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid. p. 52

16 Ibid. p. 62


22 Ibid. 49


24 Ibid. p. 64

25 Ibid. p. 58


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30 Ibid. p. 7


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76 AP. “Tutu Heads UN Mission to Gaza,” Independent Online 29 November 2006


78 "Berakah Education Foundation." Berakah Education Foundation. 30 Oct 2006
   <http://www.berakah.org.za/home.htm>. (the website for the Berakah Foundation seems to be non-functional. The information obtained for this research is from personal interaction with the head of the Foundation, Avril Elkington).


80 BBC News, “IMF Approves $4.8bn Debt Relief,” BBC News, 08 December 2005


Fighting Apartheid & Patriarchy: Women and Government in South Africa

By Ajani Husbands
“You will have noticed the highly significant role that women are playing... they are bringing in new tastes into African homes. After all, it is they who determine what shall or shall not be bought. The role of a hubby is to fork up and smile.”

– Nimrod Mkele, South African advertising agent, 1959

**Introduction**

Although the above words were spoken in the late 50s, one can take a quick look around South Africa to see that the general sentiment is still there. South African women have been relegated to the level of stylish accessories at best, and as undesirable externalities of patriarchy at worst. The ideology behind these words expressed may not have been indicative of an outright hatred of women but they do point to the worst sides of South African patriarchy. The above quote also points to the fact that Black women in South Africa were fighting a double battle during the Apartheid period; not only were they on the frontlines fighting for general recognition as equal human beings against an oppressive regime, but whether they knew it or not, they were fighting for their very regard as a whole person against men. This made the anti-Apartheid movement all the more intense from a women’s perspective, for it was a chance for them to lay the groundwork of equality and set the stage for a non-racialized and non-gendered society. Clearly, however, this has not been the result.

Gender disparity remains one of the greatest divides in South Africa. The country has one of the highest rape statistics in the world, where it is estimated that a woman is raped every 26 seconds and that a woman has a greater chance of being raped than of receiving an education. These numbers point to just the surface of the issues surrounding gender inequality in the country. Women are often tokenized in politics, highlighted for the fact that they are women and thus held up as a testament towards equality, when in fact the overemphasis on the very fact that they are women does nothing more than to emphasize the country’s aggravated gender divide. The focus of this paper is to analyze not only the role of women in present-day...
South African politics, but to analyze women’s role in the anti-Apartheid movement in order to bridge connections between the status of South African women today and their status during Apartheid.

Studying the role of South African women, particularly Black women, in politics will give us greater insight into how the anti-Apartheid movement was structured, as well as an indication of the transition of gender politics from Apartheid to post-Apartheid. From a cursory outlook, it appears that the status of women at the front-line fighting against Apartheid was one of a “de-gendered” nature in the sense that their roles were far from that of the stylish homemaker expressed in the opening quote. This gives the initial impression that women in South Africa were not always subject to the second-class citizenship that they receive today, but were, instead, perhaps equal members of a common struggle.

Following an analysis of women’s roles in the anti-Apartheid movement, this paper will also discuss what happened after Apartheid. One of the major perplexities of the United States Civil Rights Movement is that Black people in America became even more segregated after the advent of Civil Rights and the abolishing of Jim Crow laws than they were before. Similarly, it seems that South African women, specifically women of color, have somehow lost part of the battle against Apartheid in that they are on severely disaggregated gendered playing fields.

**Women in the Anti-Apartheid Struggle**

During the anti-Apartheid movement, women in South Africa, particularly mothers, were widely recognized for their notorious “anti-pass campaigns”³ that protested the mandatory labor passes forced to accompany Black employees at all times. Though Black women’s involvement
in these protests were groundbreaking, there were decades of earlier involvement that paved the way for such effective protests to take place.

*Charlotte Manye Maxeke*

Dating back to the 1920s, there were numerous early pioneers against Apartheid among African women. Charlotte Manye Maxeke, one of the founders of the African National Congress (ANC) was additionally one of the first organizers of the women’s section of the ANC.\(^4\) It is through this role that she led demonstrations against the very same pass-laws that were later fought against in the 50s. Specifically, she fought against the pass laws being extended to women as well as fighting to replace men as domestic workers with women.\(^5\) There are several reasons behind this two-pronged assault against Apartheid.

The pass laws that Ms. Maxeke was particularly targeting was the 1923 Native Urban Areas Act, which strictly regulated the movement of Black males between rural (Black) areas and urban (White) areas.\(^6\) The result was a segregated neighborhood system that laid the foundation for today’s townships. All males found without a pass or without a properly documented pass were taken to the nearest rural area and left there. It goes without saying that the pass laws wreaked havoc on the African family. Ernest Cole describes one such situation:

> “I knew of one young woman who came from the nearby city of Vereeniging to marry a Johannesburg man. She got permission to work and took a job there. Later she quit to be a housewife. Eventually she wanted to resume work and went to apply for new papers. “Aha,” the authorities said, “you haven’t worked in more than three months. Have you been having a baby? No? Then you have no excuse for not working and have lost your right to stay in Johannesburg.””

This story explicitly elaborates many of the problems with the pass laws. In addition to the danger of being uprooted from one’s home at any given notice, there were numerous other consequences. For instance, not only were the men required to travel great distances to seek employment and were undoubtedly in proportionately greater danger the further they ventured
into urban territories. Additionally, to extend the pass laws to women was to put women in
direct danger of being relocated, imprisoned, fined, or worse. Thus, it became necessary to
protect women from such dangers.

Ms. Maxeke’s other focus of replacing men domestic workers with women potentially
served a dual purpose. The first is that it was possibly conceived as a manner of restoring pride
in Black South African men. One of the premiere features of colonialism, slavery, Jim Crow law,
and Apartheid is its insistence on the emasculation of Black men. Dr. Joy Leary ponders the
prolonged effects of emasculation on the Black family, questioning if there might be deep-seeded
resentment between Black women and men for each one’s inability to fight off the evils of
slavery, primarily rape. She best analyzes the situation employing a passage from Carter G.
Woodson, who writes:

“When you control a man’s thinking you do not have to worry about his actions. You do not have to tell
him not to stand here or go yonder. He will find his “proper place” and will stay in it. You do not need to
send him to the back door. He will go without being told. In fact, if there is no back door, he will cut one
for his special benefit. His Education makes it necessary.”

As such, one of the greatest triumphs of slavery and other forms of oppression is to stamp out
one’s sense of self; this can be done in countless ways. Similar emasculatory efforts were put
into place against Nigerian railway workers in the colonial era, where their duties as men could
not be completed because there familial and cultural values were not honored by the colonists.
Similarly, forcing South African men to perform household chores, particularly those of cleaning
and caring for another man’s house, might have been seen as the ultimate affront to manhood.
Though the detriment this can cause the psyche is not quantifiable, the mentality of defeat
becomes visible over time. Ms. Maxeke’s efforts worked to eliminate that defeat. By seeking to
replace male domestic workers with women, she was providing an opportunity for Black South
African men to regain their sense of self.
The other positive externality to Maxeke’s strategy is that it becomes a way for women to bypass the pass laws. By protesting both the extension of the pass laws towards women as well as by fighting to replace male workers with women, Ms. Maxeke set the groundwork for an intricate strategy that would allow South African Blacks to bypass one of Apartheid’s harsher laws. If Black women were able to be employed without the use of a pass, they were, in essence, creating a loophole through which women could be openly defiant to the Apartheid system. The works of Ms. Maxele and her contemporaries were successful in that the pass laws were not put into effect for women until the mid-50s. It was at this point that Maxele’s successor, so to speak, would take the renewed struggle against Apartheid.

*Lilian Ngoyi*

Lilian Ngoyi was in many ways the direct successor to Charlotte Manye Maxeke. Ngoyi was “the first woman member of the ANC National Committee since Carlotte Maxeke’s unofficial membership between 1912 and 1930.” Additionally, she took up arms against the 1950s version of the pass laws as well as the much-despised 1953 Bantu Education Act. Ngoyi’s success with the ANC is notable for her ability to attract a wide diversity of Black women: “the church women, the nurses, the factory women, domestic servants, housewives and professional women.” The pass laws that they protested carried with them the same fears as in the 20s, those of abduction by unruly police officers and potentially being sexually assaulted. Although Ngoyi led the charge against aspects of Apartheid that affected women in particular, her achievements become remarkable in the fact that she was de-gendered in regards to her punishments by the Apartheid regime.
Ngoyi was banned for 11 years by the Apartheid regime, an order which restricted her to the Orlando township.\textsuperscript{14} Even after she was reprieved of this ordeal, she was then detained in solitary confinement for 71 days.\textsuperscript{15} The extent to which the Apartheid regime undertook to punish Ngoyi for her actions is indicative of the notion that she may have crossed the divide between serving the anti-Apartheid struggle as an assisting woman, and serving the anti-Apartheid struggle as an unquestioned leader. Her placement in this capacity would be quite unique in that her career of political activism is literally marked by her profound dedication to working with women. In 1952 she participated in the Johannesburg garment worker’s meeting; in 1955 she was sent as a delegate to the World Congress of Mothers in Switzerland; and of course, all this was during her tenure as a top woman member of the ANC.\textsuperscript{16} Ngoyi’s activities were undeniably defined by her activism in women’s affairs. Nonetheless, her punishments were as severe as those received by many of her male colleagues. Part of this may be attributed to the fact that the Apartheid regime was indeed brutal and apportioned sentences with equal disdain, whether to man or to woman. There is further evidence to support the claim that Apartheid took on a de-gendered view by the fact of its continued attempts to extend the pass laws to women, showing that there was not enough particular social differentiation between women and men. Or, rather, simply exemplifying the fact that the Apartheid regime perhaps considered men and women to be socially different, which was mentioned earlier by the plight of white women during these times, but that in the case of Africans, men and women should be made to both feel the brunt of the Apartheid legislation.

If the latter were the case, then the question arises as to where the renewed sense of misogyny in the post-Apartheid era originate? If one of Apartheid’s defining features was not that of disproportionate physical, social, and mental abuse of women, then to what factors does
South Africa owe this to be the current case for women? A clue resides in this paper’s opening quote, which already shows not necessarily a misogyny towards women, but a clear patriarchal definition of a woman’s role in South Africa. It is feasible that as the burden of Apartheid progressed, Black men, as they were being further pushed to the bottom of the social ladder, pushed down even harder on Black women. Phillip Langley elaborates on this, claiming that “it is not the elder brothers, the husbands, the uncles and fathers who exploit women, but those social forces which dominate the economic system, which encourage pre-existing inequalities.”

In this case, the encompassing effect of Apartheid would be the dominate economic system that has forced an exacerbated sense of inequality on African men and women. April Gordon offers a slightly different view in that she believes “most of women’s disadvantaged position can be attributed to African (and to some extent Western) patriarchal institutions that function to maximize the advantages of men at the expense of women and the economy.” Here, Gordon is taking the stance that the gender inequalities presented in South Africa are actually manifestations of pre-existing inequalities rather than the result of an oppressive system of Apartheid. Though she does give credence that Western institutions such as Apartheid may contribute to aggravated gender discrepancies, she holds firm to her stance that the gender inequities among Africans are remnants of forms of gender subordination that existed before colonization.

At least in the case of South Africa, Gordon’s argument cannot be fully substantiated mainly because in order to do so, one would have to perform an intricate sociological study of pre-colonial South African peoples (of which there are numerous tribes and ethnicities) in order to contend that any examples of gender discrimination today are, in fact, portions of their respective cultural norms simply adapted for the modern day. Langley offers a more tangible
analysis that can be given credence by the fact that gender discriminatory practices were not unique to South Africans and were widely practiced by Europeans. Though there were undoubtedly notable differences in expected gender roles among the clashing cultures, it is reasonable to say that Europeans settling in South Africa did not learn of misogynistic practices from South Africans. Instead, what we observe today is most likely a mixture of what Dr. Joy Leary refers to as Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome (part of which encompasses Black men seeking to lash out at Black women for being the subject of wrongs they could not avoid), and African victims of the Apartheid regime seeking to emulate the sociological norms of those who hold dominion over them in order to potentially alleviate their despair.

Organized Women’s Resistance to Apartheid

Another vehicle with which to examine women’s roles during the anti-Apartheid era is that of women’s organizations. The ANC, though leading the forefront of the anti-Apartheid struggle, was not necessarily on the forefront of the gender equality movement. Women were only allowed as full members of the ANC after 1943, and this was after the official formation of the ANC Women’s League.19 Even then, its existence was considered, rightly so, as a female appendage to a male-dominated organization, thus marginalizing women’s issues; such a structure required the extended effort of women such as Lilian Ngoyi to bring women’s issues to the front of the ANC agenda. In an effort to create an organized movement that actively sought to address women’s issues during this time, women from all races came together to form the Federation of South African Women (FSAW), existing from 1954 to 1963.20 The organization was considered widely a success not only for the fact that it was the first truly independent women’s organization not attached to a pre-existing male body, but also for the fact that it drew a
wide-reaching multiracial crowd, partially because of its ‘motherism’\textsuperscript{21} appeal, the idea of mothers securing a better future for their children. Still, even with the advent of organizations such as FSAW and later the Black Women’s Federation in 1975, addressing women’s needs was not entirely accepted among the anti-Apartheid community. Former anti-Apartheid activist, and now current South African High Commissioner in London, Cherryl Carolous, recalls that in order to be taken seriously her and her female colleagues were forced to “become one of the boys”\textsuperscript{22} in the sense that they had to actively seek a ‘male’ persona of toughness. Taking on such a mentality potentially meant the difference between serving in the front lines of the movement and the alternative of assisting as a secretary, i.e. being a ‘knitting needles guerilla’, as they were jokingly referred to.\textsuperscript{23} Women also learned that if they were to be taken seriously, their overt stances on women’s rights would have to be temporarily silenced, or at the least settled on the backburner, in place of more nationalized issues.

The picture presented of organized women’s resistance is a much bleaker image than that of the successful individuals that either preceded these organizations or perhaps led them. Whereas women’s service in the anti-Apartheid movement was exceedingly appreciated, their concerns were nonetheless seen as a derisive offshoot of the main agendas. As such, women’s issues were never fully integrated into the anti-Apartheid struggle and thus were not addressed with the same alacrity as other issues may have been. This, then, is another facet as to perhaps why South African women are seemingly worse off now than during the Apartheid regime. If the anti-Apartheid leaders would not take a formalized stance to include women’s varied agendas as part of the overarching main goals of the liberation struggle, then it is no wonder that women’s concerns are pushed to the periphery today. It is also no wonder that there still exists a spirit of tokenism in regards to women, especially in politics. Acknowledging the notion that the
ANC Women’s League was nothing more than a female extension of ANC interests in order to gather women’s support, it can be reasoned that current women ANC members of parliament and other levels of government are in place to garner that same support, as discussed in this paper’s next section.

Combining the case of women’s anti-apartheid groups along with the case studies presented of both Charlotte Manye Maxeke and Lilian Ngoyi, we are given a more detailed view of the Apartheid regime and how the structure of the very fight against Apartheid may have exacerbated any existing gender discrepancies during the actual regime itself. The challenge now remains to evaluate the damage caused by this male-female rift and locate where South Africa currently stands on gender relations.

**South African Women in Politics Post-Apartheid**

We have already mentioned some of the statistical evidence that points to the serious situation that is South African gender relations. Now, the focus is on giving these statistics meaning. For instance, Geisler points to the strong presence of an organized women’s movement in the anti-Apartheid struggle, in the ANC Women’s League in particular, as having allowed women to gain a foothold in the door of politics in post-Apartheid South Africa. The advent of independence did indeed see 111 women enter Parliament as well as the ANC using political advertisements directly targeted towards women. Upon closer analysis, however, the ANC effort to usher women into seats of power clearly becomes a measure of tokenism rather than an actual representation of ANC leadership sharing power with women. For instance, many of the women elected to power did not seriously expect to win either because of their age, their lack of political knowledge, or their lack of education. They were elected as seat fillers, as
assured support for ANC agenda items that required large bodies of votes to pass. Although it is true that there were both men and women elected to Parliament that had trouble adapting to the specific nature of government, women faced the brunt of the issue in that they were de-gendered, or at least silenced as a woman in order to maintain their positions. Thenjiwe Mtintso, former commander-in-chief of MK and ANC MP, found that being in Parliament meant “get[ting] into the status quo, being a man.”26 This is the same conundrum that women faced during the anti-Apartheid era, in which they were forced to forgo their interests as women in order to be allowed into the sphere of the liberation movement, and even then it was only the sphere’s peripheral.

The trend of marginalizing women in politics was not unique at the beginning of liberation and is not unique now. The infamous Zuma Rape Trial, in which the South African Deputy President (now former Deputy President) stood trial for raping a colleague, exemplifies this marginalization. Not only did the case bring to light many issues formerly pushed to the side, such as revamping the outdated Sexual Offense Act, it also showed the extent to which women’s concerns were pushed to the side in order to preserve an unfaltering patriarchy. South Africa is the same country in which a newly freed Nelson Mandela’s encouragement for men to wash their own clothes and cook their own food as he had done in prison was met with “muted silence from men and cheers from thousands of women,”27 thus it would be no surprise that this same country would hold a benefit concert for a Deputy President accused of rape28 while simultaneously the alleged rape victim is packing her bags to leave the country for fear of violent reprisal.29

Similar marginalization occurs with the Health Minister Manto Tshabalala-Msimang, who has been branded as ‘Dr. Beetroot’ for her health policy measures which do not focus so much on treatment of HIV/AIDS as they do on treatment of the body as a whole. Tshabalala-Msimang’s policies do not meet the international health community’s scrutiny as far as
addressing HIV/AIDS, causing a fair amount of pressure to be placed on the South African government to replace her. Although this pressure seems justified on the surface as that it is in response to a supposed derelict of duty, the call for her removal is more likely an extension of the same brand of patriarchy that forced the accuser in the Zuma Rape Trial to flee the country. The evidence points to this conclusion for two reasons. The first is that there was not a similar public outcry against Jacob Zuma. Although one cannot numerically compare the international importance of a Deputy President’s rape trial to a Health Minister’s refusal to focus on antiretroviral medication, the fact that there was virtually no international outcry against the rape scenario in comparison to the Tshabalala-Msimang situation indicates that at the least, rape is not an international concern, or even an international red flag at the moment. Added to this is the analysis that Jacob Zuma’s crime (or even supposed crime) is that of a man perpetrated against a woman, whereas Tshabalala-Msimang’s crime (or, again, supposed crime) is that of a woman perpetrated against that of an entire population, including men. Looking at the two scenarios from this point adds a new dimension of inquiry to the situations. The Health Minister, as a woman, is responsible for the role of ‘motherism’, taking care of the children of South Africa. What more offensive image could there be than the crime of a mother not caring for her children? It is with this mentality that Tshabalala-Msimang has been accused virtually of treason against South Africa.

Judging from these two instances, it can be surmised that one of the political after-effects of the anti-Apartheid movement is a further division between South African men and women as indicated on the political field. The problem this leads to is that until women’s issues are brought to the forefront of government concerns, South African women will continue to lead a degenerative life beneath that of South African men. What makes matters worse is that South
Africa is in fact leading the way in terms of representation of women in parliament and other facets of government. There is even talk of the next South African president being a woman, with the appointment of Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka. The fact of the matter remains, however, that these women are mere tokens, puppets. Their positions in the South African government are that of strategically placed, assured votes. This is not gender equality and this is not the means with which to build gender equality. The current situation echoes the same sentiments of Women-In-Development (WID) scenarios that spout the ideology of women being able to attain equal status to men simply by being given the same resources. As the South African political system can attest, this is a far-fetched belief at best. If the women involved in South African government were truly able to act in favor of women rather than acting in a pre-approved political manner, then there would be at least on-the-ground solutions for many of the egregious examples of inequality that women face. Even though two out of five African households are headed by women, three out of five of those households are considered in poverty.

Policy Solutions Towards Gender Equality

In her analysis on gender and politics in South Africa, Gisela Geisler asserts that: “closing the gap also means that national policies will have to be extended and made relevant to the majority of South African women. Only the empowerment of ordinary women will guarantee that all women’s voices and priorities, truly representative of South African society, are heard at the national level.”

Though the ideal situation would allow for gender disparities to be alleviated in such a manner, this is not South African case. As Geisler mentioned earlier in her work, many of the women elected to the early Parliaments in the liberated South Africa were, in fact, ordinary women. However these women did not, and still do not, have the political clout to affect meaningful
change in the country. Geisler’s words do hold true, however, when they are taken out of the political context. By empowering ordinary women in everyday scenarios, one is providing an opportunity for South African women to lift themselves up from the daily quagmire of gender inequity. By empowering the ordinary woman with the opportunity to receive an education or with the resources to set up a career outside the home, the ordinary woman is then able to increase her sphere of influence over her household and the community. The danger with simplifying the situation into a catchphrase solution of ‘empowering ordinary women’ is that it easily leaves out the contexts by which South African women find themselves entrenched in a gendered-Apartheid. These contexts include sociological norms that became standardized during the Apartheid era and only became more indelible in the South African psyche as Apartheid raged on. Empowering the ordinary woman does not simply mean providing the resources for that woman (as a WID strategy might claim), but it must also encompass empowering the ordinary man and the ordinary child.

In an interview with the Berakah Foundation, a community-driven NGO that works primarily with orphans and vulnerable children in the Mamelodi township, Avril Elkington, the founder, relayed some of the heavier issues facing the community’s overall development. One aspect that Avril mentioned was that “one of the biggest problems we are experiencing at the moment with our children is the huge gap in the quality of education. Township kids are way behind when it comes to reading, writing and math.”32 She has found that girls suffer the most under this system in that in a household of limited resources, boys are sent to school in order to maximize the utility of an education. Empowering the ordinary women, in this case, would entail empowering the ordinary community. The effort should first be placed on providing enough resources so that potentially each child in the district could attend school without being a
burden to the family. The next phase would then entail a more personalized effort of explaining to parents why it is important for their daughters to receive an education. This type of convincing would have to come from the community, from individuals such as Avril Elkington, school officials, and other notable members of the community. What this type of community activism might reveal is that perhaps there are other reasons girls are not attending school, either because they are responsible for caring for their fathers if the mother is not able to, or because the girls are traumatized from some sort of abuse, or the school is too far and the girls risk being raped, or a myriad of other factors. However, none of these issues can be solved unless the resources are there to begin with.

Gender equality in South Africa will not happen in the Parliament and will most likely not happen in the courtroom. It will not happen attached to a male-dominated institution or organization. Instead, it will happen in the streets and in the homes. South African gender equality is intricately tied to poverty alleviation, as indicated by some of the earlier statistics. As such, plans dedicated to bringing about social change and socio-economic upliftment must not be bereft of a gender component. If the ordinary woman is to be empowered, it is to be through the vehicle of community-led efforts towards poverty reduction and community improvements. It is here, not Parliament, that South African women will be able to make their stand.

2 Baobab Newsroom; http://www.baobabconnections.org/news/?id=960
5 Ibid.
6 http://africanhistory.about.com/od/apartheidlaws/g/No21of23.htm
8 Leary, Joy Dr.; Post-Apartheid Slave Syndrome, p. 157


12 Federation of South African Women collected papers (FSAW), Executive Report of Transvaal ANC, Presented at Conference, 10 and 11 Oct. 1959, Eastern Native Township, Gubbins Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg


15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.


20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid. 609

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid. 616

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.

27 The Star, March 1994

28 18,000 Turn up At Zuma Fundraising Concert, The Star, May 2006


30 Parenzee, Penny. 2005. Investigating the Implications of Ten Years of Democracy for Women, p. 27. Cape Town, South Africa: IDASA


32 Interview with Avril Elkington. 2006. (interview attached as Appendix I)
Submission

Title: Regressive Social Transformation and Ethnic Extremes in the North Caucasus: The Beslan Case

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Introduction

In their paper to the 15th Annual Meeting of ISTSS at Miami, FL Anatoly V. Isaenko and Peter Petschauer presented a theoretical framework that can be used to understand the regularities of ethnic conflict (Isaenko and Petschauer, 1999, p.54). Their subsequent study of ethnic conflicts in the Caucasus as compared to ethnic confrontations in the Balkans and Central Asia showed that extreme ethnic expressions are divided into seven headings: (1) body/space, (2) use/abuse of language, (3) religious expression, (4) shared chosen traumas of history, (5) ethnic affiliation/nationality, (6) economics, and (7) state organizations. This format allows one to systematically explore theoretical and practical approaches to understanding, defining, and redefining negative ethnic expressions in a society which is at risk of deterioration into extreme ethnic abuses. This framework is important for historical analysis but can also be an effective tool for understanding an ethnic community and establishing interventions as a way to avoid extreme outcomes. By utilizing experiences from many cultural contexts it becomes apparent that all-sided societal crisis exacerbates what Nash Manning defined as principle “building blocks of ethnicity”, (here marked headings from 1 to 5) (Nash, 1989, Ch.1), calling into life an ideology of ethnocentric nationalism. This ideology sanctifies ethnonationalistic-like behavior patterns both on the state level and on the level of common people. They initiate and in the long run actualize various forms of ethnic cleansing: beginning with mild and middle ground forms and ending with elements of ethno-cultural genocide. Certain ethnonationalistic-like behavior patterns are not restricted to a particular part of the world but bear stunning similarities to the treatment of perceived ethnic enemies in all known ethnic conflicts (Isaenko and Petschauer, 1999. ch.7; Petschauer and Isaenko, 2002, p.52-74; see also Isaenko and Petschauer, 1995, p.1-13; compare to Kecmanovich, 1997). In this article I intend to demonstrate how these regularities in the regressive socio-political atmosphere of the Russian North Caucasus put Ossetians, Chechens, and Ingushians on the road that led them to Beslan tragedy. I argue that psychological underpinnings of the regularities defined and predetermined individual and group actions before, during, and in the aftermath of this momentous event that from now on is destined to play the role of deepest psycho-historical “chosen trauma” of Ossetian people (Volkan, 1991, p.3-13).

Experts agree that failure to save lives of the hostages may have had serious repercussions for Moscow and local administrations. Specialists and independent observers pointed out to several most obvious, inexcusable and blatant failures on the part of both North Ossetian administration and the federal Russian forces conducting the hostage situation. Everybody interfered and nobody wanted to take responsibility. Everybody waited for Moscow’s orders, but the Kremlin kept silent. The hectic and completely disorganized actions of those responsible for the solution to the crisis on the Russian side proved that they completely lost control of the situation. In the headquarters they were in conflict and could not decide whether to storm or to carry on negotiations. The head of North Ossetia Dzasokhov proposed to change children to 800 bureaucrats, but under the threat of arrest he was forbidden to get into negotiations with the terrorists. Witnesses testify that at the beginning of broken storm he lost his self-control and wailed,
“I am a political dead body now!” This Freudian lapse shows that even at such a moment when his people and children were dying from random mortal fire he thought first only of the political office he might lose.

Despite earlier promises to peacefully resolve the crisis, Russian Special Forces resorted to armed force, failed to keep the battleground secure from entry by civilians or exit by the militants, and were struggling to provide consistent reports of the situation to the media. Representatives of the headquarters of the operational staff in Beslan repeatedly lied about the real number of hostages in the school, considerably marking down their figures. This outraged both relatives who knew the size of the classes and the hostage takers.

Two reporters among many trying to get to Beslan to report on the siege were detained in some way or another. Andrey Babitskiy, a journalist with the Russian service of Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, was detained and indicted for mischief after an alleged conflict with security guards in the Moscow Vnukovo Airport and sentenced to a five-day arrest. The Novaya Gazeta journalist Anna Politkovskaya became ill on the airplane bound to Rostov-on-Don after she drank only a cup of tea on the plane. Although it has never been proven, her publisher suspects that she was poisoned. There are concerns that both incidents were provoked by the Federalnaya Sluzhba Bezopasnosti (Federal Security Service). According to a poll by Levada-Center conducted a week after the Beslan crisis, 83% of the polled Russians believed that the government was hiding at least a part of the truth about the Beslan events (Wikipedia).

To understand the behavior of politicians we need to resort to an analysis of regressive social transformation both in Russia and the North Caucasus in the course of the Chechen conflict that led to the Beslan tragedy.
Part I: Long-Standing Causes: A Failure that Transformed Chechnya and Russia

The tragedy of Beslan had become an original indicator of the unresolved “Chechen problem” whatever the official Russian rhetoric was. The seizure of hostages and deaths of hundreds of them, predominantly children, clearly demonstrated that a small but very active and radical section of Chechen society continue to fight using the most desperate means. In three months they had performed three abhorrent acts of homicidal terror: an attack on Ingushetia (6/22/04), an attack on Grozny (8/21/04), and an attack on the Beslan High School #1 (9/1/04).

An immediate reason for these manifestations of terrorism in the North Caucasus, as shared by the majority of Western experts, lies with the inability of the Kremlin to elaborate on a viable policy towards the Chechen conflict: a failure to compromise. While we do not dispute the validity of this analysis, I cling to the opinion, based on my research and personal experience1 that the long-standing roots of the region’s most recent violent history lie within the context of the catastrophic failure of the democratic state-building experiments both in Russia and in Chechnya in the 1990s. Just as in Chechnya and Russia where democratic opposition had been completely crushed by the regime of General Dudaev in the early 1990s, the attack on the Russian Parliament on October 3, 1993, by Yeltsin was a turning point.

At first, a failure came about in Chechnya. The coup of August 1991 triggered a dramatic speed up in the “Chechen Revolution.” In the long run, two hostile camps emerged: the Executive Committee of the National Congress of Chechen People (OKChN) headed by ethnocentric nationalists: Zelimkhan Yandarbiev, Movlady Udugov, S-Kh. Abumuslimov and sided with them Dzokhar Dudaev, and the pro-democratic party of the Provisional Supreme Soviet of the Chechen-Ingushian Republic, led by B. Bakhmadov, a former regional prosecutor. This second group resisted the nationalistic coup by creating an alternative popular movement for the preservation of a united Chechen-Ingushetia. They appointed an alternative date for elections and an alternative Central Electoral Commission. They even created their own home guard and occupied the building of the Republic’s Trade Unions (Terivistii Put’ k Svobode, 1993, p.376-379).

As might be imagined, the Republic now entered a period of instability. On October 27, 1991, the pro-Dudaev Central Electoral Commission carried out presidential and parliamentary elections. Dudaev was declared the nationally elected president of the Chechen Republic. This step immediately triggered a negative reaction by the democratic opposition. That reaction alone could have resulted in armed clashes between the opposing parties.

At this crucial moment, Boris Yeltsin’s administration, which had kept at a distance, decided to step in. It did so in the most inappropriate manner—at least from a traditional

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1 Dr. Isaenko is a former native of North Caucasus; this adds a depth of information in regard to the life of the ethnic groups in the North Caucasus that many individuals have been unable to garner given the history of the former Soviet Union.
Chechen viewpoint—as historically reacted negatively to intrusions by outsiders, but especially Russians (Isaenko and Petschauer, 1995, p. 108, 111). That is why Yeltsin’s decree, “Introduction of Martial Law in Chechnya,” was viewed by the great majority of native Chechens as an act of imperial aggression. Dudaev, who immediately called on Chechens to resist by referring to the need to reestablish Chechen national pride and dignity, became a national hero.

Thus Russia’s interference reawakened dormant suspicions, reinforced the memories of past losses and the connected image of Russia as the enemy. Russia’s approach helped to revive and reopen the traumas of past humiliations and defeats that Chechens had suffered at the hands of the Russian imperial and Soviet communist governments. It also rekindled dormant hatreds, and indignant Chechens readily transferred their hostility to Moscow’s latest rulers and, as a byproduct, to the latest generation of Russians living in their republic; they were now thought of as potential traitors. The decree thus triggered ethnic cleansing of the Russian population. The stark findings of the Chechen journalist Arbi Arbiev in Chechnya and Ingushetia were not published until 1998. He revealed that 320,000 Russian residents lived in that area in 1989, after 1991 only half remained. Only those persons and families who were unable to sell their property (always at ridiculously low prices proposed by Chechens and Ingushians) and more importantly were unable to afford to move to Russia proper were left. They were not paid their salaries, they were robbed, harassed, forced out of their homes, kidnapped, and their documents and identities were destroyed (Arbiev, 1998, p. 2).

These steps were a clear violation of legal procedures by Dudaev and his ethnocentric regime and they provoked attempts by the Chechen democratic opposition to organize a counter-offensive, and less influential clans in particular backed this move because they were underrepresented in Dudaev’s entourage. By the summer of 1992 the nucleus of the opposition was concentrated on the popular movement in “Daymohk” (“Motherhood”) and headed by Salambek Khadjiev, Lecha Umakhaev and Dz. Gagkaev, three distinguished representatives of the Chechen intelligentsia. They endeavored to bring about new parliamentary elections that included full participation of the Russian speaking population. They also wanted to begin real economic reforms and restrictions on the mafia and ethnically targeted organized crime. Additionally, they wanted to reorganize the mafia-backed state government to introduce real checks and balances, and to initiate a clear division of power between branches of government (that is, the president, parliament, constitutional court and local administrations, which were elected, not appointed). They wanted to undertake these steps in the context of the Constitution of the Chechen Republic, which had been adopted on March 12, 1992, but not activated (Programmnye dokumenty . . . , 1992, p. 3-16). In spring 1993, these efforts received support from the parliamentary faction “Bako” (“Right”) that was headed by Yusup Soslambekov, a former radical nationalist and accused criminal. They also supported the mass meeting organized by the Chechen Federation of Trade Unions on April 15, 1993.

Dudaev’s reaction was immediate. With the support of ethno-nationalistic radicals, he summoned a counter-meeting. But it did not stop the pro-democratic meeting in the Theatre Square of downtown Grozny demanding the parliament defend the constitution.
Responding to this call, parliament excluded the members who were most active in the Dudaev camp and had encouraged the executive’s anti-constitutional actions. Then, with the support of the municipal council of Grozny, parliament created an alternative council of ministers and placed Yaragy Mamodaev in charge. Mamodaev had, by that time, quarreled with Dudaev and been removed by him from the post of vice premier. Parliament also established a minister of defense (placing I. Suleymenov in the position) and announced the creation of a multi-ethnic “People’s Army.” In addition to these steps it introduced some vital social measures and fixed a national referendum for June 5, 1993. The agenda included as a principal proposal the removal of the sitting president and the abolition of the institution of the presidency (Pain, 1993).

Dudaev’s move was unannounced. He closed down all opposition newspapers. And then in the early hours of June 4, 1993, his mobsters stormed the democratic movement’s stronghold, the municipal council building of Grozny. During this attack, a battalion of municipal police officers suffered severe casualties and more than 60 people were killed. The same day, Dudaev’s forces also fired on a pro-democracy demonstration. The next day, the presidential guard besieged the headquarters of the movement. Unwilling to unleash a full scale civil war, the opposition gave in and announced the cessation of all political activities. This resolution of the political crisis in Chechnya meant that the democratic experiment was defeated and the personal dictatorship of general Dudaev was established.

The attack on October 3, 1993, by Yeltsin on the Russian parliament is much better known than the events in Chechnya. How can contemporaries forget the day’s TV footage of the charred parliament building? And, as in Chechnya, this was a major turning point. In fact, it is a principal turning point in Yeltsin’s period in office and in the post-Yeltsin, Putin’s period as well.

From that point on violent solutions have become the norms for Russia proper, for Chechnya, and other areas of the North Caucasus. No matter what the official rhetoric, the Russian and non-Russian public alike understood that their political leaders and the political and mafia elite that backed them would take the most ruthless measures to attain their personal goals. This was a devastating blow at the emerging civil society in post-Soviet states. One result was that fragmented Russian populations responded with ever-growing political apathy. Another result was that oligarchs, tycoons, godfathers, bureaucrats, and regional elites grabbed the opportunity that unrestricted and unprecedented expropriation of the so-called “common” property opened for them. A further result was the strengthening of oligarchic regimes and the growth of ethnocentric nationalism and religious extremism.

Many people began to realize that a return to real economic progress and true modernization would be arduous and time consuming. The stress of economic and political uncertainty threatened to revive unresolved conflicts that had lingered just below the surface. Fewer individuals understood that the long-standing imperial and Soviet legacy was much stronger than they imagined and that in Russia (and in many other...
former Soviet Republics) a new, unprecedented variety of totalitarian rule was emerging: totalitarianism that one can call post-communist or pseudo-democratic neo-totalitarianism. This form of government can be characterized as a political system in which overall control over individuals and society is exercised by a combination of familiar and new techniques. Control is not exercised by ideology, as in the past, but through other means. These means may include elections, for example, but these are merely used as a way to exert total control over citizens and tend to undermine this process itself and the social fabric and consensus in general. Observers in the North Caucasus and Russia noticed a “multidimensional dependency” that had begun to assume both obvious and latent economic (social, cultural, legal, traditional, religious, etc.) and extra-economic forms. Such forms determine the numerous power relationships associated with coercion, violence, and the constant threat of the use of either (Polokhhalo, 1997, p. 7). Violence became esthetically welcomed. Machoism flourished. Normal people became viewed as cowards. Intellectualism was cursed as being subservient to alienate Russian or Western cultures.

**Shortage of Administrative and Political Skills; Spread of Corruption**

Political elites in the republics of the North Caucasus broadly fall into three categories: former party *Nomenklatura*, Soviet ex-servicemen and the leaders of ethnic networks (Matveeva, 1999, p. 10). At present and in the recent past, such republics like Adygeia, Karachaevo-Cherkessia, Kabardino-Balkaria, North Ossetia-Alania, and Dagestan have been headed by former party leaders.

The ex-Soviet generals emerged on the political scene in 1990-1991 and were looked upon as men of action and “national heroes” around whom ethnic groups could unite: like Air Force general Djokhar Dudaev, or general Ruslan Aushev, the commander of a Motor Rifle Division in the Far Eastern Military District. In 1992, he became the leader of Ingushetia. Another general and the former deputy commander of the Trans-Caucus Military District, Sufian Beppayev chaired the Balkar National Congress that declared sovereignty in 1996. The Lezgin National movement “Savdal” was headed by general Mughuddin Kahrimanov who called for unification of the two divided Lezgin groups into one sovereign national unit. Aslan Maskhadov, recently killed by Russians, was an ex-colonel of the Soviet army and a representative of the dominant ethnic group that enabled him to gain the presidency of the breakaway state of Ichkeria.

Powerful individuals from the younger generation, in their thirties and forties constitute the third group. They started their careers in the post-Soviet era and made their way up through personal resolve and the skillful exploitation of economic and social chaos. Gadji Makhachev, once the chairman of DagNeft in Dagestan, and Khozh-Ahmed Nukhaev, the former chairman of the Caucasus Common Market and the former deputy prime minister of Chechnya, are the most frequently cited examples. Many such individuals had criminal convictions, some of them for violent crimes (Matveeva, 1999, p. 15).

Former local party and government officials still in power at Kabardino-Balkaria, Ossetia, and Dagestan were trained to obey and implement orders from the center and to
think in terms of Moscow’s priorities. These habits were deeply ingrained. The same is true for servicemen, who, like Alu Alkhanov or Murat Zyazikov, at the behest of the Kremlin recently headed pro-Moscow administrations in Chechnya and Ingushetia. In spite of differences in origins and social background all three mentioned in the above groups of ethnic elites have one common characteristic. As Paul Henze states, “attitudes of responsibility . . . and forms of discipline and control inherent in most free-market societies (and even in many other authoritarian systems) are largely absent in all of these leaders” (Henze, 1994, p. 9-11). They quickly learned how to speak in terms of democracy, political competition, human rights, free markets and free flow of information but these concepts are inadequately understood and often exploited as slogans to attract outside support or discredit rivals. One may be surprised by the large number of specialists in linguistics, literature, folklore, archaeology, and history around these leaders and at the head of ethnocentric organizations and movements now asserting ethnic pride and national self-determination. However, all of them are ill-equipped to understand the real principles of democracy. The art of compromise and accommodation, the process for peaceful resolution of differences and setting of priorities, the rule of law as an inclusive and systematic set of legal procedures, and human rights consisting of a respect for everyone regardless of ethnic belonging, is neither deep nor widespread among ruling elites in these North Caucasus societies. Few of the newly emerged leaders show any grasp of economic realities (Isaenko and Petschauer, 1999, p. 160).

In 1991-1992, Djokhar Dudaev in Chechnya and Akhsarbek Galazov in North Ossetia encouraged the creation of informal armed structures. This sparked a spontaneous militarization of the area and of various ethnocentric movements and fronts. Moreover, the leaders of these military formations often represented local mafias and developed political and “business” agendas of their own. In the long run, official leaders failed to control them. Equally, they failed to elaborate on comprehensive strategies of coherent programs on how to promote social and economic reform to meet the avalanche of increasing problems in the region.

As Ramazan G. Abdulatipov states, “the ethnic and political elites, as well as many intellectuals proved themselves unable to work on adequate sociopolitical, economic, ethno-cultural, and moral mechanisms of self preservation . . . because they closed themselves off in their own highly narrow political interests” (Abdulatipov, 1995, p. 57-58). Another leading historian in the region—Max Bliev—showed very specifically that among ethnic leadership there began to dominate “dispositions and habits of tribal aristocracy” (Bliev, 1999, p. 316-330). Not knowing how to solve numerous problems plaguing their respective people most of them learned very well how to bargain with the Kremlin in order to stay in power and maintain their privileges under any unfavorable circumstances. Seeing all this, common populations have developed habits of thinking of their own needs as largely illicit—which they are, from Moscow’s point of view.

The disastrous results of the first Chechen adventure (1994-1996) for the North Caucasus and Russia are known and were analyzed in detail in many publications (see Tishkov, 2004). We need only stress that it immensely increased the sufferings of the average Chechens and those living in the surrounding areas; it prompted the degradation of the
last trace of legal institutions, and enhanced the rapid barbarization of life in the republics of the North Caucasus.

This barbarism implies the deterioration of capitalism into gangsterism and terrorism and the decline of traditional and local law enforcement agencies. This trend had been especially pronounced in Chechnya proper and other ethnically charged areas like Ingushetia, Dagestan, Ossetia, and Kabarda. In these areas, field commanders have made hostage-taking a lucrative business and more than 150 bands were operating independently of local authorities. Between 1996 and 1999, in Chechnya alone, thousands of Russians and a number of foreigners became hostages and slaves.

Overall a regressive tendency was depicted by the former head of the Security Council of Dagestan Magomet Tolboyev:

Different ethnic paramilitary formations strengthened themselves in the area; they receive . . . skills and experiences of carrying out military operations. . . . People are sick and tired of them: raids of brigands, kidnappings, stealing of cattle, murder and assassinations. I told them in Moscow many times, do not let people come to the North Caucasus regions that are Kabarda, Dagestan, and Ossetia. I know how (kidnapped) people live there . . . they sit like slaves in dungeons. . . . If you want to be kidnapped, go to Chechnya, Dagestan, Kabardino-Balkaria, and Ossetia. Maybe you will be ransomed afterwards, maybe you will not. If not you will be killed. . . . In Moscow the officials do not understand what the Caucasus looks like. (Tolboyev, 1998, p. 7)

Still another result was an unprecedented spread of ethnically based corruption in the region. It virtually embraced all spheres of life, but especially law enforcement agencies. These facilities are stricken by nepotism and are being staffed by ethnic relatives of those in power at the cost of professionalism and abilities to perform effectively in crisis situation. Former head of pro-Russian Chechen administration Akhmad Kadyrov, who was assassinated on May 9, 2004, had testified that 80% of all means that the federal government was providing for the reconstruction in Chechnya used to be stolen half way to the republic. Local bureaucrats used to claim 50% as bribes from the sums of compensation due to pay for the lost dwellings of victims of war. The analysis of the Accounting Office of Russian Federation confirms these facts, adding that “a considerable amount of these means ultimately finds its way to the terrorist structures of underground resistance” (Posle Beslana…, 2005, p. 3-5). A popular liberal weekly edition, Novosti Rossii (The News of Russia) states with the reference to the Moscow fund “Indem” that Western businessmen pay 33.5 billion dollars in bribes to Russian bureaucrats and officials annually. One Finnish-Russian company even issued special instructions to its employees on how to most effectively bribe Russian government officials (Novosti Rossii, February 15, 2005, p. 1-3).

In the North Caucasus, residents routinely pay bribes to the police on the roads, to the schoolteachers, and professors in the universities, to the doctors and nurses in hospitals, to the nurses in kindergartens, etc., and of course to the officials in all state and private
agencies. In Ossetia this practice even became a popular topic for bitter jokes. For example, two are talking in the streets, and one asks another: “do you know how to decode GAI?” The latter replies: “I know that in Russian it is ‘State Automobile Inspection,’ but an Ossetian may decode it as ‘gartam alkamai ish.’” That means, “I take bribes from everybody.” Still another joke has appeared. “A teacher asks a pupil of an elementary school, ‘What animal is usually grazing on the asphalt?’ The pupil reacts immediately, ‘The road police!’”

The most astounding and unmasking revelation of corruption in modern Ossetia can be found in the essay of Taimuraz Chedzemov, a retired judge and honored lawyer of the Russian Federation. He writes,

> Everybody knows that official positions are for sale in the republic. One may easily find judges with forged degrees and records. Hundreds of court verdicts are impertinent interferences into legal norms and procedures. For example, the verdicts of Industrial and Soviet regional courts, by which 228 of the most expensive imported cars were relieved from custom duties. As a result of these machinations, the amount of damages to the republican budget reached four million dollars. . . . However, the prosecutor’s office did not find any transgressions against the law in these cases, and the Supreme Court keeps silence. No surprise that 87% of residents think that the desired court verdicts could be obtained through bribes, and only 9% of Ossetian residents trust courts and law enforcement agencies. . .

In 2000, the administration of Vladikavkaz (the capital of North Ossetia-Alania-A.I.) gave to Alexandr Dzasokhov (President of the Republic - A.I.) a luxurious apartment, ostensibly for “state necessities.” It was an illegal act, since Dzasokhov had already owned an apartment in the city, and for “state necessities” he used a large country house. . . . When the public knew about this machination a person moved into the apartment that had no relations with the administration of president, or to the administration of the city. After awhile, Dzasokhov received yet another apartment in the same building. . .

When Moscow officials come on control missions they usually meet only with carefully selected auditorium, where they praised wisdom and Ossetian hospitality of Dzasokhov. Meanwhile, the real life of common people rapidly continued to decline on the background of rising palaces of republican bureaucrats (Chedzemov, 2004, p. 6-7).

As a matter of fact, the circulation of this edition was confiscated by the order of republican authorities. The oppositional resource was closed. Having failed in stopping low-level guerilla warfare of radical Islamists, local officials, however, do know how to shutdown public opinion.

I want to demonstrate further how all these longstanding and immediate reasons and factors manifested themselves in the tragedy of Beslan. As a result of the Chechen conflict, both in Russia and in the Caucasus, negative and anti-democratic tendencies received yet another strong impulse that pushed them further into a regressive projection.
While revitalizing great power illusions and nationalistic, xenophobic hysteria, Moscow failed to elaborate on a viable and comprehensive ethnic policy in the North Caucasus.

A sound failure to build in Chechnya a civil democratic state, subsequent fragmentation according to family and territorial clans into various armed formations, anarchy, bloody battles about control over what is left from economic resources and for power made it a volatile powder keg in the region. Their violence in the form of terrorism more and more often spills over into neighboring republics and territories, but also into southern and central Russia and even Moscow.

The investigating commission stated that most of the perpetrators in Beslan and elsewhere came from the families who suffered great material and human losses in the process of the Russo-Chechen War and suffered chronic unemployment—which by the way is highest in Chechnya and the other North Caucasus republics compared nationally. They represented families that suffered incredible atrocities performed by Russian troops or by local pro-Russian warlords. Some had longstanding criminal records and all of them belonged to the underground Jamaats of Islamists who had declared jihad against Russia and her allies, like North Ossetia.

Shamil Basaev said the attack in Beslan—just like in Budyonnovsk in 1995—was intended to force the Russians “to feel the same grievances that they caused the Chechens to feel” (Kavkazcenter.com, November, 22, 2004). At the end of June 2004, Basaev gave an interview to Al-Jazeera in which he threatened new terrorist acts outside Chechnya. On August 2, 2004, Aslan Maskhadov published his order urging loyal Chechens “to transfer the war on the enemies’ territory.” As a result of such attacks he planned “to bring a quick victory” to Ichkeria. Later Shamil Basaev confirmed that he had planned the seizure of the High School #1 in Beslan long before under the code name “Nord-West.” As in Budyonnovsk, his goal was to force Putin to end the war and withdraw Russian troops from Chechnya.

On August 18, 2004, the Russian Interior Ministry (MVD), sent a telegram to North Ossetian authorities. It warned the Ossetian law enforcement structures that according to “operative evidence” Chechen militants were planning to perform in North Ossetia a large-scale terrorist act similar to that of Budyonnovsk. The object targeted could be a state facility containing a large number of people. All stations, hospitals, public buildings, schools, and all roads were supposedly protected by the police, except that one which the perpetrators had planned to take a long time before. In addition, that was the one: a secondary road which had been used (and is still being used) by the international criminal group of Ossetians and Ingushians who under cover of the local police transport stolen oil from Chechnya to Ossetia. A group of 2-3 policemen were put on guard at the school in Beslan, but at the time of the attack, they were not there.

Currently at Beslan, the trial continues regarding the guilt of the chief of the district police and his deputies. Astounding facts are coming out. It appeared that the terrorists had accomplices among the rank and file of the police officials. On the eve of their raid they supposedly informed them that the route to Beslan would be completely unguarded...
because all the police would be sent to guard the highway that president Dzasokhov intended to take to Nalchik—the capital of adjacent republic of Kabardino-Balkaria. Thus the road to Beslan was left unguarded (The News of North and South Ossetia. www.Ossetia.RU. October 26, 2006)

The investigating commission established many other facts of outrageous corruption that led to the tragedy. At least five terrorists supposedly had to serve their sentences in the Russian prisons at the time of Beslan crisis. However, their Islamic Jamaats led by Shamil Basaev through corrupted connections to the police and penitentiaries bribed them out and they later took an active part in the operation. 31 year old Khanpash Kulaev from Nojai-Urt of Chechnya had been arrested as an active member of the band of field commander Rabani Khalilov, who stands behind many terrorist acts in Daghestan. But deputy to the general prosecutor of Russia Nikolai Shepel justified his release from jail, supposedly because Kulaev had an amputated hand. However it did not prevent the latter during the storming of the school in Beslan from successfully commanding four other terrorists and for hours held fire from the first floor of the school holding a lot of hostages. Ironically enough, after the tragedy, Shepel was appointed by Putin as a chief investigator of the Beslan case. Of course he did everything to hide the proof of his criminal negligence in performance of his duty by his subordinates and other officials.

20 year old Adam Iliev from Malgobeck (Ingushetia) had been arrested for creating explosives. But district court at Malgobek released him under subscription.

Isa Torshkhoev, Sultan Kamurziev and Mairbek Shebikhanov who were convicted killers and militants of paramilitary formations also were either released or acquitted by the corrupt judges of local courts in Chechnya and Ingushetia. All of them were among the most relentless attackers in the school. Just as another terrorist, Vladimir Khodov, while being wanted by Russian police openly lived in his own house in Ossetia in the village of Elkhotovo near Beslan and took part in mining railway tracks there. Local policemen knew about his connections to Islamists but took no action (Sentenced to Freedom, 2004, p. 1-2).

During the trial of the single arrested terrorist of Beslan, Nurpashi Kulaev, the surviving victim Zamesova, who lost her daughter, uttered very meaningful words: “Our police protect only its own interests and wait only for bribes. . . . But it is we who are guilty in everything what happened to us. It is we who readily gave them bribes” (“We Are Guilty Ourselves…,” 2006, p. 1). Alas it was a late repentance. It was a huge price for the policy of ethnonationalism that corrupted the society and its law enforcement agencies in particular from the inside.

Shamil Basaev carefully selected the object of an attack as well as ethnic composition of the group of attackers. By including a lot of Ingushians in the group of perpetrators he may have counted on detonating a smoldering ethnic conflict between Ossetians and Ingushians. The last demonstrations in both republics in March 2005 with renewed mutual accusations and claims over contesting territory of Prigorodnii area show that his plan at least partially may come true.
These and other synonymous facts prove that the Beslan tragedy was simply inevitable. Since that time, the real ethnic and social situation in the Caucasus has hardly changed for the better.

**Part II: The Beslan Tragedy in the context of Ethnic Extremes**

After analyzing multitude of assessments of Beslan massacre circulating in ethnic communities touched by the tragedy, and also in the state-controlled Russian media, I realized that the best model to describe my findings, using a psychodynamic frame of reference, was “regression to a paranoid schizoid phase”, in Melanie Klein’s terms. This model has been applied by Dr. Martha Cullberg Weston to describe ethnonationalistic behavior of Serbs and Croats when in the early 1990s the crisis in former Yugoslavia erupted into ethnic warfare (Klein 1975, p. 24; Weston, 1997, p.19-32). Here I need to remind that Klein had a rather provocative way of describing human relations based on her findings in child analysis. She argued that small children when dealing with incompatible and conflictual aspects of themselves resort to so-called “paranoid schizoid position”. This process includes certain phases: a) splitting off incompatible parts of the self into “good” / “bad” in order to protect “good” part from destruction; b) building a “container” as a “safe keeper” of a “good” part; and c) transformation of a “split off” part into an enemy with the “self” perceiving the “other” as a threat. The “self” then feels “persecutory anxiety” – an exaggerated feeling of dread based on projection. In this phase the dominating emotions are: envy, greed, and also fury which is very easily evoked by frustration. When matured the children are better able to handle frustration and display a more complex way of perceiving themselves and others and a more caring pattern with feelings of guilt and wishes for reparation. Dr. Weston calls it “depressive position” that is carried on into adult life. However, in stressful situations people can regress again to a “paranoid schizoid pattern” (Weston, 1997, p.24). In the end of 1980s and in the beginning of 1990s, i.e. in the time of collapse of Soviet Empire, such regressive tendencies were also evident in the Caucasus both on individual and at the group level among a broad spectrum of its ethnic members when they began to share the same stressful conditions of a societal crisis.

When the society people knew began to dissolve in front of their eyes, and when they saw that the economy was crumbling and they had difficulty surviving because their salary no longer covered their basic needs, and when they saw that at the same time their corrupted elites were flourishing like they never flourished before—they reacted with frustration and anger. This was real danger for the local elites and they also reacted immediately through channeling these grievances and redirecting them against the rule of Moscow, as in the case of Chechnya, or toward the restoration of historical justice, as with Ingushs and Balkars, or toward upgrading a people standing against other ethnic groups, as in Dagestan and in Georgia (Isaenko and Petschauer, 1995, p.110-112; Matveeva, 1999, p.11). Unresolved conflicts of the past play a very important role in the present. Often the simple revival of mutual suspicions is enough to rekindle dormant mutual hatred, and historians, political scientists, and other intellectuals certainly play a
role in reviving the past traumas and their transmission to the media and politicians, and then to the public. Ethnocentric Chechen elite skillfully impelled anti-Russian drive by reopening unresolved chosen historical traumas, unresolved territorial claims, and competition over resources and fears of cultural vulnerability (Ormond, 1997, p.96-139).

The Ossetian-Ingushian ethnic conflict was reactivated predominantly through exacerbation of “nationality” (i.e. territorial building block). A dispute over parts of the region which have seen repeated border changes and forcible population transfers within them has become a focus of ethnocentric brainwashing campaigns in both ethnic communities. Both Ingushian and Ossetian historians using the same historical sources but interpreting them differently, proved to their own satisfaction and to that of their respective peoples that this or that piece of land in the Prigorodnii and Pravoberejnii districts of North Ossetia – Alania “originally” belonged to their ancestors. Such interpretations of the past reinforce the foundations of memories of loss and the connected image of the enemy (Isaenko and Petschauer, 1995, p.109). This territorial building block in this case is closely connected to another provocative one, i.e. to the chosen traumas of shared history.

For both Chechens and Ingushians the greatest chosen trauma is their total deportation to Kazakhstan by Stalin in 1944. When in 1957 the surviving exiles were allowed to return to the region and their autonomy was restored, they found part of Prigorodnii district, that they considered theirs were still a part of North Ossetia. It was a bitter return. To make matters worse, modern Russian legislators, ignoring regularities of ethnic conflict, in 1992 adopted the controversial principle of “territorial rehabilitation of repressed people”. This added more fuel to the trauma, and Ingushians readily transferred all of their hostility to the latest generation of Russians and Ossetians living on contesting territory. Beslan is located in that area.

In my observations of political life in Ossetia, Chechnya and Ingushetia in 1990s I encountered many features of the Kleinian concept of regression to the paranoid schizoid phase. Ethnic images were split into good/bad and into we/Them categories. Everyone idealized their own ethnic group and demonized others. Ethnonationalistic leaders used propaganda aiming at creating fear, rage and insecurity about people’s safety. The mirror affect was striking. When talking to Chechens or Ingushians it was, consequently, of course, Russians / Cossacks, and Ossetians who were the aggressors. When asking Russians or Ossetians, it was Chechens and their ethnic brothers Ingushians who are responsible for the whole mess. Media in both republics used the same pictures to induce rage, simply changing the ethnic label of the victims and perpetrators. Some of them are still on display in Ingushetia.ru internet portal under the meaningful rubric: “Genocide and deportation of Ingushians from North Ossetia in 1992” (www.ingushetia.ru, photo documents; compare, Weston, 1997, p.25). At the same time Russian mass media under the tutelage of Mikhail Poltoranin, vice-premier of Yeltsin’s government, unleashed targeted campaign of dehumanization of Chechens (Cherkasov, 2005, p.9). All this became a breeding ground for group belonging, self-assertive and integrative tendencies, “brotherhood within / war-like ness without” behavior, mirror reflected prejudices, mass behavior, conformity, authoritarianism and unrestricted aggressiveness (Kecmanovich,
1997, p.3-5). Media war created a fertile soil for the destructive actions we have come to call ethnic cleansing. With charismatic leaders, like Dudaev in Chechnya and Yeltsin in Russia, using this situation for their own political goals and playing different groups (like Ossetians and Ingushians) against each other, the road was destined to warfare. Before the Russian invasion in 1994-1996, 20,000 non-Veinakhs (i.e. non-Chechens-Ingushians) were murdered and 250,000 left Chechnya saving themselves from ethnic cleansing.

Subsequent Russian defeat resulted in strengthening of Islamic radicals; they added to the Chechen resistance a terrorist dimension. In 1999, pursuing their magic dream of creating Islamic Imamat from Caspian to Black Sea without Russians, they invaded neighboring Dagestan, which ignited second Russian-Chechen war. In both wars of a population of 1,270,000 approximately 200,000 perished, including non-Chechens and 3-400,000 became refugees. 20,000 children suffered physical disorders, and tens of thousands became orphans. Currently from 5-10% Chechens and Ingushians sympathize with radical Islamists and are ready to take part in the acts of terror against “alien” civilian population. “Every month losses of lives among Chechen civilians due to different reasons amount to 50 people killed and every year Chechnya looses 2-3 thousands killed, kidnapped, or missed without any traces” (Novosti Rossii [“The News of Russia”], November 19, 2004, p.1; see also Pain and Popov, 1995, p.2-3; Souleimanov, 2004, p.1-3).

North Caucasian Jaamats of radical Islamists and ethnocentric nationalists are behind all significant acts of terrorism in the region in 1990s and in the beginning of 2000s. Overall, they have exceeded 2000.

- April 9, 1996. Bombing of the railway station in the North Caucasian town of Pyatigorsk; Chechen women were involved for the first time.
- 1997. Individual homicide terrorists killed more then 100 Russian public figures. Some of them with their families.
- October 8, 1999. The biggest individual homicide attack on civilians in the Cossack village Mekenskaya (Chechnya). A Chechen resident opened random fire and killed 34 Russians, including a 10 year old child.
- May 9, 2002. Kaspiysk (Dagestan). An explosion during a Victory Day military parade killed 32, including 12 children, and injured 130 others.
December, 2002. Groznyy (Chechnya). Two heavily loaded with explosives trucks driven by 43 year old father and his 17 year old son and 15 year old daughter broke through the Governmental building and blew it up. More then 80 people died and 170 wounded. These shahids (martyrs) had been prepared by the commander of Special Battalion of Shahids Riyadus Salikhiin Shamil Basaev.

May 12, 2003. Znamenskoe (Chechnya). A car bomb exploded near the area of the headquarters of FSB: 37 people died, and 197 wounded.

2003. A car bomb exploded near Mozdok military hospital (North Ossetia) killing and wounding many patients.

2003. Bombings of electric trains in the area of Mineral Waters (Stavropol) claimed lives of over 100 civilians.

September 1-3, 2004. Beslan (North Ossetia). Of the 1,254 hostages whom the terrorists of Shamil Basaev tormented for days on end, 339 lost their lives, according to figures released thus far by the investigating commission, including 179 children, first-graders, and infants. Another 600 people, again including many children, were injured. Beslan and entire Ossetia became a place of misery, condemned to live with a profound psycho-historical trauma from now on (compare, Murphy, 2005).

These facts show that the tragedy is a logical outcome of regressive discourse in ethnic interactions in the Caucasus.

In the Georgian – South Ossetian conflict of 1989 and 1992, 1,000 people were killed; more that 1,800 wounded and 120 disappeared. The industrial infrastructure of the South Ossetian Autonomous Region was completely destroyed. In Tskhinvali, the South Ossetian capital, more then 80 percent of the dwellings and all –important installations were laid to waste. One hundred fifteen Ossetian villages were destroyed and more then 100,000 Ossetians became refugees (Arbatov, 1997, p.342). They came to North Ossetia with many to settle in the villages of Prigorodnii district – on the disputed territories with Ingushians. It increased Ossetian – Ingushian mutual mistrust and hatred. During “hot stage” of Ossetian – Ingushian conflict (10/31/89 – 11/06/89) from the entire Ingush population of the district around 30,000 became refugees. Result: the dominating self – perception of Ossetians, living in both Ossetias, has become an idea of existence in the “besieged fortress” surrounded by enemies who “are about to attack us”. Georgians, and in greater extent Ingushians, are percepted as “plotting traitors”. A suitable container, a “safe keeper” i.e. greater, united Ossetia – “a magic kingdom”—Alania is found onto which to project the split off (“good” part) of the self. Ingushians are looked upon as “suitable targets of externalization” (Volkan, 1988). The Ingushians in their turn have developed a highly egocentric victim position linked to ideas about entitlement – an effective platform to legitimate excesses against those whom one believes have wronged one’s own group in the past (Weston, 1997, p.26). The Chechens also blamed Ossetians, because their Chechnya was supposedly invaded from Ossetia, where Russian military bases are located, but Ossetians have not prevented it. Thus the dominating self – perception of Chechens and Ingushians is primitive revenge building on the fantasy that it
is possible to regain what was lost through the destruction of the perpetrator or representatives of the ethnic group of perpetrator. All these ethnocentric phobias reflected on the composition of the attackers, on the actions and outcomes of the tragedy, and on the stunning revelations of the author of the raid.

On September 17, 2004, Chechen terrorist Shamil Basaev issued a statement claiming responsibility for Beslan school siege. (http://www.afpc.org/rmm/rmm1192.shtml) (http://edition.cnn.com/2004/WORLD/europe/09/17/russia.beslan/) Newspaper reports have also linked his Ingush deputy, Magomet Yevloyev, to the school attack. This crisis was strikingly similar to the 1995 Budyonnovsk hospital hostage crisis and the 2002 Moscow theater hostage crisis in which hundreds were held hostage by Chechen fighters, also led by or answering to Shamil Basaev. Amidst of developing crisis some of the 32 hostage-takers, which included 5 women, were tentatively named: among them 12 Chechens and 9 Ingushians. This reinforced the worst Ossetian fears with regard to the intentions of attackers. Family names pointed that the latter belonged to the clans whose members died in mass of the hands of Russians in Chechnya, or to the Ingushian clans, whose relatives attacked Ossetia in 1992 and after their defeat were either murdered or became refugees (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beslan_school_hostage_crisis). In his interview to “Kavkaz Center” – an internet resource of Chechen separatists, Shamil Basaev admitted: “Our enemy establishes the limits to our actions. We are free to use the same methods as our enemy uses against us… So, we are free to use such actions against the people who support Russian occupants against us by their property, bodies, words, advices, etc… 100 kilometers away from Beslan with the help of Ossetia Russians continue to genocide Chechens, and we have more then 40,000 dead children… So, let Ossetian mothers feel what Chechen mothers have been feeling for years.” (Kavkazcenter.com, November, 22, 2004).

Revealed ethnic composition of attackers triggered spontaneous avalanche-like rally of self-armed Ossetian relatives of hostages and flood-like coming to their rescue of the paramilitary groups from South Ossetia.

The hostage-takers in Beslan were reported to have made the following demands:

- Withdrawal of Russian troops from Chechnya.
- Presence of the following people in the school:
  - Aleksandr Dzasokhov, president of North Ossetia-Alania,
  - Alu Alkhanov, president of Chechnya (other reports name presidential advisor Aslambek Aslakhanov, or Mukharbek Aushev, Duma member representing Ingushetia),
  - Vladimir Rushailo, Executive Secretary for the Commonwealth of Independent States.

In the camp of Federals this revoked memory of Budyonnovsk and subsequent humiliating Russian retreat. When Aslan Maskhadov – president of warring Chechens agreed to enter the scene and negotiate peace, the fate of hostages was sealed. Kremlin’s paranoia and fear of defeat prevailed. Apparently, it was at this point that Russian Special Forces activated their action plan to storm the school to rescue any possible survivors. The blood-freezing result of this dreadful decision is well-known.
From now on this trauma will be encapsulating in ethnic memory of Ossetians, more and more affecting their attitude and treatment of their ethnic neighbors. Immediate reactions have already followed. According to the census of 2002, 20,700 Ingushians out of those who had been forced out of Prigorodnii district of North Ossetia in 1992 have been allowed to return. After Beslan this positive process of reconciliation has been abducted and many Ingushians have left the area again fearing for their safety. Currently the local media is reporting about increasing number of incidents between Ossetians and Ingushs in the bordering settlements of this troubled territory. Concerning the Ossetians’ attitude towards Moscow we may refer to the opinion of a popular Ossetian historian Ruslan Bzarov. “After Beslan we have understood, - speaks Bzarov, - that we are with Russia, but it does not mean that Russia in all situations would be with us – Ossetians. We were betrayed by Russia for the first time in 1918, when they in Moscow decided to divide Ossetia between Georgia and Russia. And such an attitude to use Ossetia as a change coin in the relations between Moscow and our neighbors has continued throughout the entire century. And we know about that. But we also know that this is an inevitable price that our people should pay for the opportunity to survive in the hostile environment. This opportunity can be given to us only by Russia.” (Ossetia.ru, September, 25, 2006, p.5). I know that the majority of Ossetians share this opinion. This is a stunning example of regression to the phase of deep depression. I tend to define it as the post – Beslan masochistic syndrome. If to use Kleinian terminology, it may come out as a result of a profound shock when persecutory anxiety in childish behavior gives way to the fear of losing the mother’s love. Then a child is better able to handle frustration and displays a more caring pattern with feeling of guilt and wishes for reparation. This is exactly how many Ossetians reacted to the Beslan tragedy.

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“We are Guilty Themselves in What Have Happened – We Had Wanted to Give Bribes (2006), Kommersant, #58, Moscow, April 4.
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The early 1930s witnessed the downfall of the fêted Harlem Renaissance, as the upsurge of African American creativity and scholarship that dominated the 1920s came tumbling down under the economic crisis of the Great Depression. However, this did not mean that African Americans’ voice became muffled since the same decade was to foster another surge of black creativity burgeoning in the South Side Chicago district. In 1950 Arna Bontemps averred that “Chicago was definitely the center of the second phase of Negro literary awakening”¹ and later in 1986 Robert Bone coined the term ‘The Chicago Renaissance’ to refer to this African American literary movement.² The new renaissance started in the mid-1930s and lasted till the early 1950s, bridging the hiatus between the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and the Black Arts Movement of the 1960s. The decline of the Chicago Renaissance started in the mid-1940s and was complete by the early 1950s³, yet the legacy of the upsurge was resonantly heard in the following African American generations. It was a legacy of transcendence and integration, as much as it was one of revolution and protest. It defied any polemic that threatened African American artistic freedom and sought enhancement of their position in the modern world paving the way for the Black Arts Movement in the 1960s to tread further steps in the path of black tropism of creativity.

With Chicago at the crux of artistic creation, Richard Wright was its most renowned figure as the instigating dignitary for most of the African American voices at that time in setting their subject matter, themes, and forms of expression. The

¹ Arna Bontemps, “Famous WPA Authors,” *Negro Digest* June 1950: 46
² In my account of the Chicago Renaissance I am indebted to Robert Bone’s article “Richard Wright and the Chicago Renaissance.”
³ The downfall is chronicled with Arna Bontemps’ moving to Fisk in 1943, Robert Park’s death in 1944, Horace Cayton’s moving out of Chicago in 1945 and Richard Wright’s going to Paris in 1946.
rejuvenation arose from the great black migration to Chicago starting after World War I and through the 1930s, the new sociological writings and theories and the indubitable impact of communism that was then at the peak in the African American ideological background. Wright stood as the impetus behind the new movement and his collection of short stories *Uncle Tom's Children* (1938) and novel *Native Son* (1940) opened the door to the flood of the African American literary writings that appeared between 1935 and the early 1950s including Margaret Walker’s *For My People* (1942), Arna Bontemps’s *Black Thunder* (1936), Frank Yerby’s *The Foxes of Harrow* (1946), Gwendolyn Brooks’s *A Street in Bronzeville* (1945), William Attaway’s *Blood on the Forge* (1941), Willard Motley’s *Knock On Any Door* (1947), Frank Marshall Davis’s *A Black Man’s Verse* (1935), Lorraine Hansberry’s *A Raisin in the Sun* (1950) and Theodore Ward’s *Big White Fog* (1938).

The Chicago Renaissance, however, was not confined to literature. The intellectual upsurge included journalism, arts, music, and social sciences. The city of Chicago was the pivot of African American press activity during the 1930s and 1940s offering a wide array of publications\(^4\) of journals and magazines that ignited the political awareness of African Americans\(^5\), especially in Bronzeville, as most of the published articles focused on their domestic conditions and the hardships they were drawn against. They also introduced the Chicagoans to the thriving cultural life that was in bloom at the time in the artistic works of Richmond Barthe, William Carter, Charles Davis, George Neale, Gordon Parks, and William McBride. Cultural institutions soon emerged to embrace this flow of African American creativity bringing the ground-breaking figures together for discussion and criticism of their works. Such institutions included libraries, churches, theatres, clubs, and community centres.\(^6\)

The black migration to Chicago was seen as an escape from the Jim Crow segregated South with its racism and lynching; an exodus to a promised land.

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\(^4\) Such publications included *Chicago Defender, Chicago Bee, Chicago Whip, Pittsburgh Courier, Left Front, Abbott’s Monthly, Negro Story, Negro Digest, Ebony, Challenge, New Challenge* and *Jet*.

\(^5\) The 1930s marked the historical shift of African Americans from the Republican to the Democratic Party. The Chicago Renaissance witnessed new modes of political activism by African Americans who went on mass campaigns like the Double-V Campaign to win victory against fascism and racism and the “Don’t Buy Where You Can’t Work Campaign.”

\(^6\) The famous institutions of Chicago at that time were the Regal Theatre, The South Side Writers’ Group, the Illinois Writers’ Project, John Reed Club, Lincoln Centre, Parkway Community House, Ebenezer Baptist Church, Club DeLisa, Savoy Ballroom, Wabash YMCA, the George Cleveland Hall branch of the Chicago Public Library, the Chicago Unit of Federal Theatre Project and others.
Between 1916 and 1920 Chicago had 50,000 African American migrants from the South and the population of the Black Belt increased to more than 125,000 by 1930. Bronzeville became as Bone argues “one of the world’s largest concentrations of black people.” However, as pointed out by Wright African Americans soon realized that “here in the North cold forces hit you and push you. It is a world of things.” The shattered dream of the African American migration to the North was a prominent theme in the works of most of the Chicago Renaissance writers and was epitomized in the image of the iron city that crushed the hopes of black families and devoured their aspirations for a better life. The Great Depression heralded abject poverty and unemployment for the black masses in Chicago as well as a form of new segregation creating what Richard Wright named ‘the world of the kitchenettes.’ This world hovered in the works of Richard Wright and other black writers of the Chicago Renaissance.

The great migration brought about the new experience of urbanisation to the transplanted Southern farmers. African Americans resisted submission to white racism by moving to the North, but urbanisation embroiled them in more tensions. Robert Park’s sociological theory was the most popular one at that time. His urbanisation theory tackled the darker side of urban life in the city, such as ghettos, alcoholism, prostitution, gangsters, hoboes, crime rates, and juvenile delinquency. Urbanisation for Southern African Americans entailed labour disputes, class distinctions, housing discriminations and the mood was not unreservedly sanguine; African American migrants as Wright noted soon realized that “The city has beaten (them), evaded (them).” But Park’s theory was progressive in perspective; depicting human history as an ongoing movement from simple to complex in all respects and thus urbanisation appeared as a cathartic experience, giving vigour to individual potential and the assurance that any hardships in adjusting to the city life were transient, and that even racism was to finally end in assimilation.

Park’s theory was based on four main social processes of competition, conflict, accommodation and assimilation through which society progressed. Blacks’ place in the American society suffered from the social distance which was “the tendency to
approach, but not too near”¹⁰ and that it was racial prejudice that kept this distance between whites and blacks. However, his theory argued in favour of final assimilation which was the case with the early African slaves who were able to cope with the new culture of their masters and transferred this culture to the other slaves working on the plantations and thus “assimilation followed rapidly and as a matter of course.”¹¹ Park’s theory led to the emergence of other sociological theories concerned with African Americans. Like Park’s theory, Black Metropolis propagated the same kind of assimilation despite the severe problems blacks were facing, its writers averred that “as time passes individual immigrants and their ethnic groups as a whole rise in status. Many of them are ‘assimilated’ and become socially accepted.”¹² Published in 1945, the book was a groundbreaking sociological study of the life of the immigrant Southern African Americans in the urban ghettos of Chicago’s South Side. It dealt with the sociological notions of urbanisation, industrialisation, religion, social stratification, and race relations based on data of research conducted by WPA fieldworkers in the late 1930s.

The Chicago School of Urban Sociology paradigms offered new visions for the emerging generation by placing the individual vis-à-vis the environment and showing the great impact society had on the personalities, motivations and actions of its people. The struggle between the individual and society for self-realisation would construct the social reality of the whole group and it was through such struggle that the personality of the individual was shaped. Society was an umbrella term that embraced family, traditions, mores, religion, schools, culture, community, and all other forms of authority. The sociological writings of Horace Cayton, Robert Park, Ernest Burgess, Franklin Frazier and Louis Wirth ¹³ played a crucial role in explaining this African American urban experience and as Bone explains “As Wright and his generation were coming to maturity, sociology was in the air.”¹⁴ Arna Bontemps and

¹¹ Ibid. 762
¹³ These books marked the sign of a budding white acceptance of African Americans and they included Gunnar Myrdal’s American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy (1944), Black Metropolis (1945), a sociological study, by St Clair Drake and Horace Cayton; From Slavery to Freedom (1947), by the historian John Hope Franklin, and the anthology The Social Fabric of the Metropolis: Contributions of the Chicago School of Urban Sociology edited by James F. Short.
Jack Conroy’s *They Seek a City* (1945) and *Any Place But Here* (1945) adopted similar sociological frameworks in depicting black migration to the North.

The Chicago School of Sociology also expounded the schism resulting from the individual’s striving for self-expression on the one hand, and the ineptitude imposed by society on the other hand. Nonetheless, the sociological echo in literature crossed the boundaries of this individual-society dichotomy. As Carla Cappetti explains it propounded “the conceptualization of two important points of view: the informant and the participant-observer.”

The individual notion perceived the individual as a consequential entity capable of self-expression; whereas, the participant-observer notion understood society as an intricate reality to be grasped only from within. The new sociological notions had a clear impact on biographers, anthropologists and the autobiographies of the Chicago Renaissance writers, turning these works from mere declarations into sociological case studies put within literary frameworks. In *American Hunger* 1977 Wright asserted that sociology enabled him to “discern many strange types of Negro characters, to identify many modes of Negro behavior; and what moved me most was the frequency of mental illness, the tragic toll that the urban environment exacted of the black peasant.” Whereas the informant point of view allowed him to delve into the social reality of growing up as an African American in America from within, the participant-observer point of view offered the literary dramatisation of this social reality and depicted the significance behind it.

Wright responded fully to sociology, in his introduction to *Black Metropolis* he averred that he “found that sincere art and honest science were not far apart, that each could enrich the other” and the sociological impact was quite conspicuous in his *Twelve Million Black Voices* (1941) which fused the text with photographs taken by Edwin Rosskam. The book that fell into four sections narrated the story of African Americans in America from the time of slavery and through abolitionism and the mass migration to the North. In his book, Wright deliberately excluded the ‘talented tenth’ of African Americans who came from mulatto backgrounds and managed to dig

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16 The most notable autobiographies of the Chicago Renaissance were Wright’s *Black Boy* (1944) and *American Hunger* (1977), Katherine Dunham’s *A Touch of Innocence* (1959), Horace Cayton’s *Long Old Road* (1970), and Gwendolyn Brooks’s *Report from Part I* (1972).
their ways through the American society by way of luck or kinship. He focused on the masses of blacks in their passage to attaining the social consciousness of their real status. He chose the first-person narrative as an attempt to endow a voice to these voiceless masses that had been denied the chance of self-expression. Jack Moore thinks that choosing this pronoun was quite functional for:

his ‘We’ is many people, it speaks with one voice (one capable of varying its sounds) and thereby reinforces the idea of black trauma, as though all the ‘crowded’ sufferings and shocks were endured by a single entity in a single though extended lifetime.19

However, choosing that pronoun puts the question of Wright’s detachment as a writer in a critical situation as he fully becomes a participant. His diction is filled with visual images and sounds and his prose retains an obvious poetic feature that points to wide gaps between his intellectual position and that of the people he is telling the story of and makes it more difficult to accept the part of a total participant. Wright also frames the historical account within a sociological framework that always puts his people in confrontation with their environment, whether in Southern plantations or Northern ghettos, and the final product is a book that fails to comply with any specified form. It is neither a sociological case study nor a definite literary work.

However, the sociological paradigms remain traceable in Wright’s work and if Twelve Million Black Voices imposed the problem of form, his novel Native Son was a major work that incorporated these sociological doctrines and reflected Wright’s firm grip over form. Published in 1940, the novel was an instantaneous success selling more than 25,000 copies in less than one month and selected in the Book-of-the-Month Club the same year. Irving Howe perceived the book as a landmark not only in African American, but the whole body of American literature, averring that “The day Native Son appeared, American culture was changed forever.”20 In 1941, Ralph Ellison argued that the novel “possesse(d) an artistry, penetration of thought, and sheer emotional power that place(d) it into the front rank of American fiction.”21 It defied the unflinching stereotypes of African Americans and triggered both white and black criticism. The majority of black critics condemned such atrocious portrayal of

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African Americans that only justified white prejudices. However, the impact of the novel was irrefutable for all critics who saw it as a vitriolic albeit honest endeavour to deftly establish a realistic exposé stemming out of a plethora of deterministic social and economic injustices together with racial suppression.

Wright imparts the target of self-expression upon Bigger Thomas, the doomed protagonist of Native Son. He shares an intimate relationship with his protagonist as both are transplanted Southern immigrants who flee to the North and live in its slums, they are both rebellious and feel the same sense of alienation from their families, religion, folk culture and the impelling submission racism enforces on them; and thus the narrative voice does not attain absolute detachment from the protagonist throughout the novel’s discourse; and as Charles Glicksberg notes “Richard Wright is Bigger Thomas – one part of him anyway. Bigger Thomas is what Richard Wright, had circumstances worked out differently, might have become.” Wright manages to escape such a tragic end, but Bigger does not.

Bigger is the outcome of unmitigated oppression and callous racism. He is the only character in the novel that Wright portrays in depth; other characters are not fully-developed, they are types drawn to represent their social class and race. Wright bases Bigger’s character on a number of mutinous African Americans who defied the Jim Crow order in the South through the violation of its taboos; their self-defence mechanism in surviving white racism was always rebelling through violence. They announced their frustration through discursive acts of crime and murder, yet they had a high price to pay as they “were shot, hanged, maimed, lynched, and generally hounded till they were either dead or their spirits broken.” Bigger’s character is not confined to Wright’s childhood memories in the South, he has other traits of African American prototypes that Wright encountered in urban Chicago who shared common fear, agitation, frustration and alienation in the urban North. James Baldwin notes that “no American Negro exists who does not have his private Bigger Thomas living in the skull.” Like the other Biggers, Bigger Thomas is denied all chances to develop a normal personality for wherever his dreams turn to, poverty and racism strike back to keep him ‘in his place.’ His response to an oppression that thrives on his own erasure

23 Richard Wright, “How ‘Bigger’ was Born” Native Son Richard Wright (London: Picador, 1995) 13
24 James Baldwin, Notes of a Native Son (London: Michael Joseph Ltd., 1964) 45
is savage violence but he only crosses the dark realms of the ghettos to go to the electric chair.

Bigger lacks the intellectual potential of his creator and he displays a clear inability to designate due significance to most of the events especially in Book I. His relationship to language is one of perplexity which deepens his lack of communication with others whose speech remains befuddling as: “the long strange words they used made no sense to him; it was another language.” Wright sets a deterministic setting for Bigger and places him in circumstances that can hardly produce an articulate person, thus the linguistic potential of the white paradigm remains hostile and incapable of helping him reflect his reality. Bigger’s mumbling speech becomes inevitable and “Always there is something that is just beyond the tip of his tongue that he could not explain at all.” Bigger’s environment imposes repression rather than self-expression and his feeling of powerlessness impedes his intellectual insight which augments what Craig Werner calls “repressed silence.” Bigger strives to attain self-expression but his existence remains marginalised by the dominant discourse and usually there is a linkage between his desire for expression and his emerging acts of violence. His speech is faltering in Book I, it is the hermeneutical omniscient narrative report that mirrors and contextualises his mental turmoil to the reader.

Sociology perceives man in relation to the surrounding environment and living in urban Chicago adds to Bigger’s frustration and nurtures more violence in him; the city remains intimidating albeit enticing. Wright argues that living in a city like Chicago has more detrimental effects on African Americans than the segregation of the South since it exposes them to unattainable luxuries and profligacy for its “physical aspect – noisy, crowded, filled with a sense of power and fulfilment – did so much more to dazzle the mind of a taunting sense of possible achievement that the segregation it did impose brought forth from Bigger a reaction more obstreperous than in the South.” Bigger goes to the movie with Jack to watch a film named The Gay Woman; the poster of which shows “images of white men and white women lolling on

25 Richard Wright, Native Son (London: Picador, 1995) 86
26 ---, “How ‘Bigger’ was Born” Native Son Richard Wright (London: Picador, 1995) 9
28 Richard Wright, “How ‘Bigger’ was Born” Native Son Richard Wright (London: Picador, 1995) 18
beaches, swimming, and dancing in night clubs.”

Even the newsreel features white millionaires and their lives showing Bigger the scintillating aspect of a white world beyond his reach, which adds to his dissatisfaction with everything and urges him to rebel against a world that kindles and repudiates dreams simultaneously. The urban landscape that is drawn catapults Bigger into insecurity; and as Houston Baker argues: “bereft of determinative control of boundaries, the occupant of authorized boundaries would not be secure in his or her own eulogized world but maximally secured by another, a prisoner of interlocking, institutional arrangements of power.”

Living in Chicago intensifies Bigger’s severe sense of dislocation and isolation. His character is a complex paradox of fear and pride that thrust him into a racist and unfair world. He yearns to challenge all forces that strive to ‘keep him in his place’ demanding his own place in the world and violence seems to be the one means he knows to realize that.

Bigger treads a difficult path to achieve his voice. Wright comes closest to his protagonist during the murder scene of Mary Dalton. Discovering his indefensible crime, Bigger acts in utter frenzy and out of terror disposing of Mary’s corpse by decapitating and burning it in the furnace:

He paused, hysterical. He wanted to run from the basement and go as far as possible from the sight of this bloody throat. He could not. He must not. He had to burn this girl. With eyes glazed, with nerves tingling with excitement, he looked about the basement. He saw a hatchet. Yes! That would do it.

The narrative voice interprets most of Bigger’s actions as instinctive reactions to his death-defying situation. The pace of narration gains much speed with the compelling sense of determinism that lurks in the background and leaves no other choices for Bigger. However, the narrative paradigm starts to change with Mary’s murder which as Laura Tanner describes: “opens up the possibility of rewriting (Bigger’s) own existence within a new language game and a new paradigm of reality.” Bigger unintentionally and naturalistically performs the exact role the white society expects of him by assuming the identity of a murderer, however, a strange sense of pride

---, Native Son (London: Picador, 1995) 68


Richard Wright, Native Son (London: Picador, 1995) 132

overwhelms him. He recalls his murder and though it has been an accident, he craves to think about it differently to maintain this new self-esteem.

For the first time in his life, Bigger is allowed to make choices and he can either flee from the electric chair or keep walking down the new path murder has opened up for him. Wright argues that “at the moment when a people begin to realize a meaning in their suffering, the civilization that engenders that suffering is doomed.”33 Bigger’s petrified flight brings about more bloodshed. Though killing Mary evokes pride and a new sense of control in Bigger, it remains a fortuitous act of manslaughter. Bessie’s murder, however, is premeditated; a blood-thirsty beast is on the loose in Bigger’s mind bringing about a flood of rash violence. The ideological hegemony of freedom deludes Bigger into being an equal to his white oppressors and so he deliberately chooses to direct his oppression towards a black character as the whites do. Bessie’s murder entails more brutality as Bigger drags her under duress to a warehouse where he rapes her and relentlessly crushes her head with a brick till he thinks she is dead and discards her body down an air-shaft. Her cold-blooded murder marks a significant stage in Bigger’s journey to establish his true identity. Bigger takes much pride in his act and he realizes that he is experiencing irretrievable shifts; “there remained in him a queer sense of power. He had done this. He had brought all this about. In all his life these two murders were the most meaningful things that have ever happened to him.”34 He strives to know what he wants and what he is. His flight discloses masked truths and he realizes that his violence and hate stem from his suffocating environment that allows nothing but violent action directed to everyone and enforcing indifference regarding their reaction to him.

Murder opens up new horizons of freedom and choice for Bigger creating a “new world,”35 but the deterministic webs remain tightly weaved and his flight is doomed. ‘Fate’ is the title of Book III in which Bigger embraces his inevitable end on the electric chair. However, this book marks more changes in his agency and he is finally able to establish his true self. Wright moves from his naturalist perspective to an existentialist one as Bigger is left in solitude to brood over his entire life and seek some significance behind his actions. With Ma, Vera, Buddy, GH, Gus, Jack,

34 Richard Wright, Native Son (London: Picador, 1995) 279
35 Ibid. 281
Reverend Hammond, Jan, Max, State Attorney Buckley, and the Daltons in Bigger’s cell, he is in direct confrontation with all the forces that pushed him into this cell.

Jan and Max stand for the communist dogma that attempts to use racial oppression and political subjugation in its propaganda machinery to attack capitalism. For them Bigger is an instance of coercion that serves their cause, not a human being and this is where they fail. Max’s character serves as an aiding voice to articulate Bigger’s predicament. Bigger needs Max to interpret the complexity of his situation as he “knew that the moment he tried to put his feelings into words, his tongue would not move … he wondered wistfully if there was not a set of words which he had in common with others, words which would evoke in others a sense of the same fire that smoldered in him.”\textsuperscript{36} It is through the help of Max and Jan that Bigger is able to find his voice and establish his identity. Jan crosses the line and manages to establish a faint connection with Bigger who realizes that “this white man had come up to him, flung aside the curtain and walked into the room of his life.”\textsuperscript{37} Jan is the one character who tries to reach out to Bigger, not to accuse, but to understand him. And through his conversations with Max, Bigger sees his existence in new lights. Before committing his brutal murders, he is dispossessed of any will and his life runs through “indifference and violence; periods of abstract brooding and periods of intense desire; moments of silence and moments of anger.”\textsuperscript{38} When he is entrapped, his vision is still controlled by his bitterness for being an inferior black pariah. Max’s conversations with Bigger drag him to a snapping point of perception as the pace of narrative slows down. Bigger experiences clashing feelings of hope and despair but he endeavours to see himself in relation to others and realizes the impossibility of attaining a sense of wholeness.

Bigger’s attitude towards Max is ambivalent; he experiences a fervent urge to talk to him, though he fully understands that Max is “upon another planet, far off in space.”\textsuperscript{39} Bigger’s introspection allows him to see that his environment has been a compelling force that made him hurt others and that his invisibility as an African American has been the reason behind his endeavours to blot out everything. Although Max tries to explain it all to Bigger from a proletariat perspective and to assure him that this is way the wretched of the earth feel, Bigger attains a sort of deeper insight

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid. 225 \\
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid. 326 \\
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid. 67 \\
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid. 454
into his condition and reaches a higher level of consciousness. To consent to Max’s interpretation of his crimes “would be once more to accept a passive view of himself, to sink back into oblivion again.”40 Bigger transcends his hatred and refuses to blame his actions on religion or society. The death sentence offers a revelation for this great paradox and Bigger realizes that death has never been his true intention, “But what I killed for, I am! It must’ve been pretty deep in me to make me kill! I must have felt it awful hard to murder …” 41 He successfully achieves his agency by creating freedom out of determinism and attaining meaning of both his life and death through shouldering full responsibility of his deeds.

Bigger achieves the sense of full integration that he has been seeking all his life and through it he can make judgements and choices. Though he commits both murders under different circumstances, they remain quite overlapping in his mind since he is not after the motivation of his actions as much as the actions themselves. He forges his identity through this action of killing and by accepting its brutal nature he is born into humanity only to die:

‘What I killed for must’ve been good!’ Bigger’s voice was full of frenzied anguish. ‘It must’ve been good! When a man kills, it’s for something … I didn’t know I was really alive in this world until I felt things hard enough to kill for ‘em … It’s the truth, Mr. Max. I can say it now, ‘cause I’m going to die. I know what I’m saying real good and I know how it sounds. But I’m all right. I feel all right when I look at it that way … 42

Bigger breaks the invincible discourse of both whites and communists and attains a voice that he can never relinquish, a voice that denotes an urge to exist and to make the grade of this existence with every action entailed in it, even if it is murder. His overt voice enables him to eliminate his invisibility and step out of ‘his place.’

Bigger’s agency stems from discursive acts of violence and bloodshed, which positions him in African American stereotype as conceived in white mythologies. His story appears on the surface as that of a typical black man who commits a crime and gets his due punishment. White racism in America strives to maintain such an image of African Americans so as to endorse its prejudices and retain its sense of superiority. But Wright avers that Bigger’s story aims at demolishing such

41 Richard Wright, Native Son (London: Picador, 1995) 461
42 Ibid. 461
conventional replicas. *Native Son*, despite its flaws, successfully creates a shock for its readers and through the character of Bigger. John Reilly believes that “Wright throws the weight of stereotype back upon its source to create a greater shock than the murders – the recognition that those very acts of violence are consequences of the social and linguistic events that created Bigger.”\(^{43}\) Despite being on the threshold of death, Bigger strives to fulfil a fading plea for human communication. Max’s shock makes it rather unfeasible so Bigger asks him to “Tell Mister … Tell Jan hello …,”\(^{44}\) he attempts to communicate with a white character since he conceives his identity as a human being and he does not see himself purely as an African American any more.

Ralph Ellison acknowledges the impact of *Native Son* and the shock Bigger’s characterisation is meant to induce in white and black audiences, however, he argues that “Wright could imagine Bigger, but Bigger could not possibly imagine Richard Wright.”\(^{45}\) Ellison’s criticism resonates clearly with Bigger’s ultimate pronouncement and his sudden ability to verbalise his situation from a deeply philosophical perspective. Wright’s style in writing the novel is loaded with linguistic sophistication, imagistic descriptions, and a unique use of metaphors that denote Bigger’s reality and maintain Wright’s control over rhetoric. Bigger’s final declaration to Max stands as a huge and unattainable symbolic abstraction for him which creates a textual fracture in Wright’s narrative. Bigger displays an obviously unwieldy relationship with language throughout the novel, thus his linguistic development at this point is rather abrupt and unconvincing. His pronouncement also carries political premises that Bigger is unlikely to even comprehend. *Native Son* can fall into the category of proletarian works that share common features of what Barbara Foley describes as “the insertion of long explanatory speeches, the allegorical equation of classes with individuals, or the centrality of political conversion in protagonists.”\(^{46}\) However, the political dimension in Bigger’s portrayal is highly symbolic since Bigger lacks the intellectual potential to enable him to grasp political ideologies, which further makes his heuristic declaration unpersuasive.


\(^{44}\) Richard Wright, *Native Son* (London: Picador, 1995) 462


It is also the attempt not to be part of the African American community that leaves Bigger in no-man’s land which echoes a lack of reconciliation Wright has always suffered from. Bigger is oddly caught in a greyish zone or “shadowy region”47 between a white and a black world, yearning for the former and repudiating the latter while hating both. This perpetual shrugging from the black community is a formidable flaw that James Baldwin takes against *Native Son* as it denies African Americans their own black culture. Depicting Bigger in absolute isolation in the novel indicates that “a necessary dimension has been cut away; this dimension being the relationship that Negroes bear to one another, that depth of involvement and unspoken recognition of shared experience which creates a way of life.”48 This feature in Bigger’s characterisation also confines him in another framework through which he remains a social and prophetic symbol, not a fully-developed human being, and even when he manages to wrench his identity, it is achieved on a metaphysical level.

Wright tightly weaves a ruthless web of deterministic iron chains that push his characters to the brink and make him ripe for rebellion but they are always drawn as social outcasts. His voice is resonant and true but it carries incongruities as it seeks to create a sociological framework in telling the stories of African Americans who are totally isolated from albeit the victims of their environments. In *Twelve Million Black Voices* the distance disappears because the narrating voice adopts the ‘we’ pronoun to become one of the people. Reilly argues that “Wright negated the apparently objective facts and gave to the people the power to interpret and shape their experiences. Thus, they assumed the capacity to become subjects rather than merely objects of history.”49 However, the tone of the book remains largely subjective as Wright fails to be detached and becomes a complete participant. The same sociological paradigm puts Wright in a similar position with his inarticulate protagonist who strives to attain an individual voice. Attaining agency for Bigger is Wright’s means of realising complete detachment and becoming an observer but the final declaration weakens this endeavour where Wright’s voice is still heard in the background. Gwendolyn Brooks’s *A Street in Bronzeville* (1945) is significant because it fills in some of the gaps that are left by Wright. Like him, she is writing about urban Chicago during the same time while responding to the same sociological wave that swept that literary

49 John M. Reilly, “Reconstruction of Genre as Entry into Conscious History,” *Black American Literary Forum* Spring 1979: 3
Renaissance. Wright never gives a fully-developed depiction of African American women in his works whereas Brooks allows more room for women. Unlike him, she chooses a different aspect of the sociological doctrines to embrace and whereas Wright fuses naturalism and communism to delineate quite a gloomy side of the kitchenette world, Brooks’s world is much brighter and the participant-observer dichotomy is always at play in her poems.

The African American voice of the Chicago Renaissance endeavoured to break the silence while disclosing righteous anger at an antagonistically racist situation. African American writers embark upon the task of finding their own voices and then giving a voice to their characters wherewith to articulate their diverse inner and outer experiences. Being her first published collection of poems, *A Street in Bronzeville* epitomises both attempts by Gwendolyn Brooks. There are many echoes that linger in the background of her poems which fall into three main sections; where the first section draws delineations of Bronzeville and its dwellers, the second section narrows the focus on black characters portraying their emulations and defeats, and the last one is a sonnet sequence tackling the treatment of African American soldiers in US Armed Forces during World War II. Through these poems, Brooks struggles with her inherited poetic pedigrees of expression in an attempt to break with her ancestors and attain her true voice. She also tries to give a voice to her vignettes and poetic personae to express their paradoxical experience of being entrapped in poverty and racial prejudice while aspiring to realise their crestfallen dreams despite their environment. Brooks’s acumen as a poet is clear in the prosody and rhetoric of technical artistry, her narrative strategies, and syntactic techniques. She uses ordinary and lucid speech in most of the poems and her forms are traditional ones that range between the ballad, the blues, terza rima, quatrains, free verse, and the sonnet. However, she manages to create her stylistic idiosyncrasies as in adapting and merging different forms together and in her unique use of rhythms. As D. Melhem notes Brooks deftly “dramatizes everyday existence while her prosodic variations support its diversity.”

Published in 1945, *A Street in Bronzeville* marks the intersection of scores of disparate streams of thought springing from the 1920s and through the 1930s and

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1940s to which Brooks has been quite responsive. She is a true heir to the Harlem Renaissance embodied in the poetry of Langston Hughes, whose lesson is seeking power in blackness and adopting a sanguine perspective in poetic vision. In her autobiography, she obsequiously remembers his impact on her at that preliminary stage: “Langston Hughes! The words and deeds of Langston Hughes were rooted in kindness, and in pride. His point of departure was always a clear pride in his race.”

The leftist ideologies of the 1930s are clearly mirrored in her realistic depiction of the rivalry of her characters against an inequitable and crushing environment. Her vignettes of mothers, men, women, children, preachers, and soldiers are all rooted in the social confinement of penury and racism. Brooks equally responds to the sociological theories about African Americans that influenced many voices emerging from the Chicago Renaissance, among whom Brooks’s stature is highly prominent. In their sociological exposition of black life in the urban North, St. Clair and Horace Cayton coin in *Black Metropolis* the term ‘The Axes of Life’ to refer to the means by which dwellers of Bronzeville seek perseverance through: “(1) Staying Alive; (2) Having a Good Time; (3) Praising God; (4) Getting Ahead; and (5) Advancing the Race.”

Most of Brooks’s poems, which are grouped thematically in the volume, rotate round these major axes.

Bronzeville is both the urban and psychological landscape that shapes and influences its residents and plays a major part in their actions, choices and ambitions. Brooks’s residents of Bronzeville are not displaced people that roam astray in existentialist quests or social pariahs in their own community as the characters of Wright, they are real characters enmeshed in their environment with all its promises and constrictions. Other than their pursuit of social justice, there is nothing stupendously great about the unnamed dwellers of Brooks’s unnamed street in Bronzeville as she recalls depicting them while living on 63rd Street: “I wrote about what I saw and heard in the street … There was my material.” However, Brooks does not conform to the dogma of seeing them collectively through the 1930s leftist lens of masses. Though her work fully acknowledges the impact of the gigantic and iron city on its residents, her realism gives no way to the deterministic approach of the neorationalists and the African American protest literature that are both unmistakably

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echoed in Wright’s *Native Son*. Though most of them remain anonymous, her characters maintain their human individuality in brazing out oppression. Her Bronzeville is a world of dingy kitchenettes, funeral homes, beauty parlours, Black churches, pubs, movie theatres, prostitutes, mothers lamenting their aborted children, silent old couples, and defeated soldiers with their whimsical triumphs and defeats.

In “kitchenette building” a sturdy sense of place is established and the choice of the communal first-person dramatic voice avers the bearing of this place on its dwellers. The kitchenette is the racist synecdoche that indicates suburban segregation as old mansions have been turned into a form of shared accommodation houses for Southern African American immigrants in Chicago’s South Side. Wright describes it as “our prison, our death sentence without a trial, the new form of mob violence that assaults not only the lone individual, but all of us, in its ceaseless attacks.” The poem opens with a modernist declaration: “We Are things of dry hours and the involuntary plan,” which resonantly echoes T.S. Eliot’s “The Hollow Men” and creates a sombre air of subjugation to the depredations of those imposed plans. Living in the kitchenette leaves its residents “Grayed in and gray” suffering under the many shackles of paying the rent, making ends meet and gratifying a partner, which incarcerate their souls and rein in their dreams. The reality of the urban ghetto is drawn as highly adversative to dreams. Ruminating Langston Hughes’s deferred dreams, Brooks takes on a realistic perspective in depicting her characters and delving into their ghetto life. The poem then deftly draws a harsh paradox between the awry kitchenette conditions of stinky pong and the possibility of holding hope.

In the following stanzas, however, Brooks does not give in to the modernist views of fragmentation and meaninglessness. Though this kind of dehumanising environment should leave its residents utterly downhearted, the speaker imposes the question of dreaming amid these conditions. The tone changes into one of unobtrusive humour with the domestic imagery of “onion fumes”, “fried potatoes” and

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54 Richard Wright, *Twelve Million Black Voices* (New York: Arno, 1941) 106
56 Ibid. 20
57 Eliot’s poem “The Hollow Men” depicts ethereal men who inhabit a morbid realm of spiritual vagrancy and their quest for salvation can only be attained by turning back to God. They are dead men walking, hollow in their existence and speech, and utterly detached from reality, which impels them to the world of dreaming. Brooks’ kitchenette dwellers may have the same vantage point, however, they are not as detached as Eliot’s characters, and they have clearer perception of the torpor that divides dreaming from reality.
“yesterday’s garbage” standing in the way of realising any dreams, and the symbolic use of the colours “white” and “violet” to denote the nature of those dreams. White takes on a rather ironic dimension in African American texts, for though it is the archetypal colour of purity and peacefulness, it also rings a sad bell of racial oppression. Violet, however, as Melhem explains stands for “a solitary flower, honeyed, self-pollinating.” Both colours delineate a frail albeit graceful image of these African American dreams. The dominating metrical pattern of the poem is iambic pentameter, but irregular rhyme intrudes to mirror the chaotic state of the kitchenette milieu and the paradox of being able to retain the power of dreaming despite obvious oppression. The stanzas of the poem are all written in terza rima with the exception of the second stanza which is a quatrains to give more space to contemplate the battle between the residents’ reality and dreaming. The strong trochee of “Flutter” starting the fourth line endows much power upon those dreams while wondering whether they can “sing an aria down these rooms.” Introducing the aria renders upon the question a rhetorical quality as the speaker fantasises the possibility of its fulfilment.

The third stanza displays Brooks’s compassionate relationship with her characters through her understated irony and placid humour in portraying how they cling to and nurture their dreams. Musicality emerges from the alliteration: “Even if we were willing to let in / Had time to warm it, keep it clean” adding beauty to those dreams, yet all efforts are likely to prove futile with the garbage’s “ripening in the hall” of the building. The dream of the aria is stillborn even if the dwellers are willing to embrace it. The last tercet does not fulfil the elegant dream either. However, it does not end the poem in despondency. The question of the previous two stanzas is answered in succinct declarations:

We wonder. But not well! Not for a minute,
Since Number Five is out of the bathroom now,
We think of the lukewarm water, hope to get in it.

The speaker does not choose seclusion or defeat, the poem conforms to Black Metropolis’s axe of ‘staying alive’, as the speaker attains this through the power of

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58 Gwendolyn Brooks, Blacks (Chicago: Third World Press, 1994) 20
60 Gwendolyn Brooks, Blacks (Chicago: Third World Press, 1994) 20
61 Ibid. 20
62 Ibid. 20
dreaming. B. Bolden argues that “the bubbles of a fragile imagination are burst by the narrator’s reality check, and the momentary exploration into the foreign world hopes and dreams is thrust aside,” but the image by the end does not have to be so gloomy. As Number Five leaves the bathroom, the speaker soon wakes up from the chimera of the aria, it is true that the reality of the kitchenette is glaring, but the speaker still retains a simple and modest hope of getting into ‘lukewarm water’, as unpretentious as the dream is, it exists in the kitchenettes with the strong caesura preceding ‘hope’. The language of the last stanza is highly prosaic and simple, it is the voice of the speaker that utters it, and as close as Brooks gets to her characters, she manages to attain detachment from them letting them speak for themselves.

There is no solid evidence of Brooks’s involvement with the Communist Party, yet the impact of the leftist polemics is someway noticed in most of the writings stemming from the African American literary oeuvres appearing in the 1930s and 1940s. In her autobiography, Brooks recalls that “1941 through 1949 was a party era. Partying now was most important. My husband and I knew writers, knew painters, knew pianists and dancers and actresses, knew photographers galore.” Among the names that she mentions are: Paul Robeson, Langston Hughes, Margaret Burroughs, Frank Marshal Davis, and Margaret Walker among others, and it would be hard to suggest that communism did not occupy any part in their conversations at those parties. The framework of Brooks’s vignettes of the black women of Bronzeville espouses indubitable proletarian ideologies that structure them within the themes of social caste, and the economic afflictions imposed upon the working classes. Bronzeville is not simply their urban ghetto for the term goes beyond the boundaries of place to denote these women’s environment as a bigger concept embracing gender, class, and race. Unlike the women characters of Wright that are not fully-developed and who resort to different means of escapism rendering them as further trouble on the shoulders of the black man and adding to his sense of inferiority, Brooks’s women go all-out to survive the ravages of poverty and both black and white prejudices.

The series of “Hattie Scott” poems are about a black domestic worker and her means of surviving economic hardships in domestic work, love, coming up to white standards of beauty, and other man-woman relations in her world. Brooks’s

64 Gwendolyn Brooks, Report from Part One (Detroit: Broadside P, 1972) 68
perspective focuses on the drudgery of her menial chores while coming to grips with her marginalised existence and through her use of Southern vernacular idiom, oral rhythms, and the point of view, she creates what Bill Mullen calls “a flower of the rural proletarian ground of the migration.”65 The series falls into five interior monologues in a first-person narration consciousness that ironically starts with “the end of the day” in which the image of the sun is central and Hattie identifies with it:

It’s usually from the insides of the door
That I takes my peek at the sun
Pullin’ off his clothes and calling it a day.66

The poem is uttered at the time of sunset, yet this does not mark the end of Hattie’s harsh work. The sun fails to herald the beginning of a bright day, but rather more work for Hattie for she is denied enjoying its warmth. The closing quatrain establishes this identification as an inevitable fact in Hattie’s life that she must accept willy-nilly.

“the date”, taking the form of an octave, depicts another aspect in Hattie’s life and displays a different tone in her voice. Unlike the resigning tone of the previous poem, “the date” portrays Hattie’s fervent zeal to get her work done and go to meet her lover. However, her ‘Madam’ wants to keep her to do more work. The tone is enraged:

Hey, you
Whatcha mean talkin’ about cleanin’ silver?
It’s eight o’clock now, you fool.67

Hattie’s suppressed anger is cloaked in poise as she refuses to do overtime work and decides to go to her ‘date’ instead of earning extra money. In the four-syncopated quatrains that constitute “at the hairdresser” the hair motif is employed to stand for the impossible white standards of beauty, to which African Americans are not able to walk up to. Hattie wishes to fulfil the miracle of elongating and sweeping her short and frizzy hair at the hands of Minnie. She has much faith in the power of cosmetic products of “Madam C.J. Walker” and “Poro Grower,”68 but as they prove futile with her hair, Hattie’s tone is not derelict by the end of the poem and she enthusiastically declares that:

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66 Gwendolyn Brooks, Blacks (Chicago: Third World Press, 1994) 51
67 Ibid. 52
68 Ibid. 53
Long hair’s out of style anyhow, ain’t it?
Now it’s tie it up high with curls.
So gimme an unsweep, Minnie.
I’ll show them girls.⁶⁹

Though Hattie ends the poem with accepting her own black beauty, the following poem adopts a different voice. “when I die” is Hattie’s rumination of her death. She realistically acknowledges her marginalised existence that is not going to be lamented after her death except for “one lone little short man / Dressed all shabbily”⁷⁰ who will put cheap flowers on her grave. However, his mourning is likely to be ephemeral since he is going to find another girl to replace her in no time. The poem closes in a sad line “There’s nothin’ more to say”⁷¹ reflecting Hattie’s cynicism at her status as a worker in the white world and as a black woman.

The last poem in the series marks some disorder in the narrative scheme because instead of ending with Hattie’s death musings in the previous poem, Hattie’s voice emerges with a rebellious tone as she watches one of the frequent fights that her friend Moe Belle Jackson is having with her husband. Hattie rejects her friend’s submissiveness to physical abuse and the whipping to which she would respond with a knife. The married couple that appear to be what Melhem calls “a sadomasochistic couple”⁷² soon make peace and get back to their normal life as Moe sheds a tear and her husband wonders at breakfast: “More grits, dear?”⁷³ Though the poem does not involve Hattie directly, it firmly establishes her sense of dignity. Brooks’s depiction of Hattie is not totally controlled by leftist ideologies. Hattie starts as a stereotypical image of all African American domestic workers who suffer from tedious errands in white and cruel house holds and strive to look beautiful. However, Hattie retains her own individuality and though her voice is rebellious at times, her anger is self-conscious, and she neither resorts to violence nor feels too aggrieved, she keeps her dignity and accepts her life and her self as they are.

“Queen of the Blues” depicts another working woman in Bronzeville night life. The poem marks a distinctive achievement in technique as Brooks fuses the blues with the ballad in telling the story of Mame the blues singer. The choice of the form is

⁶⁹ Ibid. 53
⁷⁰ Ibid. 54
⁷¹ Ibid. 54
⁷³ Gwendolyn Brooks, Blacks (Chicago: Third World Press, 1994) 55
in total harmony with the poem’s sad content since the blues is defined by Ralph Ellison as
an impulse to keep the painful details and episodes of a brutal experience alive in one’s aching consciousness, to finger its jagged grain, and to transcend it, not by the consolation of philosophy but by squeezing from it a near-tragic, near-comic lyricism. As a form, the blues is an autobiographical chronicle of personal catastrophe expressed lyrically.  

The multi-voiced “Queen of the Blues” is set in the vaudeville night life of Bronzeville with the voices of Mame, the narrator and the chorus. As Werner explains Brooks presents seven-, eight-, and nine-line stanzas to “manipulate emphasis by visually isolating words for the reader” thus the basic repetitive AAB pattern of the blues of the twelve-bar, three-line structure in which the second line is replica of the first and the third rhyming line offers commentary or elaboration is not perfectly fulfilled in the poem. The influence of Langston Hughes is clear in her blues technique in which she divides the lines instead of conforming to the conventional basic pattern and giving voice to the main character of the blues to tell her part. The poem is mainly about Mame’s loneliness as a major theme established and polarised in emotive tones from the first stanza uttered by the narrator’s voice:

Mame was singing  
At the Midnight Club.  
And the place was red  
With blues.  
She could shake her body  
Across the floor.  
For what did she have to lose?  

The symbolic use of colours is a prominent metaphorical device that Brooks takes after modernist poets with setting red in contrast to blue(s). Red is the colour of incongruities; it is the puzzling colour of ardour, living on the edge and to the full,

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75 Craig Werner, *Playing the Changes: From Afro-Americanism to the Jazz Impulse* (Urbana: U of Illinois P., 1994) 150
76 Most of Langston Hughes’s poetry is blues-inspired. Hughes believed that the blues was the spiritual force standing behind the ability of African Americans to keep going despite oppression and that it had the power to mirror everything about the African American experience. He was quite innovative in manipulating the rhythms, musical structures, techniques, and lyrics of the blues in his poems in which prominent blues performers like Bessie Smith and Ma Rainey were his poetic muses.
beating hearts and body insistence. It is also a colour associated with wounds, blood, violence, and danger. The ‘blues’ is a euphemistic reference to melancholy which establishes the night club as a hostile place that denies Mame any bliss pushing her to more solitude and indifference.

The narrator voice recounts the plaintive episodes of Mame’s family life with the death of her mother whom she loved and buried with “roses and tears” and the absence of any “Legal pa”, “Big brother”, “Small brother”, “Baby girl” or “Sonny boy”78 to restrain her from leading such a brazen life, she is left in utter solitude. Mame’s voice makes its way in the fifth stanza with brusque language and conspicuously short lines:

“Show me a man
What will love me
Till I die.
Now show me a man
What will love me
Till I die.
Can’t find no such a man
No matter how hard
You try.
Go ‘long, baby
Ain’t a true man left
In Chi.79

The stanza conforms to the basic musical pattern of the blues since Mame is actually singing her own blues. The quaint humour that appears in earlier poems is absent from the poem’s general tone. Struggling in her harsh urban experience, Mame desperately seeks a man to love her but this dream is soon crushed by the rhetorical question she imposes by the end of the stanza which does not even end with a question mark. The poem brims with irony as the ‘Queen’ adopts another voice that dredges up working as a domestic servant in white kitchens and giving all her wages to a “daddy” that left her for a “brown-skin chicken” whom she intends to turn “Black and blue.”80

Once more the symbolic use of colour is at play, brown denotes that the

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78 Ibid. 56-57
79 Ibid. 57
80 Ibid. 58
other girl escapes the black tinge that scars Mame’s skin and thus black becomes the
colour of both Mame’s skin and irate vendetta. Mame’s vignette is established as a
double victim of white capitalism and intra-black racism.

Mame’s blues is a sad ode to oblivion and loss. The M.C. is the only one who
sings the praises of Mame by introducing her as “Queen of the blues! / Folks, this is
strictly / The queen of the blues!”81 However, this acclamation leaves her in a state of
morbidd mourning over this majestic obloquy as men would not even pay her the most
minuscule courtesy of tipping their hats. The ‘hollering’ of the M.C. is quite ironic
since holler is originally “an animated religious song associated with revival
meetings.”82 The irony transforms Mame’s alleged royalty into mere ignominy as she
rolls her hips while performing her blues, for after all “What did she have / To
lose?”83 Repeating the rhetorical question together with introducing the voice of the
M.C. breaks the blues call-response pattern as Brooks achieves a “call-and-response’s
rhetorical inverse”84 since the question remains unanswered. The three voices of the
poem merge in the last two stanzas to pass a verdict on such men as “low down /
Dirty and mean.”85 Mame’s unfulfilled quest is for human dignity and respect. Unlike
Ma Rainey in Sterling Brown’s “Mother of the Blues,” Mame is left to confront the
physical obscenities of the Midnight Club where men “pinch my arms / And they slap
my thighs.”86 Ma Rainey’s reward lies in the other extreme for she appears as a
legendary idol around whom the rural Southern audience “Flocks in to hear / Ma do
her stuff.” Brown’s poem, mainly written in Southern vernacular and dwelling upon
folklore as the authentic form of African American self-expression, elevates the blues
singer into a symbol of black beauty, pain, survival, and the entire folk heritage. The
poem is typical of the Harlem Renaissance voice that urges its audience to take pride
in their race, resist oppression while seeking to explore the aesthetic potential of the
black vernacular. This proud voice, however, dissolves into a realistic and
deromanticised tone in Brooks’s perspective in depicting Mame’s solitude among her
audience and her fatal apathy in singing and living her blues; she is neither a Ma

81 Ibid. 58
83 Gwendolyn Brooks, Blacks (Chicago: Third World Press, 1994) 58
84 Bill Mullen, Popular Fronts : Chicago and African-American Cultural Politics, 1935-46 (Urbana: U
of Illinois P., 1999) 172
85 Gwendolyn Brooks, Blacks (Chicago: Third World Press, 1994) 59
86 Ibid. 58-59
Rainey nor a Bessie Smith. The poem probably realises the axe of ‘staying alive’, and though the Midnight Club falls into the category of ‘having good time,’ Mame is totally excluded from that fun.

Hattie and Mame are granted their own voices to articulate their urban and human experiences in interior monologues or blues. Brooks’s poems about Bronzeville men however sing a different note. Her poems construct an African American urban masculinity of men who have no bright professions or settled family lives with caring wives and happy children, and who defy oppression in a rather unconventional way. Unlike her female poems where women have their own voices, her male vignettes are given aiding narrative voices in telling their stories for usually in her narrative strategies “whether she is talking of women or men – sometimes undoubtedly to generate compassion, but, at other times, it well may be, with her tongue in her cheek – constantly speaks as a woman.” Brooks’s perspective in limning their experience pays much attention to the smallest details, how these men view themselves and view black women, and their display of a maniacal obsession with their physical appearance.

The elegiac ballad “of De Witt Williams on his way to Lincoln Cemetery” sums up the status of most of her male characters with the opening quatrain:

He was born in Alabama,
He was bred in Illinois.
He was nothing but a
Plain black boy.

The ballad celebrates the simple life of an ordinary African American whose Southern roots remain part of his identity though he immigrates to the North, gets enmeshed in the big city, tries to enjoy the small pleasures of dancing, drinking, and women that life offers him, and then dies. Technically, Brooks merges the metrical patterns of the

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87 Both women are depicted in a rather proletarian light as African American workers in the white world but their depiction is not as melodramatic as Richard Wright’s Bessie Mears in Native Son. Bessie is also a black domestic worker in white houses, but she is denied any volitional voice or action by Wright. Her character is drawn as an escapist who flees to sex and alcohol to survive her plight of oppression. Pleading Bigger to spare her life, her character takes on some pathetic dimension which is intensified by her immediate brutal rape and murder by Bigger. Wright further carries her melodramatic delineation after her death in the court scene where her corpse is brought as an evidence of Bigger’s thirst for blood, not to punish him for that crime, but to convince the jury of his guilt of killing white Mary.

88 Bylden Jackson and Louis D. Rubin, Black poetry in America : Two Essays in Historical Interpretation (North Carolina: Louisiana State UP, 1974) 82

89 Gwendolyn Brooks, Blacks (Chicago: Third World Press, 1994) 39
ballad with the repeated couplet that she takes from African American spirituals of “Swing low swing low sweet sweet chariot. / Nothing but a plain black boy.”90 Through this repetition, Brooks portrays De Witt as what Werner describes as “an Everymen black boy”91 whose life and death mark no extraordinary events and remain marginalised till their funeral processions.

In *A Street in Bronzeville* Brooks holds a colourful palette that presents a vivacious depiction of Bronzeville through a pictorial language. Brooks is the disciple of a double-voiced literary legacy which, as Houston Baker argues, renders the experience of reading her early poems as reading “white style and black content – two warring ideals in one dark body.”92 Her early voice has a parodic quality and occupies a special in-between position which makes its tone satirical albeit sympathizing, and detached albeit compassionate. It has undeniable modernist traces of irony, symbolic use of colours, subject matter, and narrative stance. Yet Brooks’s irony is singular in its emotional punch and its lucid diction. She takes the bright optimistic Harlemite tone from Langston Hughes but frames it in realism and keeps a tone of humour that reflects the hopefulness of the 1940s American New Deal and its promise of democracy and opportunity for African Americans. Most of her characters are hemmed in a chaotic world, however, they maintain control over their fates, and in most cases they end up making their own choices. Violence is not their refuge and even when they attempt to protest or rebel, their voice is placid as the girl who spends her lifetime in the front yard and innocently muses “And I’d like to be a bad woman, too” just to go to the back yard and see real life. They are not bitter or outraged, and they never lose their potential of dreaming.

Chicago in the 1930s and 1940s phased in an urge to escape all African American stereotypes and to forge an unprecedented black aesthetic tradition. It sought political participation and black cultural enhancement. The Chicago Renaissance flourished on many cultural levels but the new sociological theories had one of the most resonant echoes in the new literary upsurge. Wright and Brooks both turned to sociology in depicting the urban experience of African Americans in the Chicagoan kitchenettes in the 1940s. The participant-observer notion that came from

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90 Ibid. 39
the Chicago Urban School of Urban Sociology had an undeniable impact upon both writers who always delineated their characters a propos their environment and tried to achieve a balance between playing both parts. Wright’s fusion of naturalism and protest hindered the achievement of a perfect balance in *Native Son* and his other fusion of sociology and history further stood in the way in *Twelve Million Black Voices*. Brooks, however, was more able to maintain this balance in her work where she was able to retain distance and present a brighter side of the ghetto. But read together, their works complement each other and give a true reflection of African American life in urban Chicago.
Health Inequalities and the Urban Foodscape: Evidence from Alameda County

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Most research on neighborhood effects and health has identified local institutions and resources as a pathway through which neighborhoods may influence health. The bulk of this work has investigated issues like access to health care facilities, the number and quality of medical practitioners, and the nature of medical technology and facilities. Others have considered how characteristics of the neighborhoods may also make it difficult to get to the doctor in the first place, such as poor and inadequate transportation or high crime rates that make people fearful of travel. The resources in a neighborhood may also influence levels of overall health (as opposed to their ability to get treated when sick).

It is widely understood that diet plays a significant role in the causation and prevention of adverse health outcomes. While diet choices are most likely impacted by a constellation of factors, only a limited number of studies have identified and investigated the built environment as a factor that may critically hinder people’s ability to attain a health diet.

Using a geographical analysis, this study investigates the impacts of neighborhood effects on health as a result of local nutritional environments or ‘foodscapes’- food landscapes.
specifically, the study examines the spatial distribution of major chain grocery outlets and fast food retail outlets in relation to neighborhood income and racial characteristics, and neighborhood morbidity profiles.

The present study generates much needed empirical data on geographic and economic disparities in retail food access in order to better understand the nutritional-related mechanisms which cause disparate health outcomes. An enhanced understanding of the context in which dietary choices are made has the potential to create more effective programs to decrease nutrition-associated morbidity.

Though spatial analysis has just begun, preliminary findings seem to indicate a very imbalanced geographical distribution of major ‘chain’ grocery outlets and fast food retail outlets- with a disproportionate number of fast food retail establishments in areas with lower median incomes, and a deficiency of major ‘chain’ retail establishments in the same areas.

The fast food/grocery store data will then linked to geographic data on nutrition-related morbidity/mortality rates including diabetes and heart disease in Alameda County, California in the San Francisco Bay Area. Only a handful of studies have focused on the geographic distribution of retail food outlets and morbidity/mortality. This study makes a further contribution in the emerging and interdisciplinary research field combining GIS analysis with more traditional public health/epidemiological methodologies, and offers a powerful visual representation of inequality.

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1 Chain supermarket accessibility has been used as a proxy for better access to a good selection of high quality, low cost foods. This is based on the assumption that selection, quality, and prices of foods are better at larger grocery stores.
Title: “Both Sides of the Revitalization Coin”: Revanchist and Emancipatory Gentrification in One Chicago Community

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Key Words: Gentrification, Community Development, Neighborhood Revitalization,

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“Both Sides of the Revitalization Coin”:
Revanchist and Emancipatory Gentrification in One Chicago Community

This paper is a case study of the “urban renaissance” of a traditionally divested, impoverished, predominately Black community on the west side of Chicago. Central to the paper is a discussion of the two main academic perspectives on gentrification, the ‘revanchist’ and the ‘emancipatory’ perspectives. These perspectives address the political question of whether the policies involved with urban transformation are primarily representative of a ‘revanchist’ or a revengeful approach to the urban poor and other marginalized groups; or whether the policies of urban transformation are predominantly “emancipatory” and representative of a middle-class reaction to the repressive institutions of the suburban life.

This paper considers how the two contrasting academic discourses on gentrification—generally thought of one the one hand, as the American perspective (revanchist); and on the other, as the Canadian perspective (emancipatory) - reflect what is happening within one gentrifying community in Chicago. The paper is an effort to examine these perspectives empirically, as they occur on the ground, and to further inform the theoretical debate on the nature of gentrification within the context of an intensive community case-study based on over three years of participant observation, along with Census, Real Estate, and Mortgage Lending data.

Following a discussion of the emancipatory and revanchist perspectives, the paper presents the case-study community and the specific stories of its urban renaissance.
I argue that the gentrification that has taken place in the case-study community is simultaneously BOTH emancipatory and revanchist, and is important for the further conceptualization and refinement of the very varied process that is gentrification.
Title:
Dimensions of Consciousness in W.E.B. Du Bois’s The Souls of Black Folk

Topic Area:
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Dimensions of Consciousness in W.E.B. Du Bois’ The Souls of Black Folk

Abstract:

Double consciousness has been engaged, deconstructed, manipulated, diluted by scholars of African American issues. Adolph Reed offers that utilizations of double consciousness as a characterization of the “black American condition” can be grouped into three main categories: “integrationist-therapeutic motiv[e] from the 1920s to the mid-1960s, a nationalist-therapeutic one from the mid-1960s to the early 1980s, and an academic race-celebratory one since.” Used therapeutically to understand and promote integration and nationalism and used to add an intellectual element to the celebration of race, double consciousness has come to be a term germane to understanding the position of the African American in American society. Reed further offers that other writers, including Francis L. Broderick and Jack B. Moore, view Du Bois’s idea of double consciousness as “an expression of biographically and psychologically idiosyncratic aspects of Du Bois’s life and upbringing, even as they link the image to larger structures of meaning.” Therefore, critics not only explore double consciousness as it applies to the African American collective, but scholars also look at the manifestation of double-consciousness in Du Bois’s own life.

While this research will highlight manifestations of double-consciousness expressed in Du Bois’s text and life, its true contribution to the research is its exploration of the dimensions of consciousness; these dimensions— double consciousness, “falsified Afrikan consciousness,” and self-consciousness— are revealed in Du Bois’s life and works, particularly in Du Bois’s sociological essay, Souls. Furthermore, Du Bois’s Euro-American scholarship and concomitant Pan-Africanism seems to be one of the more striking manifestations of double consciousness as he attempts to reconcile his education with his heritage. In sum, the dimensions of consciousness— double consciousness, “falsified Afrikan consciousness,” and self-consciousness— are revealed in both Du Bois’s life and works, and these dimensions emphasize the process of emergence from ignorance to knowledge and self-awareness necessary for the progress of the African American collective.
Title: Status of Law and anticorruption in post-reform China

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Format: Paper session
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Abstract

Corruption, an “age-old” (Lo, 1993:1) phenomenon, has been persistent in human history for thousands of years. From the Alpis to the Yangtze River, from biblical time to post-modern era, it features our societies all the time. Osborne (1997) once documents that throughout human history, from ancient Greece, William Shakesphere in the West, to Confucianism and Hinduism in the East, one can find repeated expressions of distaste by scholars and ordinary people for corruption and dishonesty.

Since the formation of Chinese Confucian civilization, corruption has been puzzling this nation. As Maguire (1997:73) summarizes, “corruption has been a recurring theme in Chinese history. Regimes that became too corrupt were felt to have lost the mandate of heaven and in due course they would be overthrown……By the late sixteenth century, the Ming dynasty had become corrupt and they were unable to resist the Manchu invasion from the north……There was sporadic resistance to the new Manchu rulers……” Guomingdang (or KMT) faced the same problem when it was in power, and lost its sovereignty later. The founder of PRC, Mao Zedong places a lot of emphasis on corruption control, and launched mass-based campaigns against corruption1. The moves were effective; the government at that time is regarded to be clean.2 In Deng Xiaoping’s era, he stresses more on economic development, less on ideological struggle. So a new policy of “Open and Reform” was implemented in 1978, targeting a market economy system. The policy was successful regarding to the economic development. People in China enjoyed a better life. However, the new policy not only brought a booming economy to China, but also negative side-effects, such as corruption and crimes. Moreover, with the deepening of economic reform, more corruption emerges in new forms. Or as Gong articulate (1997:278), “recent years have witnessed a spread of corruption into new economic areas as the scope of reform widened in China.” Transparency International established in Germany composed Corruption Perception Index (CPI) based on the various polls. China is ranked 73rd among more than 100 hundreds, which is not pleasing at all. Just because it is so rampant, “in the post-Mao era, political corruption has become one of the central concerns, even an obsession, for the citizens of the People’s Republic of China” (Hsu, 2001:27).

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1 In 1951 the Three-Anti Campaign against three evils (corruption, waste and bureaucratism) was launched. The Five-Anti- Campaign against five evils (bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing state economic information) was launched in 1952, targeting businessmen and industrialists. In 196, the Four-Clean (cleaning up account book, granaries, properties and work place), another campaign to combat corruption in the villages, was launched. All these censures of corruption worked effectively, but also was utilized by people to weed out political dissidents. See Lo. T. Wing; Corruption and politic in Hong Kong and China. Philadelphia: Open University Press. 1993.

2 http://www.yangjianli.com/articles/01_minzhu_en.htm
Although corruption is a universal phenomenon, there is no well accepted definition for it. The existing definitions reflect particular aspects of corruption. For example, moral perspective views corruption as individual’s moral problem which is immeasurable or imponderable and a disease of body destructive to political order (Friedrich 1972). Legal perspective views corruption as extra-legal institution or clear-cut illegal behaviors (Bryce 1921). Public-office-centered approach sees corruption as behaviors deviating from the formal duties of an office role rather than law for private interests or influences (Nye 1967). Public-interest-centered approach views corruption as behaviors against public needs and interests shared by a community at large (Friedrich 1966). Public-opinion-centered approach views corruption as what the public in any given state perceives it to be (Heywood, 1997). Market-centered approach conceives of corruption as civil servants abusing his authority in order to obtain an extra income from the public on the base of treating his office as business (Klaveren 1989). P-A-C approach predicts corruption occurring when agents betray principle’s interest in pursuit of her/his own by taking money from clients (Banfield 1975). Rent-seeking approach view corruption money as rent and the bribery process as rent-seeking (Buchanan, 1980).

The above approaches we reviewed above share one point that corrupt individuals do something wrong according to ruling class’ standards, no matter whether their behavior is against norm, law, ethic, public interest, public opinion, or principle’s objectives. In other words, their analyses are inner institutional. A commonly missed point in their analyses is that the ruling group’s standards or posits are always right with no challenge. Such a class bias is their common assumption. It might be overstated to refer it to “false consciousness”. But it is inappropriate not questioning ruling group’s ideology and entrenched interests at all. “Given the impossibility of using the social categories of crime and deviance as scientific categories or observational terms with definable, constant and consistent behavioral referents, it makes most sense to treat them as elements of highly contextualized moral and political discourses, i.e. negative ideological categories with specific, historical applications.” (Sumner, 1990:26) Based on that, rather than analyze corruption following ruling group’s logic, Lo (1993) examines corruption in a societal (social, political and economic) structure and historical background with the ruled group’s interests and political economy such as power, class, ideology, conflict, institution and culture taken into account. His finding shows that since all kinds of deviance including corruption are not “scientific categories or observational terms with definable, constant and consistent behavioral referents” (Sumner, 1990:25), and it is unconvincing not to challenge the class bias behind the previous approaches, it is more appropriate to treat corruption as “a form of social censure” which is a negative category of moral ideology created and enforced by the ruling group in societies (Lo, 1993:3). Censure, as “an expression of strong official disapproval or harsh criticism, or an official rebuke, as by a legislature of one of its members”3, helps to avoid most

3 http://www.thefreedictionary.com/censure
serious deficiency which is class biases in that an assumption of censure is that the problem or contradiction to be censured is internal rather than external. In other words, censure means handling enemies within. In this logic, social censure perspective goes beyond it by rejecting ruling group’s normative assumption or behavioral prerequisite about corruption and therefore exposes the essence or nature of corruption which is overlooked in the former definitions.

If corruption were a special form of social censure, it would serve the ruling group or dominant group in nature ultimately. Dominant group’s definitive goal is to maintain hegemony. All other goals or considerations are subject to it, including anticorruption. Therefore dominant group will take many other issues into account in the process of anticorruption, such as establishing legitimacy, winning public support and personnel arrangement. Moreover, dominant group is not always a coherent group. There are fragmentations and sub-groups within. Also, dominant group exists at various levels such as central government, provincial government, municipal government, and county government. On the one hand, they want to maintain the whole groups’ hegemony; on the other hand, they have their own entrenched interests to consider. With such ultimate goal of hegemony and various aims or considerations in mind, anticorruption is hard to be consistent across the nation. It could be “instruments with which party leaders pursue ideological and political struggles” (Lo, 1993:155). Then anti-corruption could be very selectively targeting, also could be utilized to reach other goals. Following this logic, it seems that it is hard to have a genuine anti-corruption move and anti-corruption cannot be completely successful.

However, there are tons of clean governments around the world including Ice Island, Finland, Australia, Singapore, and Hong Kong. Why they are clean given the “bad” nature of corruption? Is our theoretical imagination wrong or because of something else? Our preliminary research suggests that status of law might play an important role in their anticorruption. More exactly, it is the rule of law which played a key role in effective anticorruption. The rule of law means a complete and well publicized legislation, independent judicial system and fair law enforcement. As a matter of fact, Mainland China has only reached the rule by law rather than rule of law which is mainly about supremacy of law and order. Without rule of law, anticorruption in China is constrained by too many political considerations and personal interference, and therefore faces difficulties.

To test the above theoretical imagination, the author did both quantitative and qualitative research in Mainland China. The quantitative part is purposed as preliminary study testing the theory initially. More than 1100 questionnaires were collected from three universities which located in the north, middle and south China. Cluster sampling was used as sampling method. The statistical results run by SPSS catered for theoretical imagination, and encouraged the following qualitative part. Eight in-depth interviews were done with imprisoned corrupt officials at jails. Ten in-depth interviews were done with normal officials for comparative data. The raw
qualitative data hold up the argument further.

The initial data result confirms the theoretical imagination that corruption in essence is a form of social censure which serves dominant group in society. Without external conditioning power, it will easily be dominant group’s political tool. However, the rule of law conditions dominant group’s such ability effectively, and finally anticorruption turns out to be a genuine move.

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Women’s Music of the Holocaust and/ or Nazi Invasion
Gladys Johnsen and Pianist Virginia Eskin
Women’s Studies Lecture/Recital

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Necessary equipment for this presentation include: a room suitable for a lecture/recital, a computer, a projector for a PowerPoint presentation, speakers; a CD player and a VCR player with a speaker to project onto a screen.
Women’s Music of the Holocaust and/or Nazi Invasion

This project and presentation is designed to present stories, experiences, and music from women musicians who either fled their homelands due to the Nazi Invasions or were sent to the Concentration Camps. The format of our presentation is a lecture/recital of poetry reading, piano solos, vocal solos, a PowerPoint presentation, a video-clip, and recordings of a college vocal ensemble. Musicians presented are Ilse Weber, Vitezlava Kápralová, Alma Mahler-Werfel, Fania Fénelon, and Alma Rosé.

Introduction to the Project

Fourteen years ago I created and have since been teaching a course called Women in Music at Keene State College in Keene, New Hampshire; which has served as an elective for the Women’s Studies minor, the BA Music major, and as a general education course in the Arts and Humanities curricular offerings. In addition to learning about the women of the Western culture I have wanted my students to experience a “live” woman artist who was either a composer or a classical performer of women’s music; so each year have organized and brought women artists to the campus as artists-in-residence. The artist this year was Ms. Virginia Eskin, a world-renowned pianist who has devoted much of her career to performing music written by women. With support from Northeastern University (where she teaches) and WFMT Radio Network in Chicago she has been presenting a thirteen-week, one-hour-series of women composers called First Ladies of Music; of which one week included Holocaust and Suffering. In collaboration with Ms. Eskin, she and I presented a similar concert at Keene State on March 5, 2007. Following are the mini biographies of the women and the music we performed.
The Presentation

**Ilse Herlinger Weber (1903-1944)** was a non-Jew who wanted to keep her family together; so she and her younger son, Tommy, followed her husband, Willi Weber, out of Czechoslovakia and to Terezín, which was a concentration camp called Theresienstadt. Ilse and Tommy died in the camp but her husband survived for an additional thirty years; as well as her oldest son, Hanus, who was sent to Sweden in 1939. At 23 Ilse wrote her first children’s book *Tales for Jewish Children*, a talent which she later used at Theresienstadt to write songs and music for the many children who were there. She was assigned the role of head children’s nurse and she sang these songs to them as encouragement during their horrific experiences.

*Kinder Lieder*

**Emigrantenlied** (Song of Emigration)

Swallow your tears, hide your pain,
Don’t hear the insults and abuse,
Though your will becomes hard as brass,
O survive the misery.

Then all will be good, endure,
Be patient in waiting.
Trust in the future,
Don’t lose your courage:
The world will be like a garden!

Then the discord ends, the hatred and horror,
And all pain ends.
Then your enemy calls you a “respected brother,”
And reaches in shame for your hand.

For you shines the sun,
For you the trees grow,
You have once more a homeland and brothers.
This bitterness is forgotten like a bad dream,
Life blesses you again.

**Und Der Regen Rinnt** (And the Rain Falls)

And the rain falls,
I think about you in the darkness, my child!
The mountains are high and the sea is deep,
My heart is dark and very heavy.
And the rain falls,
Why are you so far away my child?

And the rain falls,
God himself has torn us apart, my child!
You should not have to see pain and misery,
-Should not have to walk on rocky streets.
And the rain falls,
Have you already forgotten me, child?

**Dobry Den** (Good Day)

Give us a good day, God,
Bless all people,
So that we may love each other,
And forget all evil.
Kleines Wiegenlied  (A Small Lullaby)
The night creeps through the ghetto
So dark and quiet,
Sleep, child, and forget everything around you.
Nestle your little head in my arms,
Near mother you’ll sleep cuddly and warm.

Sleep, overnight much can happen,
Overnight all suffering can disappear.
My child, you should see, first,
When you awaken.
That freedom has come suddenly overnight.

Ich Wandre Durch Theresienstadt  (I Wander Through the City of Therese)
I wander through the city of Therese
My heart as heavy as lead,
Until suddenly my path ends,
Abruptly at the fortress.

There I stand on the bridge
And look out into the valley:
I wish so much to go further,
I wish so much to go home.

“Home” you wonderfully beautiful word,
You make my heart heavy,
They took my house away from me,
Now I don’t have it anymore.

I turn away disturbed and faint
I was so heavy standing there;
Theresienstadt, Theresienstadt,
When will this pain end?
When will we be free?

Vitezslává Kaprálová (1915-1940) was a Czech composer and conductor who studied at the
Brno Conservatory. She won an award for writing Military Sinfonietta and conducted it at the
premier in 1937. Kaprálová went to France during the German occupation of Czechoslovakia and
there she married a writer, Jiri Mucha, in 1940; however just two months later she died of
music historian Hartog Howard wrote that he believed that she would have been a great composer
in Europe had she lived. Karla Hartl started a web-site for Kaprálová that can be found under The Kapralova Society which was established in 1998 in Toronto, Canada. Ms. Eskin is the first to
premiere this music in the United States.

The Little Song

Navzdy

Wild geese are flying south
Someone leaves and comes back
Someone leaves forever.
Perhaps somewhere else the sky is more beautiful
But you wouldn’t be able to count more stars there than here
When the night is clear.
Five Compositions for Piano

1. Maestoso
2. Cantabile
3. Andante con moto
4. Tempo di Menuetto
5. Marcia funebre

Oseh Shalom melody by Nurit Hirsh; arr. Elaine Broad Ginsberg

*KSC Chamber Singers, Elaine Ginsberg, director

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Alma Schindler Mahler-Werfel (1879-1964) fled from Austria to France in 1938; then fled France to go to Spain; then Portugal, and finally to New York City in 1945. She grew up in a home in which many leading cultural figures visited; married three times including famed-composer Gustav Mahler, bore a son who died at 10 months and a daughter who died at 19 from polio. She was musically trained; had the strong support of her father, however was denied the right to compose by Mahler; yet he used her as his copyist. In spite of her tremendous composition abilities, she never seemed to regain the confidence that she had before her marriage.

Die Stille Stadt (The Silent City) Mahler-Werfel (1879-1964)

A town lies in the valley,
A pale day fades.
It will not be long
Before neither moon or stars
But only night shall rule the Heavens.
From all the mountaintops
Mists descend upon the town;
No roof nor yard nor house
Nor sound can pierce the smoke,
Not even a tower or a bridge.
But as the traveler felt fear
A tiny light shone below
And through smoke and mist
And a soft song of praise began
From the mouth of a child.

Bei Dir ist es Traut (I Am At Ease With You)

I am at ease with you
Faint clocks strike as from olden days.
Come, tell your love to me,
But not too loud!
Somewhere a gate moves
Outside in the drifting blossoms
Evening listens in at the window panes,
Let us stay quiet,
So no one knows us!
Der Erkkenennde (Awareness)

People love us, and unhappy
They rise from the table, to cry for us.
Still we sit, bent over the draped cloth
Are cold and can deny them.
That which loves us, we push away
And us colds, no grief can soften.
What we love, will save itself a place,
It gets hard and is no longer to be reached.
And the word, that is dispensed, is: Alone,
When helplessly burn towards each other.
One thing I know; never and nothing will be mine.
My possession also, is to recognize that.

Diane Cushing, soprano and Virginia Eskin, piano

Alma Rosé (1906-1944): Alma is named after her godmother, Alma Mahler, who was the wife of Gustav. Her mother was Mahler’s sister and her father, Arnold Rosé, was the concertmaster of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. Alma was schooled in Viennese music and played at the Wiener Walzermädeln (a waltzing salon). She was married for five years; then divorced and moved to London with her father and a new love, Heini Salzer. When Austria joined Hitler’s Germany, Heini left suddenly and went to Holland; Alma followed, only to find out that he was marrying someone else. It was in Holland where she was arrested and eventually sent to Auschwitz, where she was granted the role of the conductor of the Mädchenorchester von Auschwitz (Girls’ Orchestra of Auschwitz); which was a pet project of the SS-Oberaufseherin Maria Mandel. It has been written that Alma’s work with the musicians saved all of them from the gas chambers. Their music was to be played as the workers went back and forth to their labor; as well as to entertain members of the SS. Some surviving reports suggested that that the orchestra was to play as the long lines were being led to the gas chamber. There has been a mystery surrounding her death, whether she died from food poisoning or was she poisoned?

Alma’s Poem  (Chopin Etude in E major)

In me echoes a song, a beautiful song
And brings back memories.
My heart was still.
Now those sweet sounds emerge again,
Of dreams no longer mine.
My heart! You were dormant.
But now all my desire
Springs up again.
Deep longing, sleepless anguish,
Everything now comes to life.
Yet I only want
Peace for my heart.
Rest is all I want,
Never again to think,
Of the beautiful song.
Fania Goldstein Fénelon (1918-1983) wrote her Holocaust experiences in the book *The Musicians of Auschwitz* which was adapted for a film in 1980 called *Playing for Time*, with Vanessa Redgrave playing her role. She brought to the concentration camp her experience as a singer, pianist, and theorist which saved her life because she was part of Alma Rosé’s Women’s Orchestra. Fania wrote the instrumentation for the orchestra that included ten violins, a flute, reed pipes, two accordions, three guitars, five mandolins, drums, cymbals, and sometimes a cello. She wrote that the SS “had given the order to destroy us and burn the camp, April 15, 1945; we were to be shot at 3 P.M.; the British arrived at 11 A.M. (Fénelon, English translation, 1977, Michael Joseph Ltd. And Atheneum Inc, page 255).”

An excerpt from *Playing for Time*

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**We Remember Them**

Elaine Broad Ginsberg (b. 1962)

*KSC Chamber Singers conducted by Elaine Broad Ginsberg*

**Sopranos:** Crystal Ashoury, Heather O’Connor, Virginia Pinker, Chelsea Stewart & Shannon Ward;

**Altos:** Megan Allyn, Vivianne Belanger, Virginia Fainer, Jessica Heller, Eleanor Martin, & Lindsey Murphy;

**Tenors:** Steven O’Brien, Michael Kostoulakos, & Roger Theriault; **Basses:** Zachary Benton, Jordan Daigle, Noah Lefebvre, & Jordan Reynolds

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**Performer’s Bios**

**Virginia Eskin**, faculty member at Northeastern University in Boston, received an honorary Doctorate of Humane Letters from Keene State in 1994; she was recognized for her work as a concert pianist and music educator, and her active role in summer music festivals in the Monadnock Region. Born in New York, she studied at Trinity College, London University, and earned the degree of Fellow of Music with honors. Her performance career has taken her throughout the United States, Europe, and Israel, where she has made concerto appearances with the Utah, San Francisco, Rochester, Louisville, and New Hampshire Symphony Orchestras; and with the Israel Sinfonietta, the Boston Classical Orchestra, and the Boston Pops. She has appeared as a guest soloist with the New York City Ballet and the London Mozart Players, and in solo recitals and chamber performances in Amsterdam, Palm Beach, Athens, Pittsburgh, London, and San Diego. She appears frequently on college campuses as a speaker and performer, and has appeared as a guest on National Public Radio's “All Things Considered.” Presently she is presenting a 13-week, one-hour series *First Ladies of Music* with WFMT Radio Network.

**Gladys Johnsen**, Ph.D. is Professor of Music at Keene State College, where she teaches General Music Methods, Women in Music, Music Masterworks, Fundamental Music Skills, and Introduction to Women’s Studies. She is the alto soloist at the United Church of Christ in Keene and studied voice with Peter Hart of Sturbridge, MA. Dr. Johnsen was founder and conductor of the *Youth Chorus at Keene State College* for ten years. While under her direction, the chorus performed in New York City at the Eastern Division of the Music Educator’s Association (MENC), and with national performers: *The Boston Camerata*, Judy Collins, Rita Coolidge and Tom Chapin. She completed her music education degrees with a B.S. from Minot State University (ND), a M.Ed., and a Ph.D. from the University of North Dakota. She has published articles in state and national journals including *The Orff Echo*, *Pan Pipes* and *The Music Educator's Journal* and has served as adjudicator and guest conductor for choral festivals throughout Pennsylvania, Vermont, and New Hampshire. Dr. Johnsen has completed all levels of the *Orff-Schulwerk* pedagogy at the Universities of Rhode Island and Colorado and all levels of the Kodály certification program at Westminster Choir College. She has served as the collegiate advisor for the KSC chapter of MENC. She holds two national honors from Sigma Alpha Iota, a professional fraternity for Women. She has traveled and sung in South Africa and Greece with the *NH Friendship Chorus* and *Monadnock Singers*; at the Vatican with the *Rome Pilgrimage Tour: 2001* of Pennsylvania; and throughout Europe and the Scandinavian Countries with *The Keene Singers*. 
Diane T. Cushing received her musical education at Anna Maria College, where she received the Bachelor of Music Education degree. She went on to earn a Master's Degree in Choral Conducting at Syracuse University, and eventually earned a second master's in Vocal Performance at Boston Conservatory. While at Boston she was engaged as a teaching assistant. Ms. Cushing has been heard as soloist with The Master Works Chorale of Boston, Boston Baroque, The Hamilton Baroque Ensemble, The Cape Cod Chorale, The Bach Society, The Neponset Choral Society, The Thayer Symphony Orchestra, The Assabet Valley Mastersingers, and The Monadnock Chorus and Orchestra. Ms. Cushing has also been heard in Boston's premiere of Villa-Lobos' Bachianas Brazileiras No.5 with bassoons, and in Worcester's critically acclaimed performance of setting of the poetry of Stanley Kunitz by composer David McKay. Ms. Cushing has performed music of American Composers at Queen's College, New York, and at Newberry College, South Carolina in their Recital Series. She has also performed music of Finnish composers at Fitchburg State College. Her vocal studies have been with Dr. David Rives, Dr. Robert White, Ruth Golden, Bruce Kolb, Oren Brown, and vocal coaches Michael Strauss and William Merrill. Ms. Cushing has performed with the Keene State College and Assumption College and conducts the Keene State College Choir. She is also the founder and director of The Greater Gardner Youth Choir and The Mount Wachusett Community choir, and was recently appointed director of the Nashua Choral Society. She has adjudicated several choruses throughout New England.

Dr. Elaine Broad Ginsberg is currently teaching music theory and composition at Keene State College in New Hampshire as well as conducting the Hampshire College Chorus in Massachusetts. She was previously the Jewish Community Music Director in the Springfield, MA area. Prior to that she taught composition, music theory and history, and conducted the Chamber Singers at Interlochen Arts Academy in Michigan. Dr. Ginsberg holds B.A. and B.M. degrees from Oberlin College (in Music and Judaic Studies), an M.M. in Composition from Ball State University, and a D.M.A. in Composition from the University of Cincinnati. She spent her senior year in college living on Kibbutz Tzora as well as studying at Hebrew Union College in Jerusalem. Dr. Ginsberg has received commissions from the International Clarinet Society as well as from numerous synagogue and secular choirs throughout the United States. She has received composition awards from the Guild of Temple Musicians, Zamir Chorale of Boston, the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra, the Midwest Composers' Forum, and Mu Phi Epsilon (international music fraternity). Dr. Ginsberg's compositions have been performed at the St. Moritz International Choral Festival in Switzerland, at Merkin Hall and the 92nd Street Y in New York City, at the American Conference of Cantors Convention, at ACDA conventions, at the International Trombonists' Workshop, and on WQXR in New York. Performers of Dr. Ginsberg's works have included the Gregg Smith Singers, the Springfield Symphony Chorus, the choir of Temple Emanu-El (NYC) and the South Bend and Muncie (IN) Symphony Orchestras. Several of her choral works are published by Transcontinental Music.
NAFTA and the Tarahumara: Challenges of Free Trade in Developing Nations

Cross-Disiplinary

Poster Session

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NAFTA and the Tarahumara: Challenges to Free Trade in Developing Nations

Research Abstract

The North American Free Trade Agreement’s (NAFTA) effects on indigenous culture within Mexico provide important lessons about the consequences of free trade and globalization. The proliferation of regional trade agreements (RTA) involving both developing and developed nations demands an appreciation of the particular challenges confronting less developed states. Indications of such emerging trends as RTA consolidation, anti-globalization pressures and intensifying agricultural related discord within WTO-sponsored negotiations heighten the importance of appreciating the non-monetary implications of heterogeneous RTAs. Analyzing the consequences of free trade economics on the indigenous Sierra Tarahumara of Chihuahua, Mexico provides insights into issues concerning maintenance of land resources, self-development, the environment and discrimination. This soft-spoken peoples’ struggle to maintain its unique culture exemplifies the challenges confronting developing nations in a world of rapidly evolving RTAs.
The Success of Jiri Trnka: Political Censorship and the Growth of Czechoslovak animation in the Early Years of the Communist Regime

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Abstract

The Czech animation industry has formed a unique and internationally recognized part of Czech culture since its inception in the late 1940’s. However over this period the animation industry has faced many changes and challenges to it’s survival as a powerful cultural force, which have escalated since the fall of Communism in 1989. Some of these challenges include collectivization, political censorship, and post-1989 the introduction of an open market, external competition, reduced government funding and rapid changes to production technology. This paper examines the initial growth of the Czech animation industry and the impact of political censorship on the production of animation in the first years of the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia, namely the period of Stalinization between 1948 and 1955. Czech animated films gained a worldwide reputation during this period, thanks to the works of animators such as Jiri Trnka, as the government funded the animation industry to serve as a propaganda tool in the ongoing cultural battle between East and West. The main question arising from this study is whether the political censorship of the Communist regime restricted the freedom of artistic expression in Czech animation and therefore affected its national and international success. As the first in a series, this paper examines the triumphant path of Jiri Trnka and proposes that, while central government funding and nationalization fostered the growth of the industry, the censorship restrictions imposed upon artists did not seriously inhibit the development of a unique Czech cultural practice and may in fact have contributed to their distinctiveness in creatively conveying those messages that would be otherwise banned.
Introduction

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia came to power in February 1948 and lasted until 1989. The intention of the Communist Party was to build a totalitarian political system where the power would be concentrated in a small circle of the highest Party officials. The Communist leadership looked upon Soviet Union as their model of political structure and economic growth. To secure their position of power, censorship practices were quickly implemented in all mass media, including film, literature and art. Following the example of Stalin’s dictatorship, the early years of Communist regime in Czechoslovakia can be characterised by an intense oppression.

It was during this period of time that arts and culture, subjected to the authoritarian control of Communist government, began to flourish. Within the first years of Communist regime, production of Czech animation became very prolific. The rapid rise of animation in the post-war era was largely due to the nationalisation of the film industry, including animation studios, and the introduction of centralised state funding. The question currently open to debate is how animators, required to comply with the demanding nature of Communist censorship, managed to turn this specialised form of filmmaking into an element of national identity and indeed an essential element of the Czech cultural heritage.

One of the most prominent artists in the late 1940s and early 1950s was animator and puppet master Jiri Trnka (1912-1969). Like other artists relying on centralized government funding Trnka’s films were subjected to the Communist censorship and due to demands for the portrayal of Socialist Realism themes were funded as propaganda material. However, despite the censorship practises, Trnka’s animated productions, his career in the animation industry and his subversion to the political system seemed to have defied attempts to repress his individual artistic expression. His numerous international achievements led the Communist regime to recognize the potential of animated films to promote the nation’s culture as a symbol of the moral victory of Socialism over Capitalism in the ongoing cultural battle of East against West (Toepler, 2000).

The Velvet revolution in 1989 (the peaceful downfall of the Communist regime) introduced artists to a newfound freedom of expression but the advent of market economy and subsequent privatisation of the film industry, including animation studios, meant the sudden withdrawal of centralized government funding. Ironically, just as restrictions to freedom of expression were removed, the sharp cut in financing resulted in
less production of Czech animation (Taylor et al., 2000). Once considered the main rival to Disney, the golden era of Czech animation seemed to have vanished with declining numbers of productions evident in the past decade (Fiser, 2000). In the first post-communist years, the average number of animations dropped from 140 in 1990 to approximately 50 in 1996 (Osmond, 2003). Dramatic reductions in government funding represent only one of the challenges Czech animation was forced to face. Additional factors contributing to the current transformation of Czech animation industry include changes in censorship, studio ownership and animation technology. As the rich tradition and distinct achievements of Czech animation appear to be under threat by these changes, research into the development and long-term viability of Czech animation industry is becoming more critical.

While the overall research aims to analyse each of the critical factors, this paper focuses on the impact that political censorship and central government funding had on the development of Czech animation tradition in the first seven years of Communist regime in Czechoslovakia, namely the period known as Stalinisation from 1948 to 1955. Research into this time period is particularly important as it reveals the inception of Czech animation industry and witnesses its exponential growth under totalitarian conditions. As the first in its series, this paper examines the ways the oppressive nature of Communist censorship affected the distinctiveness of Czech animation, using the example of a Czech animator Jiri Trnka.

**Censorship and Propaganda in Czechoslovakia**

Prior to the analysis of the impact of Communist censorship on the development of Czech animation, it is essential to examine the concept of censorship and the role of propaganda in spreading Communist ideology.

Political censorship enforced by totalitarian regimes and the control of media by the state constitutes a form of surveillance that allows manipulation of public views and control over mass education. It is typically understood as a method of totalitarian government ‘to achieve comprehensive subordination of knowledge to state policy’ (McLean and McMillan, 2003). The introduction of state censorship is often aimed at quelling the possibility for political dissent. Jensen (1988, p. 6) confirms that the ‘powerful require knowledge to preserve, defend and extend their advantage’. Butler (1998) also points strongly to the link of power and censorship, both the power exercised by censors as well as the power gained through the act of implementing constraints.
While Freshwater (2004, p. 241) argues that repressive interventions of the state aimed at artists are typically experienced as ‘destruction, distortion, or limited dissemination of their work’, the international success and rich tradition of Czechoslovak animation established under the censorship of the Communist government appears somewhat inconsistent with such a statement. No formal censorship was present in Czechoslovakia after the end of WWII (May 1945) and the first censorship practices in the post-WWII era emerged only in response to the requirement to define rules for content publishing. This was mainly due to a number of non-communist newspapers accused by the Communist information minister Vaclav Kopecky (1945-1953) for writing about ‘fascist and reactionary material’ (Culik, 2001). The Social Democrats (1945-1948) supported the introduction of censorship in the hope of limiting the power of the Communist party. Finally, in December 1947, only two months before Communists ascended to power, the Inspection Department was established to enforce censorship by monitoring print publications for breaches of the law. It must be noted however, that despite these authoritarian practices of the Communist government, censorship in Czechoslovakia was not legalized until 1966. The government power seemed to have resided behind the Communist doctrine of propaganda, which was closely associated with the objectives of censorship and as such allowed control of the flow of information.

The term propaganda typically comprises of negative connotation and can be seen as distorting and adjusting accessible information. In arts, the word propaganda appears somewhat contradictory. While the concept of art suggests freedom of thinking and the search for truth, propaganda refers to the ‘systematic propagation of beliefs values or practices’ in the light of manipulative persuasion (Clark, 1997, p. 7). The conflict in a relationship between art and politics typically questions whether the quality of aesthetics is subservient to the political message (Clark, 1997). However, the study of censorship practices imposed on Czech animation during the period of Communist government suggests that restrictions were mostly placed upon the choice of themes rather than individual visual or artistic style.

While the concept of censorship was originally refused by the Communists Party in 1947, full control of all the media and the arts (including production processes) was exercised directly after their victory in elections in February 1948. Information minister Kopecky became the leading figure in directing the new cultural ideology of the state and in spreading communist propaganda by developing a monopoly over all media capable of information dissemination. Some of the topics banned from mass media were criticism of
the government, questioning the state’s internal and foreign policies or discussing military and religious issues (Culik, 1998).

The political propaganda forced successful films to promote love, admiration and gratitude towards Russia and hatred against Germans as the symbols of fascism and capitalism. Aware of the popularity of motion pictures as a source of entertainment, Kopecky proclaimed:

‘As the cultural and educational medium serving the broadest masses our film industry is first and foremost destined to fulfill the great educational mission assigned to it by our people’s democratic Republic. This requires that our creative film workers provide our people with worthy motion pictures which would convince by their truthfulness and would be an incentive for our construction effort and a source of enthusiasm for joyful socialist work’ (Lidove Noviny cited in Taborsky, 1961, p. 579).

This optimistic portrayal of joyful life in a socialist society exemplifies Socialist Realism, originally introduced by Stalin in 1934 as the ‘official aesthetic of the Soviet Union’ (Clark, 1983, p. 73). Socialist Realism as an expression of Communism and the state directive for socialist culture was adopted by Czechoslovakia in 1949 at the Communist’s Ninth Party Congress. This approach to creative production became an artistic and literary doctrine of political censorship in most communist countries all over the world (Clark, 1983). Within the context of Communist government, Socialist Realism can be defined as ‘the scientific method in aesthetics’, where political value was considered the key determinant when assessing artist’s work (Bradac, 1950, p. 100). The primary role of this artistic directive was to contribute to the cultural rebirth of Czechoslovakia and to serve as a socialist tool for education of the masses. Thus, the Communist government implemented their ideology into aesthetics, pressing artists to create their work accordingly. As a result, it was possible to evaluate a piece of art in advance based on adherence to political criteria, such as whether an artist was agreeable to the Party and whether the artwork promoted Communist ideologies. This way, Socialist Realism dictated what was deemed beautiful and desirable. Milan Kundera (1929 – present), a Czech artist whose two years membership in the Party was terminated due to his individualistic tendencies and his work later banned, points out the evident paradoxes of the official doctrine dominating art.
‘In the name of realism, we were forbidden to depict reality; in the name of the cult of youth, we were prevented from being young; in the name of socialist joy, joyousness was repressed’ (Leihm, 1973, p. 16-17).

Leihm refers to the ‘dialogue of the deaf’ when those in power could not comprehend the need of an artist to express the truth as it was seen. Instead, ‘the truth had already been spoken, everyone knew it by heart and the duty of the artist was to repeat it’ (Leihm, 1973, p. 31).

**Censorship, Propaganda and the Czech Animation Industry**

The Ministry of Culture was responsible for overseeing and executing the objectives of film production, holding virtually an absolute power of censorship in their authority to prevent the dissemination of any material. All steps of a production process from script writing to final film screening were placed under their control. Each stage from pre-production to distribution, including the choice of themes and storyboards, required an official approval. This process was only practical because the state held a monopoly over all media including film production. In 1955 alone, the censors viewed 1321 feature films of all genres, including puppet and cartoon animations, and commented on 646 scripts (Barta, 2003). While the Soviet Union seemed to have directed their focus on censoring predominantly newsreels, Czechoslovak censors agreed to continue reviewing both domestic and imported film production, which included the production of animated film.

Interestingly, in the post WWII years, Communist leadership regarded the role of animation as a ‘bourgeois pastime for spoiled rich kids’ disassociated from Socialist Realism and its working class (Kilmer, 1999). It was only Trnka’s early success (1947-Czech Year, 1948 - A Midsummer Night’s Dream) that led the Communist leadership to reconsider the function of animation. The international recognition of Trnka’s work started off the notion that artwork could promote the liberated state of Czechoslovakia (Dutka cited in Ulver, 2003). Subsequently, the production of animation became a form of propaganda, allowing the regime to use its success as a showcase of thriving life in a Communist country.

Paul Fierlinger (1936-present), a freelance animator born to Czechoslovakian parents recalls the years of forced Communist propaganda, stating that everyone involved creatively in producing animation at that time ‘knew that they were helping the country lie’ (Kilmer, 1999). Dutka (2006) notes that beside being influenced by individual talent
and originality, the artist’s work is also considerably influenced by political pressures, especially those subject to totalitarian regimes. The question arises as to how much the subjugation of themes to the political censorship of the Communist regime restricted artistic freedom of expression. To gain a deeper understanding of the impact of censorship upon the production of Czech animation, the authors evaluate the achievements of Jiri Trnka.

The success of Jiri Trnka, individualistic artist subverting the censorship system

Despite the censorship practices and the demands of the Communist regime to comply with the artistic doctrine of Socialist Realism across all Czechoslovakian cinema, there were artists who seemed to have found their own path of success. One of these was Jiri Trnka. Born in 1912 in Bohemia, Trnka is commonly respected as one of the first Czech animators and the master of stop-motion animation. He grew up in a culture where wooden toys were hand crafted at home, developing his love for puppets early on in his childhood. However, Trnka’s career in animation did not start until 1945 when at the age of 33, this illustrator of children’s books was approached by a group of young artists to help them found an animation studio Bratri v Triku (The Trick Brothers). While Trnka in one of his interviews recalls that he may have been expected to mainly draw, he admits to taking further charge of scriptwriting and directing (Broz, 1965). His first success was a nine minute animation Zviratka a Petrovsti (The Animals and the People of Petrov, 1946) made rather remarkably within only six months. Zviratka a Petrovsti won an award at the first postwar film festival in Cannes in 1946. This victory was the more noteworthy as that year relatively unknown Czech animated films competed against production of renowned names such as Norman McLaren, Paul Grimault and until that time the invincible Walt Disney.

Within the following four years, Trnka managed to create three animated feature films and two short animated films, an effort unmatched by any other animation studio in the world including Walt Disney (Dutka, 2000). To pursue his favourite stream of puppet animation, Trnka initiated the establishment of a separate division that would direct its focus from cell animation to puppets only. Within the small atelier of this studio, Studio Loutkoveho Filmu (Studio of the Puppet Film), Trnka first produced Spalicek (The Czech Year, 1947), a highly regarded and internationally acclaimed animation depicting Czech customs, holidays and rituals, in which Trnka expressed the attitudes of the country people towards life, work, faith and death (Opela, 2006). This short puppet film, accompanied by music composed by Trnka’s friend Vaclav Trojan represented a national
vision of peace and happiness. When asked twenty years later which of his films Trnka held closest to his heart, he answered the Czech Year. In 1948, Trnka made his first feature puppet film *Cisaruv Slavík* (The Emperor and the Nightingale, 1948) and his work became known for its unique poetry and expressions of love. Although Trnka’s projects were largely funded by the Communist government for their international achievements, the regime continued to impose restrictions on the selection of Trnka’s projects. For example, *The Legend of St. Prokop* (1947) was banned as church propaganda. When trying to adapt Don Quijote in 1951, the government deemed this project as ‘too cosmopolitan’ (Dutka, 2000). Trnka also proposed a project about famous Czech puppeteer Matej Kopecký (1775-1847), in which he was planning to combine live actors and puppets. The regime deemed this film as ideologically questionable and Trnka’s idea was again banned. Even his story about a little train was not approved as ‘trains are mechanical toys, supposedly inappropriate for that time’ (Dutka, 2006, p. 119).

In addition, Trnka was pressed by the Communist officials to produce a film depicting Czech historic legends. Without openly expressing his opinion in front of the regime, Trnka suspected this choice of strongly national theme was intended to cure the state’s complex about the nature of Czech national identity five years after the end of WWII (Dutka, 2006). Trnka’s dissatisfaction with this forced topic initially tempted him to return to illustrating children’s books but he ultimately decided to embrace the Old Czech Legends (1952) as a challenge of his creativity. His approach turned out unique and the six national legends Trnka covered in his work were no longer specific to only Czech audiences (Dutka, 2006). Upon its completion in 1952, the reception of Trnka’s Old Czech Legends was diverse. While judges at the film festival in Venice did not award Trnka any prize for this film, the audience demanded it and the Old Czech Legends left with a silver medal from the organizers of the event. Despite the high quality of character animation, this theme was not widely accepted in its homeland as to the Czech audience it mainly served as a reminder of what they had to learn at school (Dutka, 2000).

Political pressures continued to escalate, causing conflicts among animators with incompatible political beliefs. The fact that Trnka never joined the Communist Party and insisted he remain a freelance artist was met with disapproval from some of his more ideologically oriented colleagues. His mentality resided not within a team but in a distinctive artistic individuality. Although this approach is not favoured, Trnka’s rejection of collective teamwork represented his determination to strive to remain true to art while other more politically aware colleagues focused their attention on satisfying the socialistic ideology and the demands of Communist leadership. In the attempt to resolve
the continuous difference in opinions, a voting system was implemented at formal meetings at the Trick Brothers Studio presided over by a panel of Party officials. Trnka’s dominant personality was evident when no number of opposing votes would still change his direction or approach (Ulver, 2003). He was recurrently disparaged for his lack of political involvement and for not assisting in building socialism. The government even warned Trnka that his picturesque, intricate stories were losing the connection with the working class (Dutka, 2000). This naturally leads to conjecture that Trnka’s distinctive style of animation was never meant to address large masses or to promote the Communist doctrine of Socialist Realism. Trnka’s animated stories seemed to aim at reaching their audience with far more poignant messages and ageless values of morality. While approved artists struggled to make significant contributions to the Czechoslovak culture, Trnka’s audacious qualities separated him from the rest. Kanes (1990) confirms that artists approved by the totalitarian regime typically carried little artistic value in contrast to those more vigorously censored.

Towards the end of his career, Trnka chose to intricately employ a political theme. His very last puppet film *Ruka* (The Hand, 1965) was a pitiless political allegory, in which Trnka ingenuously criticizes state-controlled art. In this bold piece of animation, Trnka depicts an artist who is happily creating pots for his much loved flower. Suddenly, a giant hand intervenes and orders the artist to create a sculpture of the hand instead. The artist tries to resist but the omnipotent hand forces him to stop producing clay pots and imprisons him until the hand sculpture is complete. Although Trnka officially released this film as a criticism of Stalin, whose denunciation by Khrushchev in 1956 was finally being accepted by the Czechoslovak government, Czech audiences immediately recognized the mirrored image of their life in a totalitarian society (Dutka, 2000). Despite its great international success, the Hand was ultimately banned and its suppression lasted until the fall of the Communist government.

Despite his occasional setbacks caused by the regime, Trnka’s puppet films became a part of national culture. His individualism, determination and contribution to the rise of Czech
animation tradition earned him the titles of Father and Founder of puppet animation (Kroupa, 2004). Trnka’s distinctive visual style creatively influenced a number of his co-workers such as Bretislav Pojar (1923-present) who followed his footsteps with similar success. This was the origin to the internationally renowned Czech school of animation.

In one of his international interviews, Trnka explained the balance he found as an artist in a totalitarian society. He admitted that he would have never invested financially into his puppet animations but truly appreciated the opportunity to do what he loved while the political regime was willing to fund it (Dutka, 2003).

Conclusion

The initial period of Communist leadership in Czechoslovakia known as Stalinisation (1948-1955) introduced the practice of authoritarian censorship along with directives for socialist culture including political propaganda. The monopoly over all media and virtually an absolute power to prevent dissemination of any material certainly created a considerable pressure on artists to adhere to political criteria and implement Communist ideology into their work.

An analysis of Trnka’s work exemplifies that political oppression may pose boundaries on themes and messages expressed through animation but in the case of this Czech animator ultimately did not affect the artist’s creativity and individual style. Although frequently criticized for his lack of political participation, the talent of Jiri Trnka was in the end commemorated by the Czechoslovakian film authorities by renaming the Studio of the Puppet film as the Studio of Jiri Trnka in 1970.

It remains somewhat contradictory that Czech animation in 1950s received a privileged position thanks to the works of strong-minded, opposing artists such as Jiri Trnka rather than the more ideologically oriented animators whose primary attention was to first and foremost satisfy the directives of Communist propaganda. This also indicates that Socialist Realism, the official doctrine of art and culture under Communist regime, was not the cause of international success of Czechoslovak animated films. Instead, the worldwide acclaim seems to have been achieved through passion, creativity, daring individualistic style and experimentation with new techniques.
It has also become apparent that while each animation project was scrutinized by the government censors, from the pre-production stage to its distribution, censorship practices did not seem to confine artistic expression and their distinctive visual styles. On the contrary, artists seemed to be the more motivated to implement metaphors and allegories, thus creating remarkable subtexts. Trnka’s ingenious puppet films, namely the Hand (1965) indicate that censorship restrictions imposed upon artists may in fact have been what contributed to the uniqueness of their art.

The current climate may offer artists freedom of expression, yet their original work cannot be produced without sufficient funding sources, including in some cases subsidization from the state. Today, Czech animators are pressured to accept projects from foreign customers, mainly in forms of TV commercials. It may be argued that their creativity is currently suppressed even more than during the oppressive censorship era of Communist government due to lack of funding for Czech themed animation projects. As a result of the introduction of a free market economy, subsequent privatization of animation studios and the sudden withdrawal of government funds, the tradition of Czech animation is struggling for its survival.

Further research may address important issues impacting the viability of the Czech animation industry including the possible establishment of a new scheme for state funding of select elements of the animation industry in order to maintain a critical mass of animation expertise in the industry, analyse new opportunities for production and distribution of animation via new digital technologies such as Internet and mobile telephony, and examine the impact of external competition for the sustainability of Czech animation in its own market.

References


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   Black Men, White Boundaries: (Post)colonial identity in Australian Football.

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Abstract
This paper draws on research contained in the authors recently completed Ph.D. thesis which explores the possibility of identities that exist ‘in-between’ Aboriginal and Anglo Australia in the context of Australian Football. Considered to be the ‘national game’ Australian Football is commonly associated with Australian nationalist discourse and is thought to signify many key qualities of an Australian national character that is characterised by whiteness, masculinity, sporting and military prowess. This paper seeks to disrupt nationalist understanding of identity by showing that throughout its historical development the game allowed for the possibility of hybrid figures to operate and succeed. In doing so the paper disputes the notion that identities in contemporary Australian society are defined by the racially pure and culturally absolute divide between Aboriginal and Anglo-Australia, instead arguing that all identities in (post)colonial Australia are to some extend culturally (and often racially) hybrid. In examining these questions the paper develops a theoretical analysis of identity drawn from Indigenous Studies to develop a postcolonial understanding of Australian Football, its historical development and its current standing as a key signpost of Australian national identity.
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Social Transformation of Malayalis: An Ethnographic Study

Kathiresan. L*

Tribes in India constituting about 8 per cent of the total population had been subjected to oppression and exploitation for several years even after independence. They had been facing various social and economic problems such as poverty, hunger, unemployment, exploitation, illiteracy, inequality, discrimination, remoteness, exclusion, deprivation, alienation of land and forest, indebtedness, bonded labour, lack of food, shelter, clothing, malnutrition, poor sanitation, unsafe drinking water, etc. Against this backdrop, tribal development is given national importance and protection and promotion of the welfare of the scheduled tribe is one of the constitutional provisions. Numerous schemes had been introduced by the central and state governments namely, Community Development Programmes, Multipurpose Tribal Development Schemes, Integrated Tribal Development Projects, 20 Point Programmes with special reference to tribals, integrated rural development programme, Tribal Sub Plans and Hill Area Development Programmes. Moreover, number of non governmental organizations also had been actively involved in uplifting the tribes in our country. But their status and problems have not changed remarkably. Tracing the reasons and accepting the critiques of development thinkers the tribal development strategies had been changes accordingly aiming to achieve maximum community participation. However, the outreach by programmes and the utilization and accessibility of these programmes remains limited. Certain pockets of tribal settlements and few tribal groups even in the project area had been neglected. Their oppression and exploitation never come to an end. The development initiatives must consider the uniqueness of the people, their knowledge and their culture. Tourism was promoted as an industry by the state in the places where people had attraction due to its climate, physical features, availability of forest resources, etc. Some of these tourist spots had been the home for many tribal settlements. Tourism is considered as a developmental initiative for the regional development, social and economic transformation of the local people.

In this backdrop, the paper aims to make an in-depth qualitative analysis of social, cultural, economic and political changes among the Malayalis of Yelagiri Hills. Ethnographic research

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techniques are used to collect data from two villages in Yelagiri Hills namely, Athnavoor and Punganoor.

**Yelagiri Hills – An Outline**

Yelagiri hills are located in Eastern Ghats, 213 kilometres south west of Chennai, 91 kilometres from Vellore the district headquarter and 18 kilometres from Jollarpettai, of which 14 kilometres are mountain road having 14 hairpin bends, with few mountain viewpoints. The weather in winter in Yelagiri is 11° Celsius and in summer 34° Celsius, which is considered to be the coolest place in the district. The average rainfall is 900 mm. Yelagiri in its forest has number of flora and fauna some of which are considered as the rare species. Yelagiri Hills occupies area of 29.2 sq kilometres. Yelagiri is a Panchayat comprising fourteen villages namely, Muthanoor, Kottaiyur, Poonganoor, Athanavoor, Kottoor, Pallakanivoor, Mettukanivoor, Nilavoor, Rayaneri, Paaduvanoor, Putthur, Thaayaloor, Mangalam and Manchankolli Pudhur. This Panchayat is administratively functioning under Jollarpettai Block and Tirupattur Taluk. Malayalis are the only predominant scheduled tribe inhabits in this hilly region.

Yelagiri was declared as the tourists spot in 1984 by the government of Tamil Nadu. Since then, various development initiatives had been undertaken and several places of interest were set up, which includes lake, children park, a nursery, murugan temple, yelagiri tamilannai temple, swami malai, telescopic centre, jalagampaarai water falls, hotels and restaurants, guesthouses, residential schools and other educational institutions, weekly market, forest fruits and other minor produces, summer festival, and paran house are other centre of attraction in the hills.

There are twenty hotels, lodges and health resorts cater the boarding and lodging to the tourists. In addition to these private hotels, Yatri Nivash by the tourism development corporation is under construction to cater the needs. Three camp sites offer facilities for various training and retreat programmes with boarding and lodging. Six provision shops, seven tea shops, one hardware shop, three ice cream parlours, few nurseries, numerous fruit-stalls on the road side, one boat house canteen and numerous petty-shops and five banks involved in trade and commerce in Yelagiri. The profile of government educational institutions includes one higher secondary school, three primary schools, five crèches, seven midday meals centres, and a residential primary school for boys and girls up to Class V and a Scheduled Caste (SC) welfare hostels for
boys up to Class XII. There are twelve private schools and seven hostels also cater the educational needs. There are about thirty government offices functioning in Yelagiri Hills.

Malayali Tribes – A Profile

Malayalis is the Tamil speaking community scheduled as dispersed tribal group in Tamil Nadu, mainly dwelling in isolation in the forest and hilly terrains of Dharmapuri, Vellore, Pudukkottai, Villupuram, Thiruvannamalai and Tiruchirappalli districts. Malayali\(^1\) is a Tamil word to denote hill dwellers, hill people, and inhabitants of the hills or the rulers of the hills. Very little is known about the history of them. They call themselves as *Malaikaran, Mala Gounder, Vellala Gounders, Mala Jati and Malayal*. It is believed that they are basically cultivators migrated from Kanchipuram\(^2\) to the hills of south-west Tamil Nadu a few generations ago and predominately distributed in Jawadhi hills, Yelagiri hills, Shevaroy hills, Sitteri hills, Kalrayan hills, Kolli hills and Pachamalai.

According to Thurston Malayalis have divisions among them namely, big Malayalis or Kanchi Mandalam Malayalis, little Malayalis and middle Malayalis. The big Malayalis live in the Shevaroy hills, little Malayalis in Kolli Malai and middle Malayali in Pachaimalai regions\(^3\). The Malayalis of the Yelagiri hills are called without prefix. The customs followed by these Malayalis at different hills do show variations that are unique to each other.

According to Census of India 1991, their population was 33,450 in Vellore district which is 67.1 percent of total tribal population of the district and 13.4 percent of total Malayali population of the state accounting for about six percent of the total scheduled tribe population in the state. Salem district has the largest Malayali population than Vellore and Dharmapuri districts.

It is the forest economy in which Malayalis inhabit depending on the utilization of various forest resources. Practice of barter was existed until recent times. They were self sufficient with their

\(^1\) Singh K. S., 1994, The Scheduled Tribes, Delhi: Oxford University Press

\(^2\) Elderly Malayalis described that Periyantha was responsible for such migration. He fell in love with a Bhramin girl so he was exiled with his family and migrated into the southwest forests and hills. Similarly another legendary story reveals that due to the fear of Tipu Sultan’s invasion in late 17th century, a group of farmers under the leadership of Shevarayan from the bank of river Cauvery in the Krishnagiri was fled to the hills and settled down in the Shevaroy hills. Thus the hill is known as Shevarayan hill. Later, the group moved to the neighbouring hills viz. Jawadhi, Pachamalai, Chitteri, Kalvaran etc.

local resources except oil, cloth and salt. In exchange of the minor forest produces they used to buy these commodities from the weekly market in Kodiyr. However the infrastructural development had facilitated to have the weekly market in Yelagiri hills since 1980s.

Their main economic activity is agriculture, cattle rearing and poultry. A great majority of them own at least a small piece of agricultural land. They supplement their income by collecting minor forest produces and by working as labourers with forest department. Women equally take part in economic activity. Monsoon failures increased unemployment that forced them to change their tradition occupation. A large majority of Malayalis including both men and women are commuting daily to the nearest towns for mason work. Educated youth and government employed Malayalis mostly migrate to their working places. However, they keep their identities and linkages with Yelagiri and tribal tradition.

Malayalis were shifting cultivators then become settled cultivators. They cultivate *samai*, *ragi*, *thinai*, *kambu* and *maize* and a few vegetables for their local needs. But due to the changes that brought out by the process of modernization and the contacts with outside population they had started cultivating paddy and certain other cash crops such as rose, pepper, coffee, plantain, sugarcane, mustard, *kadukaai*, *daniaya*, *yellu*, and tapioca.

**Social Transformation**

Due to various intervening and inbuilt potentials certain aspects of malayali tribes are transiting, changing and transforming. Following are the brief note on such changes.

The origin of Malayalis is expressed through multiple versions. These ancestral myths were preserved through their traditional drama and dance which were their only entertainment in the past. But now people show less interest in it. A vast majority of young Malayalis do not know even a single version. The advent of satellite televisions made the shift from traditional drama to modern cinema which is one of the responsible factors of social change.

An historical analysis of tribal area development and tourism promotion in Yelagiri show that the former is the causative factor for the social change. Several government institutions such as bank, electricity board, community hall, bee keeping training centre, silk boards, veterinary hospital, primary health care centre, Large scale Multipurpose societies, milk producers’
cooperative societies and schools were established between 1964 -1982 which is immediately after the completion of the Ghat road. Therefore, there is a great need to qualify the association between these two.

Malayali family has changed from joint family to nuclear as it is experienced by the general population. Although this can not be attributed to tourism, the interactions with non-tribals to an extent have influenced the change. Employment related migration is one of the reasons for the split in the traditional family structure.

Malayalis follow patrilocal rule of residence. Cross cousin marriage is the most common marriage pattern among Malayalis. Monogamy is most common among Malayalis although polygyny is permitted. Junior sororate and junior levirate remarriages are also allowed. Present spouses are acquired through negotiations, elopement and courtship. The role of village council is very important in marriage. The system of collective marriages is common to reduce the expenditure. Parayam (bride prices) was paid at the time of marriage to bride’s family by the groom but now it exists as merely a custom. Dowry has become common. Divorce is allowed. Importance to the marriage rituals has reduced. Although the traditional society has an internal structure to protect and preserve the cultural identity without much influence of non tribals/tourists, the process of Westernisation and Sanskritization has transformed some aspects such as marriage rituals, education as described above.

They are inspired by the non-tribals/tourists and numerous educational institutions in Yelagiri. The contribution of faith based organization is appreciable in encouraging tribal children’s education. However, further investigation is needed to justify it.

Women enjoy equality although the patrilocal rule of residence is followed. They actively participate in economic activities and are involved in decision making that concerns the family. Their suggestions are considered while making community decision by the village council. Their literacy rate is lower than their male counterparts. The self help groups have helped in uplifting their status to some extent.

The traditional political system has a top down structure. Ezhupathu nadu (assembly of all tribal chieftains and their ministers at the state level) on the top functions to resolve disputes between
Malayali settled hills. However, this body has no relevance as the judicial system intervened. *Nadu* (constituency comprising 10 to 15 tribal villages) at the intermediate level is to solve inter-village disputes. It is officiated by *naatar* and his minister. Village council is led by *voor gounder* with an assistant. All the families in the village represent the Village council. The political party affiliations influence the traditional administration. As a result, rival leaders have emerged in Yelagiri.

Malayalis predominantly depend upon agriculture. Most of them are cultivators and agricultural labourers. Frequent monsoon failures and non availability of agricultural employment forced them to find alternative employment in construction works. Forest department provides seasonal wage employment. *Kambalam* (traditional village employment at the harvest season) provides occasional employment. A segment of educated are placed in government position. The institutions in Yelagiri also provide sporadic employment opportunities. Self help groups are managing themselves through learning different trades and skills. Tourism has not created much demand and hence employment opportunities were meagre for the local people. Most of them are involved in unskilled jobs whereas the establishment of hotels, resorts are owned and run by people from outside.

Faith based organisations, non governmental organizations, and private schools and catering institutions are the major agents of large scale land alienation and these institutions exploit more natural resources while most of their services are for the outsiders except a few for the local people. The introduction of tourism and tourism promotional activities actually hiked the land value in Yelagiri. As a result, tribals were lured into selling to sell their land if and when need arises and at the time of economic crisis. The problem of land alienation has severely affected a number of families because of their poor financial management and other social and economic conditions although instances of economic transformation also are noted as the result of land transfer from tribal to non tribals.

**Conclusion**
Despite all these structural changes, there is a struggle to maintain the Malayali identity and keep the community unassimilated. There are efforts to retain some of the cultural practices as traditional and characteristic of the community identity. The consciousness of identity at the juncture of fast-going acculturation and assimilation has started leading to attempts at restoration of traditions by some clans. Eventually these attempts tend to differentiate the clans from the rest of the community, as more traditional. But at the same time they are adopting ‘modern’ practices like arranging a public hall to perform marriage function and calling Brahmin priest to perform certain rituals. However, it is observed that an elite group is emerging within the community with a new code of conduct, dietary habits, and educational values and so on. They consciously retain certain institutional practices as a means identity.

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Abstract: Multiethnic Identity Formation

This continuous study seeks to explore factors contributing to multiethnic students’ positive self-image during their identity formation process. We are investigating how multiethnic individuals come to determine their identity and how they relate in situations involving mono-racial institutions and structures. Participant population includes 18-25 year olds with the majority of subjects identifying as African-American/European-American and Asian-American/European-American. Moreover, there exists an equal representation of gender across cultural groups. Preliminary findings reveal that most participants identify with the ethnicity of the parent who raised them, if they were raised in a single parent family. Additionally, a significant majority of the Asian-American/European-American participants state feeling unwelcome or unaccepted by one or both of their ethnic communities. Furthermore, the participants whose parents spoke with them about their multiethnic identity growing up report feeling less anxiety, fear, and insecurity about their ethnic identities.
Title of the Paper
Predictability of Residential Mobility: Evidence from The Health and Retirement Study

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Predictability of Residential Mobility: Evidence from the Health and Retirement Study

Abstract

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Expectations, or probability distributions, of future events play a prominent role in economic models of decision-making under uncertainty. Hurd and McGarry (1995) note that an individual's own subjective evaluation of probability distributions determines behavior, even if it is systematically incorrect. This paper is an addition to the growing literature that assesses the potential usefulness of subjective probability or expectation information in micro data. The key research question we have in this paper is: What do the subjective probabilities of moving tell us? Drawing on the longitudinal data from The Health and Retirement Study, we document the relationship between moving expectations and subsequent moving realizations among the older population in the United States. The effectiveness of moving expectations, like any other expectations elicited from household surveys, in behavioral models relies on how well individuals have idea about probabilities of future events and how accurate their forecasts are. In view of that we appraise the accuracy of moving expectations by looking at how well the reported subjective mobility probabilities line up with actual moving propensities. Additionally, we explore whether the probabilities vary qualitatively with observable characteristics as they do in actual outcomes, and whether the probabilities contain important idiosyncratic information not available in more traditional variables.

There has been an overwhelming upsurge of interest in the policy debate with respect to the well being of the elderly population in the recent decades. The decision and act of moving, preceded by the planning related to that, essentially leads to the choice of living arrangement – as an independent household, with adult children or other unrelated persons, or in an institution. Elderly poverty measures are expected to be sensitive to living arrangements, and if the policy goal is to enhance elderly well being, then understanding people's expectations and preferences regarding moving may be as important as understanding their moving outcomes. More critically, we would want to know if older people are making mistakes in planning for their future living arrangements. While stated expectations reflect current states of mind with respect to residential mobility, it is almost axiomatic that they will correlate imperfectly with moving outcomes. What we expect is that conditional on observable characteristics, the subjective probabilities will be good predictors of actual moving that will enable us to observe and control for individual heterogeneity. Another important issue, from a practical point of view, is whether knowledge of moving expectations can improve econometric models of individual moving behavior. The most plausible reason for thinking that expectations would improve the model is that the

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1 Engelhardt and Gruber (2004) note that changes in living arrangements are likely to be associated with changes in the level of care and assistance received by the elderly. Living arrangements additionally affect the elderly's eligibility and transfer level for certain types of government assistance, such as food stamps and supplemental Social Security (since these are determined by the income of the household, not by the income of the elderly), and potentially induce demand for social support services.
covariates of moving behavior comprise not just observables but also unobservables, such as preferences for upsizing or downsizing housing, (dis)taste for undertaking the physical and psychological strain associated with moving, etc., for which expectations data might be a suitable proxy.

In this paper we find that moving is subjectively a low probability event, even for the movers. And for a sizable fraction of movers – about 40% – moving apparently represents an entirely unforeseen shock/event. Still, like other studies on expectations, we also find the subjective probabilities of moving to be very important in predicting future moving, even once demographic information known to be associated with the propensity to move is added to the analysis. However, although this relationship is positive and monotone, individuals appear to be overly projecting their mobility probabilities during the sample period examined here. While several papers assess the predictive power of the expectation information on the corresponding actual outcome, there have not been many studies that investigate the deviations between realizations and expectations of future events, particularly in relation to how these deviations vary across different demographic and socio-economic groups. A related, but separate, issue involves understanding differences in response patterns (e.g., point forecasts, focal responses, non-responses) by various demographic groups. We examine these issues in depth in relation to subjective moving probabilities. Among other things, cognition and health are found important in making more accurate forecasts, while education definitely lowers the probability of item non-response as well as focal responses. We find that people are more likely to make larger errors in their forecasts if they belong to groups that are more likely to make a residential move. We hypothesize, and argue that the data appears to agree with, that the individuals provide noisy reports of their true probabilities of moving, which likely attenuates the relationship between moving expectations and realizations. We also argue that part of the noise in moving probabilities can be attributed to systematic errors. The forecast errors of residential mobility appear to be systematically correlated with people’s demographic characteristics. In other words, the available information is not efficiently processed in forming moving expectations. We show that information on expectations can improve the accuracy of models of actual moving behavior, most likely as we already pointed out, because they provide a suitable proxy for unobserved tastes. Finally, we put the findings of the paper in context of the existing literature on subjective probabilities.
1. RUSSIA’S ECONOMY: PAST AS PROLOGUE AND FUTURE

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Prologue to this 90-minute briefing for analyst course including non-economists and non-Russian specialists
1. The Russian economy is compared to other Eurasian economies to distinguish uniquely Russian factors from general economic factors.
2. Briefing includes and defines key economic concepts and uses quantitative economic data.
3. History is relevant, but which history, not necessarily the most recent.
   Past is prologue, but not destiny.

Analytical process
1. Identify key drivers – in this case, forces that determine Russian economic growth and development, and the strategic and political significance of the resulting economic power and influence.
2. Create alternative scenarios and assign probabilities to these scenarios.
3. Identify future signposts to check which scenario is playing out.
4. Monitor signposts and keep policy maker informed as outlook changes or evolves.

Analysts’ Curse
The future is always uncertain until one scenario plays out.
Then that scenario must have been inevitable.
Not assigning that scenario 100% probability soon enough is, therefore, an analytical failure.

Was the collapse of the Soviet economy inevitable?
The Soviet economy grew through extensive growth; that is, it employed more and more labor and added more and more capital (machinery and structures, not money) through investment. USSR also had abundant natural resources to exploit.
This worked well until the 1970s, when labor force growth could no longer keep up with rapidly growing capital stock. We used input-output tables (define) to identify bottlenecks and shortages in the Soviet economy. We used production function analyses
(define) to measure the declining ability of the Soviet economy to substitute capital for labor. Soviet central planning could not make the many millions of economic decisions necessary for each enterprise to substitute capital for labor effectively. Only a well functioning market economy with exquisitely sensitive, correct, and constantly changing price signals can do this. Continual economic reforms of the central planning system continually failed. Gertrude Schroder’s “treadmill of reform.” We knew the economy could not grow much under central planning and would only become more inefficient and wasteful of resources. The Reagan administration also made the Soviet leadership sensitive to Soviet technological backwardness.

You know what happened. The system disintegrated in 1990-91. Was it inevitable? Alternative scenario: Soviets freeze the annual plan; that is, the output targets don’t change. The plan will be fulfilled next year since they were able to fulfill the same plan this year. But investment has added new production capacity and new workers have joined the labor force. Let that new capacity sell into a developing market system, which will allocate about 4% of GDP in its first year, about 8% in its 2nd year, and so on. Over the years, the economy will become more market and less planned, without a collapse in output. Note that the Chinese Communist Party has presided over a much more sophisticated version of this approach with output growing rapidly from the first year—and with Western analysts predicting doom every year for one reason or another.

My assertion: the collapse of the Soviet economy was not inevitable, but was due to bad policy choices.

What happened after the collapse?
Page 2 of handout show the decline of Gross Domestic Product, \( K + L = C + I + G + \text{Exports} - \text{Imports} \), from 1989 to the year during transition when GDP finally bottomed. US GDP dropped by about a third in the Great Depression of the 1930s. Note that all the transition economies suffered declines in GDP, and Russia, at minus 46.5% was not the worst. So, the declines in GDP were not uniquely Russian or even uniquely post-Soviet. Poland declined the least, 13.7%, and resumed GDP growth in 1992.

Were these disastrous declines in GDP inevitable? I say no. They were due to bad advice from Western economic advisors, whom the Poles called “Marriott brigades.” They flew into the capital, checked into the Marriott, gave the same advice regardless of the country’s unique political and sociological situation and ignoring the dependence of economic behavior on the political and social environment in general. They then checked out of the Marriott and flew off to the next country or back home.

What was so bad about the advice?
Arrogant economists assumed that economic functioning is not dependent on psychology, sociology and politics. In the early to mid-1990s, area specialists sponsored a series of conferences lead by Nobel Economics Laureate Douglas North and Charles Tilly, a leading sociologist, at the National Academy of Sciences. The speakers were mostly well-trained graduate students, whose research required them to live in these countries, often staying with families outside the capitals. They were superb sources of what analysts call “ground truth.” They produced volumes of excellent papers based on Ph.D. dissertations that were vetted by senior professors on the committees. This and other work was ignored in favor of the Washington Consensus, which asserted that letting free
markets develop spontaneously and rapid privatization of state-owned capital stock would spontaneously generate a well functioning economy. 

In Russia, privatization was accomplished by several means: a voucher scheme that gave vouchers tradable for shares in newly privatized companies to most citizens. These vouchers were bought from the individual citizens at ludicrously low prices and consolidated to get controlling interest in the enterprises and take them over. Another scheme was loans for shares. Banks would loan money to enterprises with shares held by the banks as collateral. When the enterprises could not repay the loans because their customers were bankrupt, the bankers used the shares to take control of the companies. Another practice was called “tunneling.” Managers would create and own a dummy company and sell inventory and assets under their control to the dummy company at ridiculously low prices; thus, basically stealing the company. These and similar practices created the oligarchs: thieves who gain control of assets through legal or illegal means. In general, they did not create value; they only transferred it to themselves.

Why was corruption not expected by the economists pushing the Washington Consensus? Pages 3-4 of the handout give you a taste of the analysis. Basically, economic behavior and decision-making are sensitive to conflicts of interest, time horizons, and uncertainty about the future. For example, in all the discussion about pension reform in the US, has any mention been made of how pensions reduce corruption? How many crime shows have you seen where the good cop refuses to skew an investigation in response to bribery or threats because he might lose his pension, or the bad cop is struggling because he lost his pension due to one lapse in integrity? In Russia, all the pensions disappeared. The future was uncertain, so stealing as much as possible as fast as possible was the best way to a secure future. He who does not steal robs his family. The Marriott brigades had no understanding of this. Their theory implicitly assumed that Milton Friedman’s permanent income hypothesis (explain) was still operating benignly. Friedman’s permanent income hypothesis, for which he won the Nobel Prize, did not deal with what happens when the permanent incomes suddenly disappear.

Monopsony and oligopsony: All basic economic textbooks recognize the problems of monopoly and oligopoly. Monopoly means only one seller, who can then raise his price above the competitive price by reducing supply. Oligopoly is the same, except that a small group of sellers collude to raise the price of their product by jointly reducing supply. But few, if any, basic economics textbooks, mention monopsony, a single buyer who limits his purchases to lower the price he has to pay. Think of a Soviet town created to supply labor to one big factory or mine that is the town’s only major employer. It is a local monopsonist, the only buyer of labor. Furthermore, this monopsonist also runs the medical clinic, local grocery, and supplies local housing. So, it is also a monopoly supplier for all these consumer necessities. This situation also occurs on US military bases in locations where they need to be self-contained and self-supporting. Everything is OK as long as it is a government-run operation fulfilling its mission. Now let it be taken over by ruthless profiteers legally or illegally. What happens? The monopsonist reduces wages or even stops paying them. The workers have no place to go since this is also happening in all the single-employer towns they could move to. Besides if they leave, they lose their apartment, health care, and rights to unpaid wages they still hope to
collect. Sometimes the workers are “paid” with some of the factory’s output, which they will all try to sell at the same, so the price of the output falls to near zero. Furthermore, the company may start charging, or charging more, for medical and other services. This is monopoly power: the company is the only local provider. Western economic advisors could not foresee this result of marketization and privatization. It isn’t in their textbooks. It is, however, in the US country music heritage. One of Tennessee Earnie Ford’s hit songs was “Sixteen Tons.”

You load sixteen tons,
And what do you get?
Another day older and deeper in debt.
(Monopsony employer keeps wages low.)
Saint Peter don’t call me
Because I can’t go.
I owe my soul to the company store.
(Monopoly seller keeps prices high.)
Good economic analysis may be found in unexpected places.

Marketization and privatization did not result in well functioning competitive markets. They resulted in rampant theft and exercise of monopoly, monopsony, oligopoly, and oligopsony power that cut wages, increased unemployment, and raised prices all at the same time. Uncertainty about the future meant that everyone hoarded money and anything they could store in hopes of being able to sell or barter it later.

Western economic advisors also missed something called the Marshall-Lerner condition because in the textbooks, it is applied only to international trade. Technically, the Marshall-Lerner condition means that the elasticities of supply and demand sum to less than one, that is, both curves are almost vertical. The result is that small shifts in either curve result in big changes in price but only small changes in the quantity bought and sold. Markets for food, fuel, and medicine necessary for survival are likely to suffer from the Marshall-Lerner condition. The nearly vertical demand curve means that buyers will pay almost anything to get the amount they need to survive, but once that need is satisfied, they don’t buy much more even if the price falls a lot. Nor can they reduce their purchases much even if the price increases a lot. For the suppliers, increases in quantity supplied reduce total revenue because the number of units sold does not increase enough to make up for the price decline. This is why historically most governments interfere with markets for these necessities, ignoring complaints by economists who fail to consider the dire effects of the Marshall-Lerner condition. The economists implicitly assume reasonably elastic supply and demand curves.

The Washington consensus misunderstood more than the internal microeconomics of the economies in transition in the 1990s. It set up the world for a series of international financial crises by requiring fixed foreign exchange rates, that is, fixed currency prices, to foster international stability and to remove currency risk from international trade. The results were the forced withdrawal of the UK pound from the European Exchange Rate Mechanism in 1992, the Mexican peso crisis in 1994 after NAFTA, and the Asian financial crises of 1997 beginning with the Thai baht in July 1997. Russia’s turn came in
August 1998, when the central bank could no longer maintain the ruble’s fixed exchange rate and the Russian government could not pay its debts. (Any rubles it paid out would immediately be turned in to the Russian central bank in exchange for its foreign currency reserves, which were fast disappearing.) The Russian government defaulted on its bonds, which banks held as reserves, bankrupting the banking system. The main cause was that government revenue depended on taxes on oil sales and the price of Russian oil had fallen to $10 a barrel with no prospect of prices rising. Peek ahead to page 17 of your handout at the upper right graph. See the ruble fall off the cliff in 1998.

The Russian leadership that succeeded Yeltsin learned two important lessons from the 1990s. Don’t listen to Western economic advisors and don’t supply so much of any commodity, but especially oil and gas, to world markets that the prices fall too much. These lessons are key drivers of Russia’s economic strategy since 1998 and will continue to be in the future.

How has the Russian economy developed since the 1998 financial crisis? Look at pages 5 – 12 of the handout. Russia’s economic development is very uneven. In some ways, it is an advanced economy. In other ways, it fits in with less developed economies.

Page 5: Even now, the Russian business environment is worse than India’s but better than Pakistan’s. Economic freedom is worse than in Nigeria but not as bad as in Columbia.

Page 6: Since Russia defaulted on its debt in 1998, you’re safer holding Mexican bonds, but Russian bonds are safer than South African bonds. Oddly, the capitalization (the sum of all shares times their prices at the end of June 2006) of the Russian stock market is high, second after South Korea’s and ahead of India’s.

Page 7: Bond buyers will buy Russian bonds instead of US bonds if the Russian bonds pay 1 percentage point more in interest. 100 basis points = 1 percentage point. This puts Russian bonds behind Mexico’s but ahead of Egypt’s. It takes fewer days to start a business in Russia than in Malaysia, but more days than in Chile. However, the cost of starting a business in Russia as a share of per capita income is only 3%, but probably not counting bribes. The cost of starting a business in Hong Kong is also only 3%, but the uncounted bribes may be less.

Page 8: Russian export competitiveness is worse than Turkey’s but better than Brazil’s.

Page 9: The first chart has the lowest bribe payers at the top. Russians in foreign countries bribe less than the Chinese but more than the Turks. Keep in mind that ranking also depends on which countries the Russian business people are working in. Russia’s national budget is less open to scrutiny than Tanzania’s, but more open than Guatemala’s.

Page 10: According to the UN Human Development Index, which blends material welfare, longevity, and education, Russia is between Malaysia and Brazil. Remittances by Russian migrants back home to Russia were only 0.5% of GDP, about the same as Iran. Russia is booming with GDP growth in the 6% range, but it suffers from high inflation in the 7% to 8% range. Driven by high oil and gas prices, Russia’s current account surplus is in the 7% range but may fall closer to 4% in 2008.

Page 11: The value of mergers and acquisitions in Russia, slightly over $100 billion in 2006, placed Russia below Italy but above Australia. Foreign direct investment inflows into Russia, at almost $30 billion in 2006, placed Russia below Italy and above Mexico;
however they did increase by 94.6% over 2005. Apartment purchase prices in Moscow are a bit less than in Amsterdam, but a bit more than in Rome.

Page 12: Russia’s foreign trade as a share of GDP, near 50%, is between France’s and India’s, increased by oil, gas, and metals exports.

I haven’t added them here, but Russian statistics on health and longevity are horrible.

As I’ve attended both business and academic conferences and seminars on Russia, Russia seems to be two very different countries. Political and social science specialists portray a Russia that is backward, crime ridden, and hopelessly corrupt. Sometimes even phrases like “impending collapse” and “looming crisis” are used. For careful analysts, these phrases are dangerous. They are emotion-laden and imprecise. Economic and financial analysts, when met with these phrases, can ask the speaker to define “crisis” and “collapse” quantitatively. Quite often, the definition in numbers is much less alarming than the words. The stock market “collapse” is a 10% drop in stock market prices, what others call a “normal correction.” The currency crisis is a 10% depreciation, which makes the country’s exports more competitive and helps solve its current account deficit.

Please do beware of incendiary words in your reading and seek cool and unemotional precision in your own writing and briefing.

Dung Zhou-ping, at the beginning of China’s economic transition, said, “It doesn’t matter if the cat is black or white, as long as it catches mice.” To me, as an economist, much of the criticism of Russia’s severe political and social problems, are in Dung’s phrase, cries of “The cat is black! The cat is black! Therefore it cannot function and must collapse.”

Please turn to page 13 of the handout to see if the Russian “economic cat catches mice.” Page 13 reports both history and forecasts for annual real growth in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and for Consumer Price Index (CPI) inflation for the countries of the former Soviet and Union and for Eastern Europe. West European countries are included for comparison. The countries are listed in each table in descending order for the year 2007. First, note the near absence of negative signs in the GDP table. Turkey suffered a decline in GDP of 7.5% in 2001, and Germany, a decline of 0.2% in 2003. Contrast this with the GDP declines in the 1990s on page 2. Note that the forecasts out to 2016 are also very positive. Note also that the slow growers at the bottom of the table are West European countries. Russia has healthy GDP growth in the 5% to 6% range, but ranks 9th in GDP growth for 2007.

In the consumer price inflation table, Russia ranks 6th in 2007 and will continue to have high, but declining, inflation out to 2016. I am in a small minority of economists, maybe a minority of one, who thinks that high inflation should be acceptable under certain conditions. A price index is just a weighted average or mean of price changes for the goods and services included in the index. For those of you who have studied mathematical statistics textbooks, what is the topic covered right after you learn how to calculate the average or mean? The next topic is how to calculate variance and standard deviation. This is to measure the degree to which the components within the average differ relative to each other. For a price index, the change in variance or standard deviation tells you how much the prices are changing relative to each other. This is
important because the changing of relative prices within an economy signals the producers to change the composition of production and the mix of inputs used to produce each good or service. Changing relative prices also signal consumers to change the composition of their consumption. Tight monetary policies that reduce overall price inflation also suppress the important relative price signals that tell the economy to produce and consume a changing mix of goods and services. Countries, like Russia, that need to change the mix of what they produce, consume, export, and import need relative price signals to be free to change so that producers and consumers can respond by changing the mix of real goods and services they produce and consume. Therefore, if the variance or standard deviation of the price index is increasing, inflation should be tolerated. Unfortunately, monetary economists don’t recognize this, and only the change in the average or mean price level is calculated. No one calculates the variance or standard deviation to see if relative prices are changing. Nevertheless, after suffering from the bad economic advice of the 1990s, Russia and other countries in the table are willing to ignore bad advice about reducing inflation at all costs, even if they don’t fully articulate why.

Please turn to page 14 in the handout. The forecasts for 17 major economic forecasters are reported, so you can see the range of forecasts. The data on page 13 are the mean or average from this table. Note that real average monthly wages will rise 10.5% in 2007 and 9.2% in 2008. “Real” means after subtracting the effects of consumer price inflation. This growth is consistent with household consumption increases of 110.6% in 2007 and 9.4% in 2008. This helps to explain Putin’s approval ratings in the 70% range. Page 16 shows very positive trade and current account balances. The lower left table shows the composition of the current account. The Russian Central Bank’s foreign currency reserves exceed a quarter of a trillion dollars and will continue to grow. Page 17 presents the good news in graphs. Page 18 shows the performance of my two favorite Russia stock funds.

The Russian economic cat may be black, but it definitely catches mice.

What then could be the dangers to the health of the Russian economy going forward? There are two. One is “Dutch disease” due to high oil and gas prices. The other is the same problem with which I opened this lecture, the growing imbalance between capital and labor.

Dutch disease first. Before the Netherlands discovered large gas deposits back in the 1960s, it was an exporter of high quality manufactured goods. The gas exports earned foreign currency. The large inflow of foreign currencies caused the Dutch guilder to appreciate. The strong guilder was great for Dutch consumers. They could buy imported goods more cheaply. So they bought imported goods rather than more expensive domestically produced goods, hurting Dutch domestic producers. The effect on Dutch exporters was even more dramatic. Dutch exporters of manufactured goods lost market share to other exporting countries and to the domestic producers in their customer countries. The currency inflows from natural gas caused the guilder to appreciate, which
priced Dutch manufactures out of their markets, resulting in the decline of manufacturing and loss of jobs. Prosperity caused poverty!

Is Dutch disease a threat in Russia? The aggregate statistics say no. The Russian economy is growing flat out as fast as it can. Rising wages and household consumption are not consistent with Dutch disease. Gross fixed investment is also growing in the 10% to 11% range, but much of that is in the oil and gas sector. GDP growth will continue in the 5% to 6% range, but 1/3 of GDP is produced in the Moscow region plus Tyumen oblast, Western Siberia, where most of the oil and gas is currently extracted. The Russian economy should be analyzed by regions. The prospects for Dutch disease in some of Russia’s regions have been ignored, possibly because the Netherlands is too small and homogeneous to have regions. Nevertheless, for Russia as a whole, Dutch disease is not a threat.

The second threat to the Russian economy is the growing imbalance between capital and labor, the same imbalance that led to the Soviet Union’s growth slowdown beginning in the 1970s, the treadmill of reform that the Soviet Union fell off of, and the breakup of the empire in 1990-1991. The same quantitative economic analytical tools, input-output tables and production functions, are being used to diagnose the long-term health of the Russian economy. But now, the cutting edge work is being done in Japan by Professor Masaaki Kuboniwa at Hitotsubashi University and Professor Shunichiro Tabata at the Slavic Research Center at Hokkaido University (See http://src-h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/). This time, the problem is more serious. The Russian labor force is not growing more slowly, it is declining. (This declining labor force is part of the explanation why Dutch disease is not a threat. It also helps explain the 10% growth in real wages and household income.) Nevertheless, the growing imbalance between capital and labor will slow the growth of the Russian economy except for oil and gas, which are not labor intensive and for which expert foreign labor can be imported. Russia can address, but not fully ameliorate, the growing labor/capital imbalance through immigration, mostly from Central Asia and China, and import of labor-saving technology from Japan, which faces the same problem. The prognosis for Russia being able to solve the growing capital/labor imbalance problem is not good. Large-scale immigration raises a host of social and political problems. The growing capital/labor imbalance also invalidates the long-term optimistic growth forecasts for Russia, such as the 2003 Goldman-Sachs BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) forecast.

The alternative is not bleak for Russian quality of life. Think of Japan but with oil and gas wealth. Russia could concentrate its wealth on increasing per capita income and improving income distribution so that all Russians can live longer and healthier lives. Not bad, but would this be enough for Russia?

Probably not. Russia and its changing leadership are moving up, and sometimes backtracking down, a very unfamiliar learning curve. The key points on that learning curve are as follows.
1) Being a nuclear and military superpower did not prevent the Soviet collapse in 1990-91; indeed, the drain on resources to maintain that status contributed to it.
2) Embracing the ideology and following the advice of the Western “Marriott brigades” in the 1990s was a total failure. It resulted in economic collapse (GDP fell 46.5%) and the financial crisis of 1998.

3) Efforts to hold on to the buffer states of the “near abroad” have not enhanced security. However, Russia has a pathological fear of losing more territory. It holds onto Chechnya, yet resists union with Belarus. Pipeline routes may explain some of this apparent inconsistency.

4) Russia finally found the “energy lever” when it reduced the pressure in the gas pipeline through Ukraine to the EU on 1 January 2006.

5) Russia’s strategic power, influence, and security depends on its natural resources, especially but not limited to, oil and gas, and on maintaining high prices for these resources. (Russia’s 1998 crisis occurred when oil prices dropped to near $10/barrel. No one recognizes the importance of the Marshall-Lerner condition, but Russia has learned to restrict supplies to keep prices up.)

6. Thus, the Russian Government must have control over oil, gas, and other strategic resources. Western arms-length regulation is not enough, and nationalization results in inefficiency. Russia is trying another tack: the involvement of Government officials in the management of key resource companies. (There is precedent in Tsarist Russian business history.) This approach is simultaneously denounced by Western ideologues and endorsed by Western investors.

7. Russian Government officials’ involvement in key Russian businesses will help them to coordinate and to play key roles in the developing global cartels for energy, metals, and maybe other key commodities.

To Be Continued …
Software Evolution and the Rise of Game Culture
- Focusing on the “Ripple Game” in South Korea -

Mun-Cho Kim and Jong-Kil Kim

Today ICTs have a great impact on our everyday life, presumably far greater than that of conventional mechanical or printing technologies. One of the unanticipated phenomena is the rise of game culture led by “fantasy principle,” a new social ethic following Freudian reality principle that are thought to be the dominant motivational basis through the entire modern period.
At the core of such transformation, there lies software (S/W) technology. Although disputes have been remained unsettled on the classification schema or developmental stage of S/W technology, it can be generally portrayed that S/W technology have been developed as follows; Infrastructure (Machine Language) S/W → Information (Data) S/W → Interface (HCI) S/W. Based on the STS perspective that postulates the reciprocal interaction between technological subsystem and social system, this study attempts to analyze the emergence of game culture with special reference to “Ripple (Reply) Game” in South Korea.

The current development of S/W technology can be characterized by its contribution to (1) exponential growth of knowledge, (2) upgrading quality of knowledge, (3) active reconsilience/hybridization of knowledge. Given the circumstance, cyberspace is going to be a complexity system of self-organization. Thus, cyberspace becomes a place of uncertainty of high degree of freedom. Such tendency may be facilitated by the subsequent evolution of S/W technology that tends to enhance the level of knowledge application.

In accordance with diffusion of internet and the other means of digital communication, cyberspace becomes a major agent of socialization, competing with traditional agents of socialization such as family, school, workplace or mass media. One of conspicuous characteristics of the cyberspace is found in the fact that it represents a fictitious world called ‘virtual reality.’ To those who are sick of the tedious or repetitive daily routine, cyberspace should be appealing with its potential to provide something cool.

It is widely known that cyberspace is an effective mean of interpersonal association. Cyberspace is also recognized as an alternative life-world far exceeding the expectation of its usage as a tool. However, combined with the incoming fantasy principle, cyberspace will be endowed with the new role neither a tool nor a simple complement for the real world. Cyberspace is turning to an active playground, designed to evoke our inert desire for amusement.

If we specify the stages of online socialization in terms of type of knowledge along with the evolution of S/W technology, the dominant pattern of ‘cyber-socialization’ is described to move from the acquisition of formal knowledge, through the adoption of practical knowledge, to the mastery of contextual knowledge. Through this dynamic process of socialization in an utterly flexible setting of cyberspace, netizens are apt to be more permissive to “risky ways of life.” Owing to high psychological pressure for social accomplishment in the ultra-achievement society of extreme competitiveness, the risky ways of life become a rule of everyday life and socially favored and institutionalized. Extreme sports and venture business are the exemplars that reflect this emerging socio-cultural trend.

In addition, the current development of S/W technology predisposed to reinforce the function of universal interaction is likely to support the risk-taking lifestyle of excitement, adventurism, contention, satiation and the like. In accordance with the establishment of technological
infrastructure of ‘risk-taking society,’ game culture is likely to prevail. Recent online game boom might be an indication of the co-evolution of S/W technology and ‘fun-oriented’ society.

Ripple Game is one of the most popular online activities in South Korea. Those who are deprived of the opportunity to express their opinions via other means of communication are most enthusiastic to the Ripple Game. Usually Ripplers who are addicted to the Ripple Game are wandering around the cyberspace and eager to spend several hours a day making comments on any type of online text, written, visual, audial whatsoever. If prohibited, Ripplers are getting depressed since they can only establish their identity through the Ripple Game.

Ripples can be either good(Welpple) or bad(Badpple). Therefore, cyberspace can be interpreted as “a grand contested terrain of language game” where the need for amusement and the need for risk-taking are interwoven with each other during the process to cope with ever-increasing ‘serious play.’

Based on a four-sample case study concerning a selection of the public disputes such as constitutional amendment, new housing policy, aircraft accident and homosexuality, quantitative analysis of Ripples will be conduct in order to figure out the shape and dynamics of Ripples. Then, qualitative analysis of the Ripple text will be followed in order to examine and interpret the content of Ripples within the game perspective. Finally, depending on additional data acquired by heuristic grounded approach, the nature of Ripple Game as a serious play will be further explored in light of the dual socio-cultural trends of ‘hyper-realism’(fantasy principle) and ‘neo-frontierism’(risk-taking attitude).
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Abstract

Building an Advanced Financial System through Microcredit

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at Graduate School of International Studies
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Microcredit or in its wider definition microfinance, is a new way of delivering loans to the poor, who have been usually excluded from formal financial services because of high cost and risk, in the developing and least developed countries. With access to a range of financial tools, poor households can invest according to their own priorities, reduce the vulnerability to loss of income and achieve
economic sustainability. In this paper, a general understanding, including historical background and microcredit institutions’ main characteristics, and the effectiveness of microcredit are discussed. Following to positive effects, current debates and limitations of microcredit such as group lending methodology, heavily-subsidized institutions and restricted loans are also mentioned. After a thorough review of several countries’ experiences, the paper examines three strategic issues for making microcredit more effective to enable inclusive financial services, namely (a) Integration of microcredit into the formal financial market, (b) From microcredit to microfinance for inclusive financial services, (c) Regulatory framework: the role of governments. Microcredit is not the best tool for everyone or every situation. However microcredit integrated with a mainstream financial system and non-financial services will bring the maximum number of poor clients into a multipurpose banking environment.
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6-1. Integration of Microcredit into the Formal Financial Market 39
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This paper highlights the institutional interpretation of scaled market reforms in Russian economy starting 1980 up to nowadays. The methodology of this research is based upon the institutional matrices theory, developed by the author. The main theses of the institutional matrices theory are given in Proceedings of Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences, June 12 - 15, 2003 (Proceedings, 2003).

According to this theory, an *institutional matrix* (a derivative from the Latin “queen; foundation; primary model”) is defined as a system of basic institutions, which combine economy, politics and ideology, and regulate the functioning of a state as a whole. Two ideal types of institutional matrices that differ qualitatively and aggregate a whole variety of states of a society as a social system can be singled out: an X-matrix and an Y-matrix. They differ in a set of basic institutions forming them.

An X-matrix is characterized by the following basic institutions:

- in the economic sphere: *redistribution economy institutions* (term introduced by Karl Polanyi’s, 1977). Redistribution economies are characterized by a situation when the Center regulates the movement of goods and services, as well as the rights for their production and use;
- in the political sphere: *institutions of unitary (unitary-centralized) political order*;
- in the ideological sphere: *institutions of communitarian ideology*, the essence of which is expressed by the idea of dominance of collective, public values over individual ones, a priority of We over I.

X-matrix institutions are predominant in Russia, most Asian, Latin America, and some other countries.

The following basic institutions belong to the Y-matrix:

- in the economic sphere: *institutions of market economy*;
- in the political sphere: *institutions of federative (federative-subsidiary) political order*;
- in the ideological sphere: *institutions of the ideology of subsidiarity* which proclaims the dominance of individual values over values of larger communities, the latter bearing a subsidiary, subordinating character to the personality, i.e. a priority of I over We.
Y-matrix institutions are prevailing in the public order of most countries of Europe and the USA.

The type of material-technological environment is crucial for the formation of a particular type of institutional matrix. We distinguish a *communal* environment and a *non-communal* one. Communality denotes such a feature of the material-technological environment, which assumes that it is used as a unified, further indivisible system, parts of which cannot be taken out without a threat of its disintegration. A communal environment can function only in the form of public goods which cannot be divided into consumption units and sold (consumed) by parts. Accordingly, joint, coordinated efforts on behalf of a considerable part of the population, and a unified centralized government are needed. Therefore, the institutions’ content of a state which is developing within a communal environment is, eventually, determined by the tasks of coordination of joint efforts towards its effective use. Thus, an X-matrix is formed under communal conditions, whereas *non-communality* signifies a technological dissociation, a possibility of atomization of the core elements of material infrastructure, as well as a related possibility of their independent functioning and private use.

Non-communal environment is divisible into separate, disconnected elements; it is able of dispersion and can exist as an aggregate of dissociated, independent technological objects. In this case, an individual or a family can involve parts of non-communal environment in their economy, maintain their effectiveness, and use the obtained results on their own, without cooperating with other members of the society. If this is the case, the main function of the thus-forming social institutions is to assure an interaction between the atomized economic and social agents. An Y-matrix is shaped in a non-communal environment.

From the point of view of this theory the essence of Russian economic reforms is the search for the optimal combination of market and redistribution institutions and modern forms of their embodiment.

Complexes of redistribution institutions (X-type) and market institutions (Y-type), which are the main subject in this research, are presented in details in the table.

**Table. X- and Y-institutions and their functions in economy**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Functions of institutions</th>
<th>X-institutions</th>
<th>Y-institutions</th>
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Property rights system ensures the basis for stable relations between economic agents. The structure of property rights entails the order of resources, got from the nature, for the production and the subsequent delivery of the goods to the people for their existence and development.

The specificity of **supreme conditional property** is that the rules of access for the use of some objects as a means of production are conditional. These rules are changeable in the course of time and dependable on the external circumstances. The supreme hierarchical level of governance determines the rights of access in accordance with the public role and importance of the resources for each historical moment. Due to the existence of the supreme conditional property institution the ownership configuration is permanently changing but the role of the supreme center as the principal regulator of property rights is constantly preserved. If the objects belonged to any economic agent do not assure the essential contribution to the total productivity or if they are not used for the public benefit, they can be seized and returned to common ownership or transferred to the other productive economic agent.

**Private property** means that the society sanctioned the whole constant property rights (including the possession, disposal and use of the objects) to the economic agents.

Transfer of goods within the framework of appropriate property rights is regulated by redistribution or exchange.

**Exchange** means the horizontal interactions between independent economic agents for the profit gaining.

**Redistribution** describes the process of material goods and service (and proper rights) transfer not between the independent agents as in exchange process but transfer between the agents and the Center as a mediator. Historically the redistribution as an institution emerges in the nations where the majority of economic agents depend on the common significant resource. Such resource can be called public goods. In this case it is necessary to coordinate the transactions not only between two interactive agents but also between other economic agents which can explicitly or implicitly be involved in the transactions. The motivation to minimize the transaction costs leads to the creation of one special Center responsible for the necessary coordination. All necessary information is accumulated in this Center. The rules and the order for the use of common goods are defined there. The appropriate resources are concentrated in this Center to support its coordinative functions.

Thus the redistribution model includes three participants of transaction, namely, a pair of economic agents and the Center as a mediator. Redistribution means the permanent process with three basic phases – **accumulation** (collection storage of resources and goods) – **concordance** (concentrated in the center) - **distribution** (resources, goods and proper rights).

Since the exchange (the market) and the redistribution are the fundamental peculiarities of the economic systems based on them, the economies with predominating X-institutions can be rightfully named redistribution economy.
(following Karl Polanyi), whereas the economies with prevailing Y-institutions can be named exchange or market economy.

The institutions of cooperation or institutions of competition regulate interactions between economic agents. Cooperation fixes itself as an institution when the joining up of people for the involvement of the resources into the economy is more productive than the use of restricted resources by separate agents. In communal material and technological environment the cooperation between economic agents with the Center as a mediator is the predominate mode for achievement of economic objectives.

Accordingly the competition stimulates the possession of the limited resources when it is possible to get benefit from the ownership of the part of material resources, material and technological environment and other means of production. There are many different models of competition on the market, for instance monopolistic competition (Chamderlin, 1956) or imperfect competition (Robinson, 1948).

The institutions of service labor (Bessonova, Kirdina, O'Sullivan, 1996, p.8-9) and wage labor regulate the labor relations in economies. Employed labor institution means the realization of redistribution laws in the labor sphere as K. Polanyi noted (Polanyi, 1977, p.36).

The essence of contract labor institution is, according to Karl Marx, that labour-power becomes a commodity – it is sold and bought on the market (Marx). The institutions with the functions of feedback signals also perform in the economic systems.

Without the pressure of competition the efficiency of the redistribution economy can be achieved at the cost reduction in each its segment and in the economy as a whole. H. Leibenstain called this phenomena X-efficiency (Leibenstain, 1966, 1978).

Y-efficiency means the profit markup or growing of the producer surplus and consumer surplus (Principles of Economics) and marks signals that the economy is successful.

All X- and Y-institutions coexist in actual national economies in different combinations and are embodied in many institutional forms.

By the middle 1980s on the eve of perestroika (in terminology of the Soviet Union) or transition economy (in terms of world social sciences) Russia had the unbalanced institutional economic structure. It appeared in predominating and active development of X-institutions of redistribution economy only. Y-institutions which are necessary for successful growth of economic system, were undeveloped and performed as latent, shadow or illegal forms only. At last such misbalance resulted in the non-efficiency of the social system and the deep decrease of its economic and social parameters. The necessity of systemic reconstruction and rearrangement of the institutional structure was recognized in the Russian society.

From the middle of 1980s new political leadership began to develop the market Y-institutions on the legislative basis:
the privatization (in different forms) of the majority of the state scale enterprisers and all the state middle and small enterprisers was put into practice to create the private property;

the decentralization in the economic governance system was realized to develop the exchange transactions instead of redistribution. The state planning system (“Gosplan”) and rigid connections between economic agents was liquidated. The price management was stopped;

new laws about the creation and liquidation of new enterprisers and small business in all branches of economy (from finance and banks to trade and service) were passed to develop the competition;

the contract labor institution substitutes for the service labor because the state system of manpower training and distribution was liquidated. The relationships between employees and employers became the subject of the contract. Both the state salary management and the price management were canceled.

the profit markup (Y-efficiency) becomes the main criteria for new enterprisers and their owners acting in open and competitive market environment.

The attempt to replace the redistribution institutions by the market ones failed. It was evident because there was neither growth of the total efficiency in economy nor expected efficiency increase of the new companies. In 1998 after the default the state economic policy was turned to the search for the optimal and balanced combination of related market and redistribution institutions.

Since the late 1990s – early 2000s (when new political leaders and actual president Vladimir Putin took the office) more attention was paid to the modernization of redistribution X-institutions rather than to the implementation of market Y-institution as it was before:

the supreme conditional property institution shows itself in the creation of the large-scale joint-stock companies and holding structures under the management (or with control share in capital) of Russian government or regional governments. Such companies are mainly presented in infrastructural or high-tech branches including gas, petroleum and energy production and transportation, railway transport, space and aircraft construction, housing management in the cities, motor-car industry, information and communication etc;

the redistribution is presented in new National Projects under the federal governance and supported by the federal budget. These projects covered the main spheres of human being namely the education, the public health, the housing and the agriculture. The centralized scheme of National Projects Management on the new level puts the redistribution scheme (accumulation-concordance-distribution) into life;

the cooperation development is performed in the following: 1) state bodies involve different business structures into the decision-making process of the development of the country, investment participation including; 2) state patronage in the establishment of different forms of cooperation with
business structures; 3) correction of large business structures reformation, directed from the concentration on their own enhancement of efficiency and capitalization to the deep involvement in the process of the country’s economic development. (e.g. electric power reform correction) etc.

- The development of employed labor is expressed in the following: 1) the organization of the industry specialists education system on the basis of private-and-state partnership the state retaining its leading position; 2) the new labor policy which is primarily oriented towards the wealth of people working in the so-called budgetary financed area of economy; 3) the growth of non-monetary factors of labor reward (which is peculiar for the system of service labor)

- X-efficiency (cost reduction) is expressed in the price and tariffs regulation both on federal and regional levels. The main objective of the corresponding commissions (in electric power, railway transport, housing service) is not the revenue of the companies but the decrease of general resources and manpower use as well as national product expenditure and total cost of its production.

As a result, the new balance of redistribution and market institutions is being created in Russia at present. The development of redistribution X-institutions in the institutional structure of Russia along with the further support of market Y-institutions forms a more balanced (in favor of the former) institutional structure. The process of its formation goes along with the recent growth of economic and social development indexes in Russia. In 2006 Russia occupied the 10-th (compare to the 18-th in 2005) place on the GDP index in the world.

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This paper finds that the hierarchical organization of the Archdiocese of Portland affected its decisions in regards to two linked events: sex abuse of minors by priests of the Archdiocese and the resultant bankruptcy. The theory of hierarchical organizations is discussed in the survey of the literature, along with pertinent literature on sex abuse by the clergy of the Archdiocese of Portland, and the opinions of legal experts on bankruptcy. The historical data in both cases is discussed and analyzed. Conclusions are drawn based on the advice of various experts on how to ameliorate the effects of a hierarchical organization.
The Archdiocese of Portland became the first Catholic Archdiocese in the world to declare bankruptcy.¹ On 6 July 2004, Archbishop John Vlazny announced, “The Archdiocese of Portland in Oregon is filing for Chapter 11 reorganization in bankruptcy court.”² The Portland Archdiocese spent more than $6.5 million in attorney’s fees during the first year of bankruptcy and it could take three more years to reach a settlement.³ Meanwhile, the state has unprecedented control over a religious organization.⁴ This paper is organized into a survey of the pertinent literature, consideration of how the Archdiocese handled cases of clerical misconduct, and an analysis of the resultant bankruptcy proceedings. My thesis is that the hierarchical organization of the Archdiocese of Portland affected its response to the sexual abuse of children by priests and the consequent Chapter 11 bankruptcy proceedings.

I. Survey of the Literature

This survey focuses on three areas of literature: the theory of hierarchy, sex abuse of minors by priests in the Portland Archdiocese, and bankruptcy law.

Hierarchy – S. N. Salthe, a scientist at Brooklyn College, provided a theoretical analysis of hierarchy as a scientific and social concept in “Summary of the Principles of Hierarchy,” (2001). He noted that hierarchies “provide boundary conditions on the behaviors of lower levels.”⁵ John Gonsiorek added that the leaders of a hierarchy make decisions based on “the needs of the layer above.”⁶ In Getting Things Done (2005), Gerard Fairtlough stressed that the only learning within a hierarchy “is the learning of the individual at the top.”⁷ Richard Donkin noted that hierarchies create “authoritarianism and even despotism, creating fear in some cases and dependence in others,” in his article, “A Hierarchy Is Not the Only Way to Run a Business” (2005).⁸ In Top Down (2005), Harold Leavitt of the Stanford School of Business argued that hierarchies promoted greed, immorality, inefficiency, and distrust.⁹ A Times article entitled, “The
Necessary Evil of Hierarchies,” blamed hierarchies for conflict, distorted communication and “most of the other human ailments that plague large organizations.” These works collectively provide a means of analyzing the actions of the hierarchy of the Archdiocese of Portland.

National Level – A survey of literature on the sex abuse of minors by priests at the national level is important because church hierarchies operate in similar ways throughout the United States. The first category of literature appeared in the 1980’s. Newspapers exposed clerical pedophiles such as Thomas Laughlin in Portland (1983), Gilbert Gauthe in Louisiana (1983), and Mel Balthazar in Idaho (1985). Jason Berry expanded his investigation of Gauthe into an analysis of the problem nationally in Lead Us Not Into Temptation (1992). The crisis reached its peak in 2002 with revelations in the Boston Globe about molestation of minors by priests in the Archdiocese of Boston.


Laurie Goodstein of The New York Times (2003) asserted that a sub-category of literature existed within the Catholic community. Conservative Catholics, like Berry, blamed the crisis on a clerical culture “that tolerated pedophiles and sexually active gay priests.” Liberal Catholics like Andrew Greeley in Priests: A Calling in Crisis (2004) and Karen Lebacqz in “Gay Catholic Priests and Clerical Sexual Conduct” (2005), presented evidence that neither homosexuality nor celibacy caused the problem of sexual abuse by priests. They indicted the
hierarchy of the Church, a structure that Greeley compared to a “dysfunctional firm in which transparency across levels is almost nonexistent.”

**State level** – Newspapers form the major sources of information on the sexual abuse of children by priests and the subsequent bankruptcy of the Archdiocese of Portland. Ashbel Green of *The Oregonian* emphasized the plight of the victims and the inaction of the hierarchy. Ed Langlois of the Archdiocesan newspaper, *The Catholic Sentinel*, defended the actions of the Church. Vlazny declared, “Things are not as negative as they may appear, if your only source of information is the secular media.” The divergent outlooks of these two sources engendered negative emotions that hindered compromise during the bankruptcy hearings.

**Bankruptcy** – Attorney Wendy Davis compared understanding the arguments in a bankruptcy case to figuring out “a very complicated exam question.” Laurie Hamilton of the Cardozo School of Law wrote an article for *FindLaw* entitled “Did the Portland Archdiocese Declare Bankruptcy To Avoid or Delay Clergy Abuse Suits?” (2004). In a paper entitled “The Archdiocese of Portland, Oregon Files For Chapter 11 Bankruptcy: No One Wins When Clergy Sex Abuse Claims Are Litigated” (2006), an unnamed J.D. candidate at Rutgers School of Law pointed out the cooperative nature of bankruptcy court. David Skeel of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, author of *Debtors Dominion, A History of Bankruptcy Law in America* (2001), noted that debtors waive “their right to insist on many of the protections that might otherwise be available to them.” Most legal observers agreed that Vlazny’s decision propelled the Archdiocese into “Uncharted Waters.”

**II. Clergy Misconduct in the Archdiocese of Portland**

In a letter to the parishes of Western Oregon in 2004, Vlazny stated that in the Portland Archdiocese, during the years 1950 through 2003, 181 individuals accused 37 priests of sexual
misconduct. In their article, “Claims in Court Far Outnumber Church Listing,” Green and Woodward reported that the bankruptcy records filed by the Archdiocese of Portland revealed the existence of 368 allegations against 1333 priests. Claimants made 59 accusations against Grammond and the Archdiocese of Portland paid $29,904,500 in settlements. There were 38 accusations against Laughlin and $11,106,715 paid in settlements.

Bud Bunce, spokesperson for the Archdiocese of Portland, accounted for the discrepancies by noting that Vlazny did not include individuals belonging to religious orders in his figures and that new accusations arose as a result of bankruptcy. Bill Crane, leader of the Oregon Survivors Network of Those Abused by Priests (SNAP) commented, “The hierarchy of the Catholic Church always takes the path most advantageous to itself.”

Vlazny noted that a 1991 Oregon law allowed adults to sue for sexual abuse that had occurred decades ago, and held an employer liable for the actions of its employees, even if there is no evidence the employer knew about such misconduct. Vlazny commented that in many cases the accused priest had died. Attorney Jeff Anderson, an attorney who specializes in child abuse cases, observed that while the archdiocese cannot call a deceased priest to defend himself, neither can claimants secure an admission of wrongdoing.

Data

The roots of the Chapter 11 Bankruptcy of the Portland Archdiocese lay in the problem of sexual abuse of children by priests. Three individuals, Laughlin, Grammond, and Joseph Baccellieri are worthy of examination because of the way the hierarchy reacted to their transgressions. Laughlin focused the attention of the Archdiocese on the problem of sexual abuse of children. Grammond’s case led to Vlazny’s apology, and his decision to order Baccellieri to retire alerted the priests of the Archdiocese to the consequences of sexual misconduct.
Laughlin - Archbishop Dwyer transferred Laughlin to St. Mary’s Parish in Corvallis, after a student at Central Catholic High School charged Laughlin with sexual abuse in 1965. Subsequently, Dwyer appointed Laughlin pastor of All Saints Parish in Portland. Father George Gage, assistant pastor at All Saints, wrote Dwyer’s successor, Archbishop Cornelius Power, that Laughlin took boys to his bedroom in the rectory.

A Catholic Sentinel article entitled “Portland Priest to Begin Serving Sentence Tuesday” (1983) by Tom Staley detailed Laughlin’s misconduct. The District Attorney of Portland brought charges against Laughlin as the result of a parental complaint. The police investigation found that a nun, a priest, and several parents had reported concerns about Laughlin to Power years earlier. Church authorities did not inform child welfare officials as required by state law. Laughlin pleaded guilty to two counts of criminal sex abuse, but avoided jail by opting for psychological treatment. On his way to a treatment center in New Mexico, Laughlin stopped in Las Vegas with his eighteen-year-old male lover. When the judge discovered the details of this trip, he sentenced Laughlin to six months in jail and six months rehabilitation in New Mexico.

Laughlin relocated to Albuquerque, New Mexico after finishing his rehabilitation. Attorney Michael Morey investigated Laughlin’s activities there and currently represents an Albuquerque man who accused Laughlin of abusing him over a period of five years. Laughlin moved from Albuquerque to San Diego and was defrocked in the mid-1980s. He now lives in Omaha, Nebraska.

Thirty individuals accused Laughlin of molesting them from 1965 to 1996. The church settled several cases, one in 1986 for $500,000. As a result of the terms of another settlement, Laughlin met with several of his victims. He told them that three different Archbishops knew he had a problem with children, but described it as a spiritual problem. Laughlin blamed the
Archbishops for not keeping him away from children. Archdiocesan lawyer, Tom Dulcich, summed up the effect of the case, “It sort of changed the way things were looked at.”

**Grammond** - The second case that brought the Archdiocese to the verge of bankruptcy involved a priest that Archbishop Levada remembered as “a guy who was nervous, was a hypochondriac, was unhappy where he was.” Grammond admitted that he molested over fifty children from 1951 to 1985. One of his victims testified that Grammond “abused him and, when the boy balked, beat him with a belt and raped him.” Grammond blamed his victims. “They’d dive in my lap to get sexual excitement.” After hearing the priest’s admissions and watching the videotaped testimony of Grammond’s victims, Vlazny settled some of the cases in 2000 for an undisclosed sum and a public apology in which he admitted that “some of the priests of this diocese have sexually molested children.”

Attorney David Slader brought in a $130 million suit against the Portland Archdiocese on behalf of several of Grammond’s victims in 2004. He was to note in his opening statement that archdiocesan officials disregarded five documented notifications of sexual abuse. Slader never delivered this statement. Vlazny filed for bankruptcy moments before the opening of the trial.

**Baccellieri** – A high school classmate of mine, Baccellieri molested eight boys during the 1970’s when he taught at Central Catholic High School. Levada settled the cases out of court, sent Baccellieri to a treatment program, and allowed him to return to the ministry in 1994. Vlazny approved Levada’s decision when he became Archbishop in 1997. Slader argued that Baccellieri had unsupervised access to children and that officials of the Archdiocese of Portland didn’t notify parishioners of his problem. Vlazny denied these charges, but ordered Baccellieri to retire after the US Council of Bishops announced a zero tolerance policy in 2002. Regardless of their feeling for this popular priest, the clergy of the Archdiocese realized that if accusations
of child abuse proved true, it would cost them their careers. The stories of these three priests, out of forty-five accused priests in the Archdiocese of Portland, bear analysis.

**Analysis**

The root word for hierarchy means “high priest.” Fairtlough and Leavitt argued the Church based its hierarchy on the nine choirs of angels “divided into various orders or grades, in which the inferior are subject to and yield obedience to the higher orders.” The early Church assumed a decentralized structure, but adopted the hierarchical organization of the Roman Empire during the rule of Constantine (311-357 AD). Thomas Barth, a professor of public affairs at University of North Carolina, observed that texts in organization theory cite the Church as a “classic bureaucracy, characterized by a hierarchical command, extensive rules and regulations, specialized rules and responsibilities.”

Salthe defined hierarchy in terms of the boundary conditions between levels. The Church identifies boundaries by symbolic dress and maintains them through doctrine. Popes wear white and gold robes and carry a bent crosier. Cardinals don scarlet garments and wield a straight staff. Bishops wear a distinctive pectoral cross. Michael Papesh noted that a priest’s ordination places an indelible mark on his soul that “by implication makes the priest and the bishop ‘other than’ the laity, placing them above lay people.”

Greeley, Fairtlough, and Leavitt argued that the rigid boundaries of the Church hierarchy inhibited communication. Members of the laity are not likely to bring forward accusations of misconduct in a culture that views the parish cure as a surrogate for Christ. As Vlazny observed, “People kept things like that quiet in those days.”

Fairtlough emphasized that hierarchies inhibit learning. Dwyer and Power ignored warnings about Laughlin and Grammond from priests, nuns, and lay people. When he took over
as Archbishop in 1997, Vlazny approved Levada’s decision to allow Baccellieri to remain in a parish without notifying parishioners. Later, Vlazny admitted, “With deep regret, I further acknowledge that some people in the church community did not believe bona fide reports of abuse and failed to recognize the deep and lasting harm that child abuse causes.”

In line with Gonsiorek’s observations, the hierarchy of Portland considered their needs first in making decisions. They declared sexual abuse by clergy a moral problem and asked pedophiles to make a good confession and avoid that sin in the future. When it was obvious that this solution didn’t work, they sent offenders for psychological treatment. They believed the claims of treatment centers that they could cure pedophiles so that the Archbishops of Portland could return priests to parishes where they were needed.

The inefficiencies of hierarchies and what Thomas Plante, author of *Sin Against the Innocents*, described as the defensiveness typical of such organization surfaced in the Grammond and Baccellieri cases. Levada related in a deposition that his predecessor, Archbishop Power never warned him about Grammond. In 1991, after learning that a child accused Grammond of abuse, Levada told Grammond “not to engage in public ministry.” Levada testified about Baccellieri, “I believe there was some allegation that occurred while I was there.”
The Archbishops of Portland maintained the boundaries between the levels of the hierarchy and as a result, ignored legitimate complaints, failed to learn about pedophilia, and reassigned accused priests to parishes. The exception was Vlazny’s settlement mandated apology to the victims of sex abuse.63 His humble and forthright expression of regret earned the respect of the community.64 However, it didn’t compensate the 181 children abused by priests in his Archdiocese. Experienced trial lawyers prepared cases on behalf of these victims.

III. The Archbishop of Portland Asks for Chapter 11 Bankruptcy Protection

Social anthropologist F. G. Bailey’s theory helped strip the emotion from the topic of the bankruptcy of the Portland Archdiocese. In *Stratagems and Spoils* (2001), he suggested we think of such contests as competitive games. Bailey noted that in games both sides are evenly matched, adhere to a set of rules, and agree on the prize. The referee penalizes those that violate the rules. He insisted that one ought to judge the tactics employed by both sides, not by what was right or wrong, but by what was effective. Bailey provided a tool for analyzing such contests by parsing major confrontations into turning points he labeled “episodes.”65

The intense competition of bankruptcy court fits Bailey’s analogy. Both sides compete on the playing field of the courtroom for scarce resources – money. In order to win, both sides must agree to a settlement. The law gives debtors (defendants) and creditors (plaintiffs) equal standing. The bankruptcy judge enforces the rules. The standard of judgment for the actions of the lawyers is based on whether their actions move the case toward settlement. Actions based on abstract moral principles impede resolution.

Before examining the episodes or points of conflict in the Chapter 11 proceeding between the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Portland in Oregon and the Committee of Creditors, some background is necessary. David Skeel of the University of Pennsylvania noted in his definitive
history of bankruptcy *Debt’s Dominion* the importance of the bankruptcy of asbestos manufacturer John Manville. It established the principle that a company need not be insolvent to declare bankruptcy and expanded the definition of “claims” to include “mass tort” cases. Most importantly it set the precedent of setting up a trust fund to compensate past and future victims of the debtor’s products to resolve the liability problems.

Vlazny’s legal advisors confirmed that the Portland Archdiocese met the legal requirements for Chapter 11 bankruptcy. After consulting the Vatican, the Archbishop filed for Chapter 11 protection as a result of two pending cases of sex abuse by clergy, one for $25 million and the other for $130 million. Vlazny argued he did so “to assure fair compensation for all claimants.” He asserted, “The pot of gold is pretty much empty now.” Slader retorted, “Vlazny has not begun to touch his pot. He is lying.” Judge Elizabeth L. Perris believed that the $26 million paid by the Archdiocese of Portland and the $27 million paid by their insurers demonstrated good faith and accepted the case.

**The Delaying Game** – Both sides claimed it was to the advantage of the other side to settle the case quickly. However, time is generally on the debtor’s side, even though attorney fees may be higher. Debtors enjoy full use of their resources until forced to part with them. The Archdiocese of Portland contested every legal issue.

Steve Woodward of the *Oregonian* noted that a tragic consequence of the delay was the suicides of several plaintiffs. Peter Ryan committed suicide after receiving a $1 million settlement from the Church over abuse by Grammond. Larry Craven and Steven Colvin had sex abuse suits pending. They took their own lives after the Church cut funding for their counseling. A spokesperson from the Archdiocese commented, “The Archdiocese has provided counseling in the past for many people, but the bankruptcy has presented obstacles to our past practice.”
Fees – Attorneys for the claimants argued that the tactics employed by the debtor prolonged the time that the Archdiocese of Portland had to pay legal bills averaging $440,000 a month. Under bankruptcy law the debtor, the Church, pays for both sides. Tom Dulcich, a Church lawyer, noted that his firm discounted their fees to $235 an hour. Ed Kennedy, representing the claimants, replied that $350 an hour was not unreasonable considering the fact that lawyers in the bankruptcy of Northwest Airlines charge $800 an hour.

Bargaining – Lawyers representing the debtors and claimants started work in the summer of 2004 to develop a mutually acceptable reorganization plan. In November 2005, Vlazny presented a plan that called for a $40 million settlement for victims of abusive priests. He asked Perris to set a cap on the amount of money the Archdiocese would have to pay to over 100 claimants. Perris ruled that a Supreme Court decision prevented her from setting such a cap.

The claimants found Vlazny’s reorganization plan unacceptable. They estimated it would take $255 million to satisfy all claims and contended that if Vlazny counted the assets of the parishes, he could raise hundreds of millions of dollars without selling church property. Vlazny responded with an offer of $42 million for current claims and $8 million for future claims. Both sides labeled the offers of their opponents “bargaining ploys.”

Class Action Suit – Church lawyers persuaded Perris to accept a class action suit granting standing to the Committee of Parishes and Parishioners as representatives of 400,000 Catholics. The Committee and the Chancery office gathered evidence to prove their case that parish property was a restricted asset held in trust. Rev. Joseph Jacobberger warned that in the event of an unfavorable ruling “the church could go out of existence in terms of owning buildings.” Skeel responded, “Bankruptcy makes seizure of a church or school less-likely
rather than more-likely." After a debtor files for bankruptcy, a stay prohibits foreclosure of property, and remains in effect until both sides agree on a reorganization plan.

**Parish Property** - The major disputed assets in *Vlazny v. Tort Claims Committee* (2005) consisted of the property of parishes and a $36 million perpetual endowment fund. In December 2005, Perris ruled that the Archdiocese of Portland created a corporate structure that didn’t allow parishes to hold title to real estate, even though they could have done so. Vlazny promised that he would follow canon law and never confiscate the property of the 124 parishes of the Archdiocese. He received permission to appeal the ruling to the Federal District Court.

The court commissioned Hamilton, Rabinovitz, and Alschuler, a firm with experience estimating awards in the Dalkon shield case to write a report determine the amount of awards in present and future unsettled sex abuse cases. The report to the court (10 March 2006, revised 22 May 2006) entitled “Estimating the Number and Value of Future Sex Abuse Claims Filed Against the Archdiocese of Portland in Oregon,” documented that in the 237 resolved cases the average amount awarded was $266,000, with a low of $22,500 and a high of $724,038.

An article by an anonymous J.D. candidate from the Rutgers Law School on a website established by Joseph Hickson, editor of the *Journal of Law and Religion*, pointed the difficulty of predicting the size of settlements juries might award in the future, noting, “Only one thing is certain, the sky is the limit.” Perris decided that the best way to determine the obligation of the Archdiocese was to let the backlog of cases, frozen by bankruptcy proceedings, go to court. In April 2006, she allowed attorneys representing 88 claimants to schedule cases in federal and state court. The courts scheduled a suit against Grammond for October 2006 and Laughlin for January 2007. Perris also ruled that the $36 million endowment fund was a restricted asset held in trust for the schools and parishes of the Portland Archdiocese.
Mediation – These upcoming trials and the prospect of a district court decision on the Church’s appeal of Perris’ ruling on parish assets prompted the parties in contention to accept mediation from Judges Hogan and Velure on 12 September 2006. These judges must secure approval of all of the parties involved. Skeel expressed their most serious obstacle. “It’s tough to work out a settlement in circumstances where the sides really do not like each other.”

The Diocese of Spokane reached a $45 million agreement with 75 claimants in February 2006. However, the Association of Parishes found this unacceptable because it required, “the involuntary liquidation of parish churches and schools.” A decision by the US District Court of Spokane in June gave weight to their argument by overturning a bankruptcy court decision that the property of the parishes belonged to the diocese of Spokane. Although this decision does not apply directly to the Portland Archdiocese, it may encourage claimants to settle because the “pot” of money may not be as large as they argued.

The prospect of the suits going to trial will prompt the debtors to accept a mediated settlement. Lawyers for the claimants will present devastating cases, with videotapes of priests admitting their guilt and victims recounting their pain. Attorneys have letters of complaint that prove the hierarchy knew about the problem of priests sexually abusing minors. Woodward of the Oregonian opined the jury’s final verdict would be, “Pay in full.”

Settlement – On Dec. 18, 1996 mediation efforts by Judges Hogan and Velure resulted in a settlement. The Roman Catholic Archdiocese, a committee of victims, and a panel of future victims submitted a reorganization plan to the bankruptcy court. The Archdiocese agreed to pay $75 million to settle 170 claims of clergy abuse, and take out a $20 million line of credit to pay future claims. Insurance companies would pay $52 million. The rest of the money would come from various Archdiocesan assets, but not its parishes and schools. Vlazny also agreed to set up...
parishes and schools as separate and distinct legal entities under Oregon law and hold a healing service to thank all parties and their lawyers. Judge Hogan noted that the gag order was still in effect, cautioned that it would take until May 2007 to settle the remaining issues in bankruptcy court, and stated that the Archdiocese had learned an expensive lesson.97

Analysis

The greed and distrust promoted by hierarchies described by Leavitt were evidenced in the haggling over fees, negotiating ploys, and reluctance to negotiate. Skeel noted that the parties were past rational outcomes, emphasizing, “There’s a lot of animosity there.”98

The fear and distrust attributed to hierarchies by Donkin surfaced in bickering over the size of the Archbishop’s pot of gold and accusations that Vlazny’s decision to seek Chapter 11 protection was “a horrible ploy to avoid responsibility.”99 Bill Crane, leader of the Oregon Chapter of Survivors of Those Abused by Priests charged that the Archdiocese of Portland was “morally bankrupt” and that the attitude of the Church made victims, “feel like we’re the enemy. We’re the ones who are taking away the soup kitchens.”100

Donkin described the authoritarian nature of hierarchies.101 Vlazny and Skylstad decided to seek Chapter 11 protection on their own.102 Both represented the Church at hearings, participated in discussions, and approved of their lawyer’s strategy. Vlazny insisted that he would never violate canon law even if ordered to do so by a bankruptcy judge.103

Events in Spokane and Portland foreshadowed a redistribution of power. Gonsiorek noted “many institutions experience episodic shifts between local and central control.”104 Skylstad negotiated a settlement without consulting the parishes and suffered the consequences. Vlazny encouraged the formation of the Committee of Parishes and Parishioners.105 Even so the Committee asserted its independence stating, “The positions of the Archdiocese have not always
been consistent with the interests of the parishes and parishioners.” Vlazny held true to his promise that he would never seize parish assets to pay creditors and that he would restructure the Archdiocese in the final settlement.

Debtors and claimants reached agreement because delaying tactics were not working. The negatives of continuing litigation were too great, a fact that I am sure the negotiators were quick to point out. Lawyers for the creditors wanted their day in court. However, they saw the amount of money controlled by Archbishop Vlazny as shrinking. First, Judge Perris, put endowment funds off limits, then a Spokane District Court ruled that the Archdiocese did not control parish assets. They knew the smaller the ‘pot,” the less money for their clients.

The debtors spent $16 million on legal fees. They wanted bankruptcy proceedings ended and the scandal put behind them. They feared that the abuse cases scheduled for hearing could result in horrendously bad publicity and significant financial liability. They faced a no win situation in district court. If they won the case on parish property, they would have fewer assets to pay creditors, but lose control of parish assets. If they lost the case they would have more money to pay creditors.

IV. Conclusions

Bankruptcy – Bailey believed that anthropologists and political scientists ought to strive to do more than just describe the actions of participants in a contest; they ought to use analysis to describe what the players in the game do not know. In the Chapter 11 bankruptcy of the Archdiocese of Portland, neither side foresaw that parishes would gain power as a result of the struggle. Neither side understood how much emotions would turn the contest into a fight. The first thing the mediators did was forbid both sides issuing press releases. Accusations of lying hurt Vlazny personally and he distrusted the secular press. On the other hand the claimants and
their representatives suspected the motives of the Church and rankled at insinuations that their greed prevented the Church from caring for the poor.

Vlazny and other church officials desperately wanted an end to the scandal. This sentiment persists despite the findings of Hamilton, Rabinovitz, and Alschuler. Researchers from this firm demonstrated that the distribution of years from abuse to claims falls in a bell shaped curve with the median at twenty-one years and the end-point at forty-five years. Vlazny must develop strategies that deal with the fact that sexual abuse claims against the Archdiocese of Portland will continue for the foreseeable future.

The Committee of Claimants overestimated the wealth of the Archdiocese. Schools and Churches have an assessed value, but it is difficult to realize that value since these properties are usually located in areas zoned residential. Claimants did not understand the organization of the Church. They thought the Church owned parishes the way Sears owned local outlets. The problem of the ownership of parish assets proved much more complicated and is not settled yet.

Fred Naftziger, a professor of business law at Indiana University, predicted that higher courts would support Perris’s decision on parish property. Naftziger might change his mind in light of the district court opinion in Spokane. The Committee of Parishes and Parishioners believe that their existence “demonstrates independence from the Archdiocese.”

Bailey argued that analysis of the actions of the participants allowed social scientists to forecast the outcome of the contest. If the disputants ignore the advice of seasoned negotiators and fail to settle, the contest will turn into a fight. Both sides will attack each other in court and in the press. In so doing, they will loose focus on the prize, fair compensation for the victims of sexual abuse by priests. Bailey succinctly described the consequences of a fight, “Men destroy themselves not always because they have to in order to defend a principle, but sometimes merely
because they have not learned how to communicate through confrontations and how to keep their confrontations socially inexpensive.\textsuperscript{113}

**Hierarchy** - The vast majority of organizations feature some degree of hierarchy for good reasons. Hierarchies, according to Fairtlough, enjoy formidable advantages. They prevent chaos, enforce discipline, and provide leadership, motivation, and identity.\textsuperscript{114} The hierarchical organization of the Church has helped her survive threats for over a thousand years. The Church is not likely to discard her tough and durable organization.

A clerical hierarchy characterized by lack of leadership, aristocracy, and a siege mentality played a significant role in shaping the decisions of the Archbishops of Portland concerning the scandal of sexual abuse of children by priests and the subsequent bankruptcy of the Archdiocese.\textsuperscript{115} If they wish to prevent the reoccurrence of such scandals, the Archbishop of Portland and his fellow bishops in the United States must implement what Fairtlough described as, “smaller, short-term changes” that “downgrade hierarchy.”\textsuperscript{116}

Barth suggests dioceses consider the flattened hierarchy employed by religious orders.\textsuperscript{117} One-third (about 15,000) of the priests in the United States belong to orders like the Jesuits and Franciscans.\textsuperscript{118} They take the same vows of chastity and obedience that diocesan priests take, with the addition of a vow of poverty. They elect their leaders and live in communities. This structure fosters a more democratic and accountable culture than that found in dioceses. Barth’s untested hypothesis is that the less rigid hierarchy of religious orders could account for the lower rate of sexual abuse of children than in dioceses (2.5% v. 4.3%).\textsuperscript{119}

The role played by the United States Council of Catholic Bishops checked the power of individual bishops and archbishops by providing horizontal or peer accountability. They
admonished their members to “to act with less secrecy, more transparency, and more openness to the greater gifts that all members of the Church bring her.”

The Archdioceses of Cleveland and Philadelphia demonstrated two ways to foster communication within the Church. Papesh, a victim of abuse by a priest in the seminary, organized group discussions among priests to promote a healthier clerical culture in the Archdiocese of Cleveland. Cardinal Justin Rigali called the Presbyterium of Philadelphia together to listen to victims of sex abuse by clergy.

Other recommendations are specific to the Archdiocese of Portland. The Committee of Parishes and Parishioners agreed to work with the Archdiocesan coordinator of outreach to victims of clerical sex abuse to develop programs of reconciliation in parishes, non-monetary programs of assistance, and research into the best ideal for healing developed by other dioceses. In addition, Vlazny must ensure every parish participates in the ember days of healing and reconciliation that he has decreed and visit every parish victimized by pedophiles employed by the Archdiocese of Portland.

The bankruptcy decisions made in courtrooms and mediation rooms will have momentous consequences as far as money and power. Church leaders now recognize the consequences of the clergy abuse scandal and the decision to seek Chapter 11 bankruptcy. Father Liam Carey, Pastor of Sacred Heart Parish, noted in the parish bulletin of 17 December 2006, that the settlement was, “a wonderful Christmas present,” and observed that “This humiliating experience has brought to life the dark deeds of betrayal by priests thought to be trustworthy. It has taught us how deeply their abusive behavior seared the souls of their victims.” Such insight opens the way to forgiveness, healing, and a return to the church’s historic mission of evangelization, education, and care for the poor.
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Title of the submission: The Effects which Relate to the Experiences of Pregnancy and Childbirth caused by Participating in the Relaxation Classes: an Attempt of Development of a Psychological Support Program for Pregnant and Parturient Women

Topic area of the submission: PSYCHOLOGY

Presentation format: Poster Sessions

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The Effects which Relate to the Experiences of Pregnancy and Childbirth caused by Participating in the Relaxation Classes: an Attempt of Development of a Psychological Support Program for Pregnant and Parturient Women

Key Words: Pregnant and Parturient Women, Relaxation, Psychological Support Program

ABSTRACT

This research was done in order to develop a psychological support program for pregnant and parturient women. It consists of two studies; in study1 the author did hearing investigations regarding the experiences of pregnancy and childbirth in parturient women with questionnaires and semi-structured interview during childbed hospitalization of mother (3-5days after delivery) and after leaving hospital one month, analyzed types and origins of their negative feelings of pregnant and parturient women.

The negative feelings remembered in the back during childbed hospitalization and after leaving hospital one month were classified for 3 quarters; the pregnancy period, the childbirth period, and the puerperal period. The contents were able to classify anxiety / worry and limitation / enduring. Furthermore, towards other people tangles about husbands and parents were expressed, too.

When compare the elements of negative feelings in childbed hospitalization and after leaving hospital one month, anxieties about a body of mother of the puerperal period, feelings of fatigue, irritation and anxiety to be concerned with child care, that were not expressed during childbed hospitalization, recalled parturient women after leaving hospital one month changed more detailed. And tangles about husbands and parents were also similar.

As for the state anxiety of mother of puerperal period measured with STAI, there was the tendency which state anxiety score of the primipara were higher than the multipara after leaving hospital one month through in childbed hospitalization. However, regarding the multipara, there was a tendency that states of anxiety score become high while being hospitalized compared to one month after leaving hospital.

It was thought that a childbirth preparations classroom for pregnancy with their husbands or family will be able most to decrease negative feelings in the pregnancy period expressed by this investigation. Concerning the contents, to hold down excessive insecurity by making the both of the mother and the father study about the correct extra knowledge of pregnancy and childbirth, and to reduce muscle stress which with process of
pregnancy happens well to the mother by making pregnancy and their husbands or family study relaxation method.

In study2, on the basis of study1, as a part of childbirth preparations for the pregnancy period education, relaxation classes were carried out for pregnant women and her family for the purpose of reduction or disappearance negative feelings about a process of pregnancy and childbirth for pregnant women.

As a result, about both of relaxation in the relaxation classes and home, mothers were able to get subjective effects of relaxation enough.

The elements of negative feelings in a process of pregnancy and childbirth expressed by mothers who participated in the relaxation classes during childbed hospitalization and after leaving hospital one month were approximately similar to mothers who did not participate in the relaxation classes, however about lack of hope and images of concrete birth-style, the negative feelings about tangles about their husband were not expressed again.

Having examined state anxiety of mother in the pregnancy period and the puerperal period, as for the mothers who participated in the relaxation classes in the pregnancy, in latter period assumed that anxiety became generally strong, surges of anxiety weren’t recognized. Therefore, mothers who became acquiring technique of relaxation did not experience surges of anxiety in last part of pregnancy either, and it is thought that they could spend the pregnancy period in a stable mind state. In addition, the mothers who participated in relaxation classes were able to maintain a state anxiety score lower than the mothers who did not participate in relaxation classes in childbed hospitalization through one month after leaving hospital.

From results above, the relaxation classes for pregnant women and their family to make them learn technique of relaxation for the pregnancy period in a maternity center, it was suggested that it’s not only mothers enabled that the pregnancy period were spent in a stable mind state but also being a possibility to have the effect that rising restrained of anxiety of a puerperal period at the same time.
The Impact of Cyberspace Disaster-Response Communities on Internet Giving: How Online Media Facilitated Relief Efforts Following Hurricane Katrina and the Indian Ocean Tsunami

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The Impact of Cyberspace Disaster-Response Communities on Internet Giving: How Online Media Facilitated Relief Efforts Following Hurricane Katrina and the Indian Ocean Tsunami

Kris Kodrich and Melinda Laituri

Abstract: Millions of dollars poured into relief organizations to help victims of Hurricane Katrina in 2005 and the Indian Ocean tsunami in 2004, much of it in the form of online donations. The Internet has increasingly played a key role in disaster awareness and relief efforts. News coverage, fueled by gripping stories of human struggle and tragedy, helps in the formation of disaster-response communities in cyberspace. The news coverage appears not only in traditional print and broadcast forms, but also on Web sites as well. Links from news Web sites to charity Web sites enable concerned citizens to donate quickly and securely to disaster relief efforts. Through an examination of the Internet’s role in disaster awareness and relief, this paper shows that a combination of forces has greatly altered the nature of charitable giving following disasters.

Introduction

As Hurricane Katrina churned across the Gulf of Mexico, intensifying as it headed toward New Orleans, weather forecasters and local authorities urged residents there and along much of the Gulf Coast to flee to safety. The storm pummeled Louisiana, Mississippi and nearby coastal regions the morning of August 29, 2005, destroying thousands of homes and businesses, and creating havoc for weeks to come. More than 1,200 people died as a result of Katrina.¹, ²

About eight months earlier, on December 26, 2004, a gigantic 9.0 magnitude earthquake struck off the island of Sumatra in the Indian Ocean, sending massive waves of death to the shores of South Asia. The tsunami devastated a dozen countries, killing more than 275,000 and leaving millions homeless. It was the most lethal tsunami in recorded history.³, ⁴

Both tragedies moved thousand of people to donate money to disaster relief. Americans donated about $923 million to charities in the two weeks after the hurricane. After the tsunami, Americans donated $406 million within two weeks.⁵ Overall, relief
organizations had collected about $1.8 billion for the victims of the hurricane within seven weeks. About $1.3 billion was collected in 10 months for the victims of the tsunami.⁶

Many of the donations were made quickly and securely through the Internet. One-third to one-half of the individual contributions given to relief agencies in the days following Hurricane Katrina were given by way of the Internet.⁷, ⁸ After the tsunami, relief organizations raised about $350 million online within a month.⁹

In just a few years, the Internet has become a preferred method to donate money to charities. “It’s an idea whose time has come. People are more comfortable giving over the Web,” said Rick Perera, spokesman for Atlanta-based CARE USA.¹⁰ In 2004, an estimated $2.62 billion was donated to charities online, according to the non-profit ePhilanthropy Foundation. That was up 260-fold from the estimated $10 million that was donated through the Internet in 1999.¹¹ Online donations continue to swell every year. Many U.S. charities, for instance, raised twice as much money over the Internet in 2004, as they did in 2003. Fund-raising experts report that the increase in online contributions is growing at a much larger rate than other types of fund-raising.¹²

This paper will explore how the hurricane, tsunami and other disasters have contributed to the formation of disaster-response communities in cyberspace. Through the news media, citizens are informed of not only the latest developments and details of tragedies, but are also directed to online media coverage that provides detailed coverage and Web links to additional resources. Through links to charity Web sites, concerned citizens are enabled to donate quickly and securely to disaster relief efforts. Through an
examination of the Internet’s role in disaster awareness and relief, this paper will show that a combination of forces has greatly altered the nature of charitable giving.

Disaster-response communities now routinely form in cyberspace following disasters. Members of the community share a common interest – getting money and aid to disaster victims in a secure and efficient manner. Both the hurricane and the tsunami brought together a combination of forces. First, the public was able to use the Internet and the online news media as resources to learn the latest news about the disasters, including detailed personal accounts. Second, the online news media featured prominent links to Web sites for charities that were equipped to deliver money and aid quickly to the stricken areas. Third, the public felt confident enough in the security of Web sites to donate online using their credit cards. And fourth, the public remains connected to the events through continuing coverage allowing people to track recovery and reconstruction efforts. These forces combined to become a powerful motivator of individuals to donate to disaster relief, and help explain the tremendous growth in online giving.

Disaster-Response Communities in Cyberspace

The World Wide Web has brought people with similar interests together since it began to be rapidly adopted by citizens in the mid-1990s. The Internet helps humans express and fulfill their needs in a social manner. A variety of researchers have documented virtual communities, which occur when people interact in cyberspace for enough time and with enough feeling to form Webs of personal interaction. Although an online disaster-response community includes elements of other cyberspace communities, they also include added emphasis on the ability of members to
empathize with the victims of a disaster and express support though reading their stories and, in some instances, sending money. Thus, an online disaster-response community has both an ongoing interest in disaster awareness and humanitarian aid programs and a transitory interest in immediate disaster response. The response is facilitated by the media, the general public and interested parties, such as aid groups, family and governments. Both the hurricane and the tsunami have had a significant effect upon online disaster-response communities.

**Online Media and Disaster Coverage**

The news media play an important role in online disaster communities. People in times of disaster want to know important details such as the number of casualties, public safety, rescue and relief operations, and governmental responses. The media play a key role in communicating this type of information to the local, national, and international community. The Internet, in contrast to traditional methods of communication, is virtually indestructible. Unlike telephone lines, it also has an almost unlimited capacity to transmit information and can easily manage the large amount of traffic that occurs after a disaster. An international audience has ready and instant access to disaster information as a result of the Internet.

One study examined the role of the online news media after the 2001 earthquake in Gujarat, India. It found that online media facilitate communication among families, friends and others, both inside and outside the country, in a disaster, and that the technological capabilities of the Internet make it an ideal tool for reporting accurate information, very quickly, and distributing it to the largest audience possible.
Numerous examples exist of this intersection of online news and Internet technology. Most newspapers and television news programs have created online versions. Popular news Web sites include usatoday.com, nytimes.com, and cnn.com. One advantage to this medium is that news can be continually updated, which is not possible when producing a paper edition. Even 24-hour television news programs, such as CNN Live, have commercials that interrupt news coverage. Mercury Center, a San Jose, California, newspaper Web site, was a pioneer in online media development. This allowed it to be the first newspaper to report on the 1994 Los Angeles earthquake. It was able to provide constant updates and to post stories online that did not make the 5 am deadline for the print edition. The BBC News Online has also been at the forefront of interactive electronic news development. It received eyewitness reports via e-mail within 10 minutes of the 1999 earthquake in Turkey. This enabled the site to give an estimate of the severity and conditions resulting from the earthquake before other media organizations could gather the information.

Because it allows for ample interactivity, the Internet is redefining the role of the media and influencing disaster relief efforts. After the 1999 earthquake in Turkey, e-mails started pouring into the BBC News Online from readers asking for information about loved ones. The BBC News Online was able to organize requests and pass them along to people near the disaster area who were willing to contact survivors. The media have an emerging humanitarian role and responsibility to communicate information to victims. Many media organizations are beginning to report information concerning the availability of medical relief and the location of food distribution points, a task that has been traditionally left to relief organizations. Instead of merely reporting the news, the
Internet allows the media to intervene in disaster management, changing the way that it affects people.

**Hurricane Katrina, the Tsunami and the Traditional News Media**

News coverage of Hurricane Katrina was intense. Many of the TV networks top anchors descended upon New Orleans and the region. NBC had Brian Williams from NBC Nightly News and Katie Couric from the Today Show, CBS had John Roberts from the Evening News and Early Show anchor Harry Smith, and ABC sent Bob Woodruff and Elizabeth Vargas for World News Tonight along with Good Morning America’s Diane Sawyer and Robin Roberts. Viewers of the evening newscasts for the three big networks were a combined 29 million after the hurricane struck, up from 21 million the week before. On cable, Fox News had 4.8 million viewers in prime time, up 142 percent, CNN had 3.9 million viewers, up 466 percent, and MSNBC had 1.6 million, up 470 percent.\(^45\) Several television networks and newspapers later opened bureaus in New Orleans and the region.\(^46\) Due to the hurricane, the *New Orleans Times-Picayune* had to stop publishing its printed paper but the staff continued to produce an online editing that drew accolades from many media observers.\(^47\)

A Pew Research Center study of 1,000 Americans immediately a few days after the hurricane found that 65 percent of respondents said the news coverage of the hurricane was either good or excellent.\(^48\) Some of the media coverage from both national and regional television and newspapers was later criticized for providing exaggerated tales of lawlessness in New Orleans. The media reported accounts of murders, rapes and child molestations from misinformed public officials that later turned out not to be true.\(^49\)
In the days following the December 26, 2004, tsunami, the news media focused extensive attention on the event and its aftermath. As the death toll climbed and global relief agencies and foreign governments began to respond, the news media began extensive around-the-clock coverage. Newspapers featured the disaster on their front pages and TV stations devoted extensive time to it. CNN, for instance, began airing coverage of the disaster the same day and by that night had decided to go to nearly total coverage of the tsunami. "One of the reasons we are the only ones covering it 24/7 is because we are the only ones who can cover it 24/7," said Jonathan Klein, president of CNN/U.S. "We are the only ones with an international operation that is always up and running and can turn on a dime." CNN preempted regular programming, called in substitute hosts, recalled people from vacation and deployed an additional 50 people to the region to boost the reporting efforts of CNN International. Among those dispatched to the region were correspondents Matthew Chance in Phuket, Mike Chinoy in Indonesia, Hugh Riminton in Sri Lanka, Mallika Kapur in the Andaman Islands and Dr. Sanjay Gupta in Sri Lanka. Fox News Channel, which had aired the first reports of the tsunami a few hours earlier than CNN, interspersed tsunami coverage with its regular schedule, which included reruns of earlier talk programming. Fox said its initial tsunami reporting attracted substantially more viewers than CNN, between 300,000 and 400,000 more viewers in that first day. CNN’s prime-time viewership was up about 89 percent by the third night.

Some of the best-known anchors also traveled to South Asia to report from the disaster. Brian Williams of NBC, Dan Rather of CBS and Anderson Cooper of CNN all broadcast from the scene. Williams broadcast 'NBC Nightly News' live for four nights
from Asia, including Banda Aceh, Indonesia, where casualties were the highest. "This is what we get paid to do. And sadly, greatness in our business, in journalism, so often comes following great misfortune for others." Rather, who broadcast from several affected countries, said he grieved at the loss of tens of thousands of lives but was glad to be able to report from the scene. "It's very difficult, perhaps impossible, from the outside to understand the conflicting undertows that go through you as a journalist. Flying out, I'm saying to myself, 'They're talking about death tolls that are practically impossible to imagine.' At the same time, you're saying to yourself, 'What a story.'"52

Graham Wood, head of policy at Ockenden International, a humanitarian and development aid organization, said the news media focused so much attention on the tsunami for a variety of reasons, including that it is a great media event complete with lots of dramatic pictures, stories of lost relatives and victims with connections to developed nations with major media. He also said the tsunami reinforced people’s feelings of others as victims and also occurred at Christmastime, when many are more concerned with the plight of others.53 Lisa Jeffrey, director of the McLuhan Global Research Network, said the tsunami made people realize the interdependence of the world. Given the timing of the disaster during the holidays, people had more time to pay attention to the news. “The audience was receptive and the receptive climate for media is very important.”54

Hurricane Katrina, the Tsunami and the Online News Media

In addition to extensive coverage in traditional newspaper, magazine and broadcast outlets, the online Web sites of those news organizations featured extensive
news coverage of both the hurricane and the tsunami. Web sites like nytimes.com, usatoday.com, MSNBC.com and CNN.com were filled with extensive coverage, with links to maps and other resources. The number of viewers who watched video on the Internet also set records following the hurricane. An estimated 4.6 million users watched nearly 50 million videos on MSNBC.com, 3.3 million users watched 36.6 million videos on CNN.com, and other national and local news sties broke video-streaming records as well. One video that showed the disaster at the Superdome was viewed by 1.8 million viewers.55 The New Orleans Times-Picayune had only its online edition after Katrina. “Even after it became possible to resume printing and, in a limited way, distributing a traditional paper, the staff has continued to produce a vigorously updated online edition that skillfully exploits the unlimited space available on the Web and the enhanced ability to interact with readers and their needs.”56 The Times-Picayune Web site (www.nola.com) provided not just news but also interactive services, such as features for readers seeking missing persons, relief services, jobs and lost pets. Likewise, New Orleans TV stations used out-of-town studios to broadcast news to the Web (www.wwltv.com and www.wdsu.com). They also used Web logs, online forums and other interactive tools to gather and share news.57

National news organization, too, provided outlets for survivors of Hurricane Katrina to tell their stories and show their photos. MSNBC.com, for instance, created a Citizen Journalist section filled with photos and first-person accounts. For example, Donald A. Sauviac, Jr., a criminal defense attorney, wrote on September 1 about his experience in his flooded house in the Lakeview area of New Orleans “This is a very strong house. I laid on a mattress on the second floor during this hurricane with a rosary
in one hand and the other hand uplifted, praying the Hail Mary over and over, probably 10,000 plus time. I am Catholic but not ultra religious – until now. I promised never to not evacuate in the future when told to do so if I just made it through this one. I kept hearing the 140 mph wind hitting the house, a nearly 100-year-old wood-framed shotgun. I kept waiting for something to give. It never did.  

CNN.com also asked readers to submit their stories, as well as e-mail photos, audio or video. It provided a way to post messages to try to locate loved ones.

Other Web sites, such as www.craigslist.com, a free classified ad site, provided information for victims who had lost their homes, including advertisements for families around the country who were willing to house victims temporarily. One of the quickest sources of news about the disasters came from blogs, a form of personal diary in cyberspace. Eyewitnesses who publish their own stories online are often called “citizen journalists.” Those sites became an information sources both for the public and for the news media.

Many bloggers at the scene of the tsunami posted images of the disaster on their sites. One blog, at www.thiswayplease.com/extra.html, featured a photo of a boat smashed against a beachside palm in Jaffna, Sri Lanka. Fred Robart, who posted the photo, wrote alongside it: "Every house and fishing boat has been smashed, the entire length of the east coast. People who know and respect the sea well now talk of it in shock, dismay and fear." Nanda Kishore, a contributor to sumankumar.com, posted a photo of a body on a sidewalk with a buffalo walking by along with commentary from Chennai, India. "Some drenched till their hips, some till their chest, some all over and some of them were so drenched that they had already stopped breathing. Men and
women, old and young, all were running for lives. It was a horrible site to see. The relief
workers could not attend to all the dead and all the alive. The dead were dropped and the
half alive were carried to safety.  

In recent years, blogs have become a more common source of news for many. Bloggers, for instance, broke the CBS "Memogate" story involving President Bush's National Guard service. A study by the Pew Internet & American Life Project estimated that 8 million Americans have blogs, while 32 million said in November 2004 that they had read a blog, up 58 percent from 10 months earlier. The hurricane and the tsunami demonstrated once more the growing importance of blogs as a source of news. One blog, www.punditguy.com, saw its viewership increase by 500 times after its creator posted video clips of the tsunami’s destruction.  

Another site, WaveofDestruction.org, which posted amateur videos of the tidal wave, had 682,366 unique visitors in five days.

Hurricane Katrina, the Tsunami and Online Giving

Both the hurricane and the tsunami generated several immediate responses from online disaster communities. The Internet demonstrated its effectiveness as a unifying force in providing news and information, interactive donor efforts, and links to charitable sites. The growing power of Citizen Journalists, Web logs (blogs) and other informal news sources also was evident. Other effects were not as constructive: concerns over fraud and Internet contributions were raised and other less dramatic disasters were largely forgotten or overlooked.

Many of the online news sites featured links to sites where money could be donated, such as the American Red Cross and the Salvation Army for the hurricane and
UNICEF and Save the Children for the tsunami. In fact, many Internet-specific companies put links to charities on their Web sites. For instance, after the tsunami, PayPal linked to UNICEF, Amazon.com linked to the American Red Cross, and eBay linked to UNICEF and several other relief organizations. After the hurricane, many news sites and other Internet sites also linked to the Network for Good (www.networkforgood.org), which serves as a clearinghouse for donations. The site allowed people to donate to dozens of organizations through the site – Network for Good processes the donation and distributes it to the selected charity. The nonprofit organization deducts 3 percent of the total donations for credit card donations and $10 per transaction for online check donations in order to pay the costs of processing the donations.63

The response to both Hurricane Katrina and the tsunami in terms of donations was phenomenal. Overall, relief organizations had collected about $1.8 billion for the victims of the hurricane within seven weeks. U.S. charities had raised more than $500 million in cash and pledges in a little more than a week after Hurricane Katrina struck – compared to $239 million raised in the 10 days after September 11 and $163 million raised in nine days after the tsunami. The American Red Cross raised five times the amount for the hurricane than it did for the tsunami in the first week.64

About $1.3 billion was collected in 10 months for the victims of the tsunami.65 An Associated Press poll in early January 2005 found that three in 10 Americans say they donated to the victims of the tsunami.66 A USA Today poll two weeks after the disaster found that about 45 percent of Americans had donated to victims of the tsunami.67 A month after disaster struck, private donations from the United States including corporate
contributions were approaching $400 million. That’s in addition to the $350 million in aid from federal government. The International Red Cross said it raised $1.2 billion in just 30 days, enough to fund the recovery effort for 10 years. The International Red Cross received in one month more than half the total donations it collected in its previous 86 years of operations. Baltimore-based Lutheran World Relief said it pulled in more money in one week than it does usually in a year.

The relief efforts for both disasters also were milestone for the Internet. One-third to one-half of the individual contributions given to relief agencies in the days following Hurricane Katrina were given by way of the Internet. The Network for Good reported that it was processing 1,800 hurricane relief donations every hour, or one every second, during the peak hours in the first couple of days after the hurricane. Catholic Charities reported getting 20,000 online donations in a two-day period following Hurricane Katrina, when the group usually gets just 6,000 online donations in a year. Most of the $5 million it had raised in the first week came from online donations. Other charity officials encouraged credit-card donations via telephones or the Internet, as a way to help provide immediate food, clothing and shelter. Trent Stamp, executive director of a charity rating service, Charity Navigator, said: “As unsexy as it may seem, giving to this type of relief effort should feel relatively corporate. While it may not be the most daring philanthropy of all time, there’s a pretty good chance that the money is going to get to the victims.”

About $350 million in online donations was collected by disaster relief organizations for tsunami relief through the end of January 2005. The American Red Cross received $71 million in online donations of its $168 million raised in two weeks.
According to The NonProfit Times, online donations comprised half to two-thirds of total donations during the first week after the disaster. Organizations were able to access the cash within 72 hours to start funding relief efforts because it was sent through credit cards, electronic checks and PayPal. “The compassionate public response to the tsunami crisis was overwhelming, and the fact that we were able to handle such an outpouring so smoothly online is a small miracle in itself,” said Tim Ledwith, director of interactive donor communication at the U.S. Fund for UNICEF.

The United Methodist Committee on Relief received nearly 10,000 online donations totaling more than $1.8 million as of Feb. 10, 2005. “Things have gone well in this, our first major experience with online giving,” said Glenda Survance, director of information services at the United Methodist Board of Global Ministries. Most Americans who donated did so through the Internet, according to Vinay Bhagat, Chief Operating Officer for Convio, an Austin, Texas-based software maker that specializes in e-commerce. “There has been a shift in the acceptance of the Internet to make donations, rather than relying on traditional methods, such as telethons. The relief effort has gained a lot of momentum on the Web, and there are campaigns everywhere you click. The marketing has become ubiquitous.”

Most online donations come through credit cards. About 55 percent of the donations coming into the American Red Cross for tsunami relief has been through credit cards. Online donations to the American Red Cross averaged $104 on Yahoo.com and $81 on Amazon.com. UNICEF also saw record-breaking online contributions. Within 10 days, it had received $20 million in donations on its U.S. Web site. About $1 million came from the 800 telephone number. CARE USA received almost $19 million in
pledged donations from organizations and individuals in the two weeks after the tsunami, and $6.8 million of it was in online payments. Nonprofit group Action Against Hunger saw a 100 percent increase in online contributions in the week following the tsunami. Samaritan’s Purse said the number of its online donations first doubled, then tripled, setting records every day after the Dec. 26 tsunami.

Many commercial Web sites posted prominent links to charities or offered ways for customers to contribute. Google had a “Ways to help with Tsunami Relief” feature on its home page and also links to “Tsunami Help Blog,” which provides information on missing persons, news updates, donations and volunteer efforts. Amazon.com teamed with American Red Cross to create a donation site for tsunami relief. In less than two weeks, Amazon.com received $14 million out of the $150 million raised by American Red Cross. Amazon had its online donation system up within two days of the tsunami and received more than 187,000 contributions, providing $15 million for American Red Cross. The goal was to offer customers an easy and secure way to help the relief efforts. Auction site eBay collected more than $790,000 for UNICEF after the tsunami through the PayPal online payment service that allowed sellers to contribute a portion of their auction proceeds to charities. After Hurricane Katrina, a non profit called Modest Needs (www.modestneeds.org) received $44,000 in donations online to provide grants for victims in a financial bind. Online applications for aid totaled about $78,000.

Vinay Bhagat of Convio says groups are using sophisticated Web-marketing and e-mail campaigns to raise awareness, leading to an exponential growth in online donations. "The ease and immediacy of making gifts online is unprecedented. You can be moved by something that you’ve seen on TV and immediately go to your desktop and
make a contribution," said Ted Hart, president of ePhilanthropy.org, a Washington-based foundation that promotes Internet giving and educates nonprofit groups. In fact, some charities received more money after the tsunami than they could use. Medicins Sans Frontieres, or Doctors without Borders, offered to return money it received to help victims of the tsunami because it has more than enough cast to cover its operations in the area. MSF received about $78 million in donations in the few weeks afterward. Most of the donors contacted said they will let their money be reassigned to relief work with other emergencies. “Everybody’s surprised at the amount of money given generally,” said MSF Geneva spokesman Aymeric Peguillan.

So much money was given online for hurricane and tsunami relief that it raised concerns over fraud. The FBI’s Internet Crime Complaint Center saw a dramatic increase in online scams after Hurricane Katrina that purportedly aided hurricane victims. The problems included Web sites claiming to collect donations for Hurricane Katrina and phony e-mails to solicit money. This technique, known as phishing, includes pretending to be a legitimate organization to get consumers to post personal information such as a credit card or bank account number. Malicious activity has grown with the rise in Internet contributions. The FBI and security vendors like Symantec and McAfee have reported a number of Internet viruses and scams masquerading as legitimate e-mail related to relief efforts. Cyber-crime analysts in India said con artists are mass mailing pleas worldwide from fictional tsunami survivors begging for assistance. Dozens of the thieves sent out messages for donations via mobile phones, posted fraudulent e-mails seeking donations and phishing (pretending to be someone else to attract donors). “Some of them [thieves] even pretended to be donors themselves. It’s a huge problem,” said Na
Vijayashankar, a cyber law consultant in India. The U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation even issued a warning for a wave of “fake generosity cases” for tsunami relief on the Internet.

Another concern has been that the focus on the hurricane and tsunami has decreased the attention and the amount of aid for places such as Africa. Disaster officials in Africa say the attention to the Asian tsunami caused a significant drop in funding. The World Food Programme of the United Nations said particularly affected are those southern African countries that have faced drought for a number of years. Mike Sackett of the WFP said, “Southern Africa is a forgotten crisis. We are not getting contributions for southern Africa since the tsunami struck. We appeal to the donor nations around the world to give additional resources so the needs of hungry southern Africans are met. If they do not get the full food that they need, thousands of them will die over the next year.”

And finally, the issue of donor fatigue has arisen. Other disasters in 2005, including flooding in Central America and an earthquake that ripped through Pakistan and India, resulted in much less relief money than either the tsunami and Hurricane Katrina. Patrick Rooney, director of research at the Center on Philanthropy at Indiana University, said the tsunami and hurricane brought in tremendous amounts of money. “There may be an issue of donor fatigue, it’s too early to tell, but it looks like giving for the Pakistan earthquake is more typical of the historical response by U.S. donors to international emergencies.” Relief agencies reported that donations for the Pakistan earthquake, which killed more than 45,000 people along the India-Pakistan border and left more than 2.5 million people homeless, and flooding in Central America, where at
least 2,000 people died from mudslides, were coming in at a much slower rate than the hurricane and tsunami relief efforts did at the start.\textsuperscript{106, 107} “I’ve never seen a year quite like this one,” said Carolyn Miles, the head of operations for the relief agency Save the Children.\textsuperscript{108}

**Discussion: The impact of online disaster-response communities on disaster relief**

Hurricane Katrina and the Indian Ocean tsunami have brought online disaster-response communities into sharper focus. Disasters bring tremendous attention from the news media. And the online news media in particular have the ability to link news consumers directly via the Internet to charitable organizations. Consumers are able to use their credit cards to send money immediately to help in the relief efforts.

While the knowledge of the enormity of both the hurricane and the tsunami may have developed slowly, the news media quickly made up for it by devoting extensive time and resources to the events. Newspapers throughout the United States sent reporters and photographers to the devastated Gulf Coast region. For the tsunami, even local and regional newspapers like the *Denver Post* and *Rocky Mountain News* sent their own reporters to places like Indonesia, Thailand and India. Network television in the United States sent newscast anchormen and anchorwomen to broadcast live from both scenes. The impact of such extensive coverage inevitably creates awareness of the situation that can lead to empathy and compassion for the victims. Another factor in helping increase awareness was certainly the role of online media. The Internet provided immediate information and Web logs proved to be valuable sources of information. Many blogs featured information with video of the disaster and rescue and relief efforts.
As a result, synergistic relationships have been further strengthened between the new media and the traditional media, as they interact to fuel news stories and information dissemination. The Internet, online media, and blogs work in concert, remixing and amplifying information. Many television networks and newspapers host blogs on their Web sites. “The blog phenomenon is amazing. The Internet has had a truly significant, all-around impact on the relief effort,” said Vinay Bhagat, Chief Operating Office for Convio, an Austin, Texas-based software maker that specializes in e-commerce. These media have created feedback loops that continue to stimulate coverage long after the event. The distinction between traditional news sources and other types of media is further blurred by all sorts of Web sites that offer news stories. Charitable sites offer their own stories about disasters.

Online technology has improved dramatically in recent years. Many relief organizations were better prepared to deal with large numbers of donations following a disaster. Much of that change resulted from the impact of 9/11. Many charity Web sites were overwhelmed by the public response in the aftermath of the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks. Some Sept. 11 pledges went unfulfilled but because the technological capacity of charities to accept online donations had increased dramatically, tsunami donations typically were made with credit cards or Internet payment systems. The Web sites experienced far fewer technical problems, according to Ted Hart, president of ePhilanthropy.org, a Washington-based foundation that promotes Internet giving and educates nonprofit groups. As a result of the improvements, the charities were well equipped to handle donations for the victims of Hurricane Katrina as well.
The online disaster-response community also has evolved and become more sophisticated. In addition to receiving information about disasters and delivering needed funding for disaster victims, the community provides an ongoing presence that will monitor relief efforts, reconstruction and aid allocation. Aid agencies may experience a level of scrutiny they have not previously experienced. A big pool of first-time donors has created the possibility for additional donations down the line. The vast majority of online donors for tsunami have signed up for e-mail newsletters that allow charities to update them and ask for more help, according to John Hartman, vice president of client services for Kintera, a San Diego company that builds and maintains Web sites for non-profit groups. “An organization’s database of e-mail addresses can double or triple. It now means there’s a communication channel between the nonprofit and the donor that didn’t exist before,” Hartman said. Whether that means the nature of charitable giving is fundamentally changed is unknown. Eugene Tempel, executive director of the Center on Philanthropy at Indiana University said charities generally have not thought of the Internet as effective as traditional methods in seeking donations. “The problem with Internet fund raising is that you have to drive people to a Web site. Where it works best is in these big relief efforts where there is a lot of media coverage,” Tempel said.

Need for Further Research

As demonstrated by Hurricane Katrina and the Indian Ocean tsunami, the Internet can be an effective unifying force in creating an online disaster-response community. Such communities have matured due to technological innovation and synergistic effects between formal and informal media. The authors consider this paper to be a starting
point, with long-term research goals directed toward understanding these synergistic relationships.

The authors intend to explore the growth of “citizen journalism,” which enables the news consumer to also contribute to the news product, allowing individuals to post material about disasters on the Web often in a more timely manner than journalists are able to do. Blogs, or Web logs, are another form of media that allow anyone with a computer and Internet access to post information and opinion, along with photos, easily and quickly. The researchers want to better understand this phenomenon in light of disasters.

One immediate area the authors intend to study is the correlation between the extent of news coverage of a particular disaster and the amount of money that is donated both online and through traditional means. Donors would be surveyed in an attempt to determine what role media coverage, and specifically that coverage on the Internet, played in influencing their donation decision. Along with that, the authors intend to more closely examine donor fatigue. When the media focus so much attention on such gripping stories as a hurricane that devastates a beloved American city and a tsunami that destroys so much humanity in an instant, do they do a disservice to the victims of other disasters or continuing problems such as famine and poverty? Relief organizations worry that citizens can feel overwhelmed by disaster to the point where they feel they can no longer make a difference with their donations. What role do media play in that?

Further study also is needed on the complex role the online news media play in the formation of community in cyberspace. Because a disaster is a one-time event, any cyberspace community that emerges is certain to be transitory. Are there ways the news
media can try to capture that community’s attention permanently through more relevant and continuing information offerings?

Tracking the results of disaster recovery efforts online would provide important insights into how online technology fosters the development of disaster-response communities as well as recommendations for the mass media, governmental organizations and non-governmental organizations to improve responses to disasters via online technology. These goals include a study of both those who produce the media messages and the intended audiences. This would help determine how useful to the readers is the information about a disaster, the emergency response and aid efforts.

And, finally, further work is needed to address the social, economic and political circumstances that create conditions of vulnerability. By focusing on the sensational and the immediate, do the media help disguise the long-term consequences of inequality? In other words, can the media tackle important and dramatic stories such as hurricanes and tsunamis in a way that fosters more understanding of the societal forces that leave so many people vulnerable to the wrath of nature?

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31 Zollman, Peter M., ‘Community Disaster Coverage,’ Editor & Publisher, 130:38 (September 20, 1997), pp. 34-35.

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1. **Title of the Submission**: TRANSLATING A COMMUNITY: AN EXPERIENCE FROM SOUTH ASIA

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6. **Abstract and Full Paper** – from next page
TRANSLATING A COMMUNITY: AN EXPERIENCE FROM SOUTH ASIA

Abstract: Post-Colonial theories have brought in the agency of the colonized in a rather forceful way to retrieve the lost self-hood. But even as they do that these theories do not look into the possibility of several communities within the colonies perceiving the colonizers as agents of modernity. This way, colonizers which include British officials as well as missionaries as the translators of several communities into modern communities. This paper looks into a context where one such community, Billavas in South India opted rather to the Western modernity by taking to Christianity, denying the offer from the elites at home to take to Brahmo Samaj, a way of modern Hinduism in the late nineteenth century.

South Canara\(^1\) provides certain specificities for translation studies. Here, we have multiplicity of languages, not brought about by the urbanity and cosmopolitanism of the late modernity, but by the trade & commerce, travel and a constant touch with the outside world. There is Tulu, one of the old languages, considered to be indigenous. There is Kannada, which has been the administrative as well as literary language of the region for the last one and a half millennium with very few exceptions.\(^2\) Then there is Konkani spoken by Gouda Saraswat Brahmins as well as Catholic Christians, who fled from Goa, escaping from either proselytisation or inquisition from the hands of the Portuguese authorities. We also have the Beary language, spoken by a specific Muslim community. This is apart from certain kinds of Marathi and Malayalam spoken by smaller communities. This pre-colonial melting pot of linguistic communities witnessed speeding up of always already existing forms of negotiation between groups during the days of colonialism. This paper looks into an incident, which was part of such a negotiation between groups or communities. Textual work, translation, mediation and representation were part of this negotiation. In this sense, this paper does not do a stock taking of all translation work that has taken place in this geo-literary space called South Canara.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth century the missionaries and the British published vast representations of Indian peoples, literatures, customs and traditions in English translation. Some of

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1 The present districts of Udupi, Dakshina Kannada and Kasargod (of Kerala), in the South-West of India, were considered to be the South Canara district. After linguistic state formation in India in 1956, Udupi and Dakshina Kannada only remained in South Canara, in the state of Karnataka. From 1997, Udupi and Dakshina Kannada have become separate districts. However, nostalgia rules the people in their cultural psyche and many a time we hear the expression ‘Avibhajita Dakshina Kannada’, i.e., undivided South Canara.

2 Among the inscriptions of Tulunadu, only a couple of inscriptions have been found which are in Tulu and rest all are in Kannada (Ramesh 1980). When it comes to literary expressions, some epic poetry have been found in the last two or three decades. They are Sri Bhagavato, Devi Mahatme, Kaveri and the recent one found being Karna Parva. All these were deciphered and brought to light by Venkataraja Puninchittaya, a scholar in Tulu. From the third and the fourth decades of the twentieth century, we have the modern literature in Tulu language starting with a novel Sati Kamale, by S.U. Paniyadi.
them dealt with Indian folk traditions at great length. With the help of texts as well as practices, there were efforts to represent modernity to several native communities in India. The contributors to these publications were sometimes Indian elites themselves. Therefore the efforts by the missionaries and the British were mediated by the Indian elites too. In this paper we shall look into the choices of modernity and options that were available to a native community in the south coastal Karnataka – Billavas. The principal actors were the missionaries of the Basel Mission, British officials, people of the Billava and Brahmin communities, and the Brahmo Samaj. My study seeks to critique postcolonial critique of Orientalism, which might ignore or sideline some groups or communities that accepted the Western modernity. In other words, the Saidian ambition of retrieving the colonized as the subject of its own history, runs the risk of perceiving the colonizer and the colonized as terms in binary opposition and might monolithise these terms without looking into the multiplicity and complexity of a variety of identities that these terms might be inclusive of, and the power play therein.

I

According to the imagination of the people, in the Canara district, the Tulu country is especially fitted for demons, which they say, are partly created by God, like the Panjurli, and partly sprung from men, like the Beiderlu. There are several kinds of them, mostly thought to be flying about in the air. Some are, however, considered to be residing in certain places, houses, gardens etc. While some are family Bhutas, others are village Bhutas, and others, again, are only to be found in connection with certain temples (Manner 1894: 5)

The ceremony at which we were present…was celebrated by the head-man of the Billavar (i.e., toddy-drawers) caste, once in about twenty years. The expense, five hundred to a thousand rupees, falls on him, but he is partly compensated by gifts from the people who attend. Europeans have so often failed to get a sight of these rites, that, even after permission had been given us and we had accordingly attended, it seemed questionable whether we had really seen the ceremony or had been imposed upon, and it was only after questioning a Bhuta priest, now a Christian, that we found out that what we saw was really the ceremony, and, therefore, we can confidently put forward this account of it (Burnel, A.C., and Hesse, J., 1894: 7).

The above excerpts are examples of ventures to describe the outlandish native customs and practices by the missionaries and British officials.³ The British and the missionaries in the colonies mostly

³ In this case, Rev. August Manner and Johannes Hesse (latter, the father of the illustrious German novelist Herman Hesse) were the missionaries working for the Basel Mission in Mangalore and A.C.Burnel was the British official. In South Canara, the British and the Basel Mission had quite cordial relations except during the World Wars in the twentieth century.
worked within the framework that has been identified as Orientalism.\(^4\) The critique of Orientalism took to task a description of the Orient as a “place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes” and its enterprise to sift through the Orient into “Western consciousness” (Said 2000: 20-53). The above texts perfectly yield to the postcolonial critique of Orientalism. The critique of Orientalism would argue that the confidence and the power of the first hand-experience as seen in the latter passage with the motif of an illusive spectacle on the one hand and on the other, a claim to authenticity, built up a repository of knowledge that made possible an Occidental hegemony over the Orient (Said 2000: 24). But before we go further, it is pertinent that we acquaint ourselves with the missionary group called the Basel Mission, which was involved in the linguistic and cultural study of the people, their land, customs and traditions, apart from the proselytizing activities in the south coastal Karnataka.

The Basel Mission is a less talked about missionary group from Basel (now in Switzerland). It emerged in the early nineteenth century as a small, but dedicated missionary group. The missionary organizations were highly ambitious as they entered a vast and almost virgin land. Gauri Viswanathan says “the belief that Hinduism could surely fall from its foundation and the gospel rise on its ruins – that through science and modern learning ‘we must all come to one religion’ (‘an intellectual revolution culminating in a universal Christianity’) – was quite clearly an ideology that directed missionary labour in India” (Viswanathan 1990: 62). With a conviction to spread Christianity, this pietist missionary group set foot in India in 1835, in Mangalore, now in Karnataka. The Basel Mission had trained their missionaries to work in acute conditions. There was an Institute in Basel to train candidates who would become missionaries and would work in different parts of the world. The study of language was prioritized in this Institute. The chosen candidates in this Institute were trained both in Oriental and Occidental languages and literatures. In 1881/82, six hours of Greek and Latin was taught to the candidates. Missionaries who came to the East also received training in Arabic, Sanskrit and English. One of the worst exercises given to them was to pull a ‘dung-cart through the city of Klein Basel…amidst the laughter of the Basel population’ (Bieder 1985: 36-37). Theses rehearsals to work unabatedly helped these trainees in such a condition as their bazaar speeches during the native

\(^4\) Roughly put, that body of knowledge and ways of perceiving or imagining the Orient or the East that led to the hegemony of the West on the East. The hegemony, in turn, reinforced those perceptions and imaginations of the West.
festivals, when even things such as cow-dung was thrown at them and they continued their speech being indifferent to the attitudes of the crowd.

Within the first twenty years of work in South Canara, the Basel Mission was able to achieve converts from almost all castes viz, the Brahmin, Bunt, Billava, Moger etc. However, after a couple of decades’ work among the Billavas, there was a prominent change in the profile of new converts. There was a sudden outburst of response from the Billavas towards Christianity. In the 1860s and 1870s, thousands of Billavas from Mangalore and Udupi region were taken into the fold of Christianity.

II

Billavas belonged to a caste that was hierarchically quite low in caste status, though they were not considered untouchables. Their population in South Canara was 1,51,491 (about twenty percent of the population of South Canara which remains the same even today) in the year 1851 (David 1986). During olden days they had been an important part of armies of the kings of the region. As the wars ceased taking place, their prime occupation became toddy tapping and distillation. Some members of the community played the role of the Bhuta priest or priests of spirits during the worship ceremonies. They also worked as agricultural, but landless laborers. Billavas were the ardent worshippers of countless Bhutas or spirits. They did not worship any other gods and also did not have a proper temple until 1912, when the visit of Narayana Guru from Kerala prompted the community to build their own temple. High alcoholism, lack of a proper occupation and constant vulnerability to deadly diseases had resulted in the socio-economic and also political backwardness of Billavas.

It was chiefly for upward mobility that the Billavas started converting to Christianity. Their hope for an exalted material life made many of them accept the fold of Christianity. Coupled with that

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5 The word Bhuta has been translated in different ways by the Indologists. But predominantly the words ‘devil’ and ‘demon’ occur in their translations. Bhutas (corresponding Hindi word being ‘Bhoot’) are sometimes the spirit of the deceased or some other times they are partly divine. Apart from gratifying the wishes of the devotees, they have a high propensity to commit mischief on their devotees. Therefore these spirits were highly feared ones.

6 This moment seems to be an important point in the history of Billava community in South Canara. Billavas in Mangalore built Kudroli Gokarnanatheswara Temple, where they would have a non-Brahmin priest (However, the Basel Missionary Society considered it only as a step towards Christianity. The Report of the Basel Evangelical Missionary Society for 1912-1913 says “The efforts of these people to get rid of the Brahman, to appoint priests of their own, and to break away as much as possible from their old ways of life can easily be understood. But as the newly constructed temple is no real source of strength, this revival of Hinduism, and even the apparent opposition to Christianity can only be interpreted as a step on the road toward Christianity [RBMS 1912-1913: 27]). Many Billava leaders from through out South Canara went to meet Narayana Guru in Mangalore and with his blessings they started Bhajana Mandalis (Bhajan troupes) through out South Canara, which were and are the constellation points of community activities.
was the fear of *Bhutas*. They had a feeling that Christians had a power to drive away the *Bhutas*. Stating the reason for conversion, the Report of the Basel Evangelical Missionary Society (further referred as RBMS) for 1869 says that the Billavas had realized “that their religion and their social circumstances were rotten and that the manner of life in which they saw the native Christians walking, was far better than their own. Joined to this was the dread of their demons, a feeling of misery under the annoyances coming from their demons and Gurus, whilst they were convinced that the Christians were stronger than the devil and were able to shelter them also from his persecution” (RBMS 1869: 31).

The study of the *Bhutas*, their worship and the incantations during such worship had been conducted by the missionaries in the first half of the nineteenth century itself as part of the study of the culture and language of the Tulu people and especially Billavas. They had published such studies in various Indological journals such as *Indian Antiquary* and also as independent books and booklets. The presence of these missionaries during the worship ceremonies sans any feeling of devotion and yet being immune from any curse of the *Bhuta* appealed the Billavas. The missionaries even got pleas from the newly converted people to stay in their houses so that the presence of the missionaries warded off any approaching *Bhuta*. By representing the *Bhuta* worship as ‘Devil’ worship both in day-to-day practice as well as in textual translations, the Basel Mission was the agent of modernity in the above-mentioned region in Karnataka. These efforts were accompanied by the Enlightenment idea of ‘Development’ and the pietistic idea of ‘Hard Work’. Part of this was the establishment of some industries where the new converts could work and earn their livelihood.

The conversion to Christianity led to excommunication from the community. The Billavas and others, who got converted, were alienated by their friends, patrons and familial relations. This also resulted in the loss of livelihood not only because they lost their previous social network but also because the Basel Mission banned certain kinds of occupations like toddy tapping. In such cases the Mission had to provide an alternate occupation to a displaced and isolated community. The kind of pressure that worked on the converts resulted in the missionaries trying their hands at various industrial enterprises and teaching the converts “the basic characteristics of modern man in general”

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7 One of the Tulu pamphlets distributed by the Mission was titled “Kaligangasarada Tayari Kraistareg Yogyadavu Adunda?” (Is preparation of toddy and arrack fit for Christians?)
The Basel Mission Report for the year 1854 asserted:

Let us break the force of social excommunication which follows conversion, by teaching the industrial, mechanical and agricultural arts of Europe to the humblest converts, both in Christian colonies and industrial schools formed for their accommodation and tuition the great desirableness of which is becoming apparent (the Report quoted in David 1986: 166).

This solved not just the problem of providing the converts with livelihood, but also built an alternate community, which made up for the effects of excommunication. The Basel Mission established fly-shuttle looms on the West coast, producing high-quality clothes mostly for the Europeans in the region. In 1860, they ventured into tile industry to provide sound economic protection to the converted. In 1910, the number of people working in the weaving and tile factories was 3,500. There were other jobs created such as printing, bookbinding and watch making. All these jobs were occupied by the converted Christians. Fischer sees this as phenomenally different from other mission organizations in India and says “Basel Mission Christians underwent the most radical social change ever inflicted on Indian converts by a missionary society” (Ibid.).

III

However, there was a Billava leader who ‘was dissatisfied with the social customs of his people and the lack of a temple of their own for worship of God’ (Anonymous n.d.: 8). He was well-to-do and could be counted on par with other elites of the region. His name was Arasappa. Arasappa had come into contact with a prominent Saraswat Brahmin of the place called Ullal Raghunathayya. He was the son of the District Munsif and a famous Sanskrit scholar, Ullal Mangeshayya. Raghunathayya had been inspired by the ideas of Keshab Chandra Sen, a leader of the Brahmo Somaj from Calcutta. Incidentally Raghunathayya’s interest in Brahmo Somaj had bloomed by a constant visit to the library adjacent to the Basel Mission School in Mangalore. Later, he started to subscribe the weekly paper published by the Somaj from Calcutta, titled Indian Mirror. This had given a further boost to his interest in the Somaj activities. Arasappa was influenced by Raghunathayya’s new inspiration and he too got interested in the Somaj (Ibid.).

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8 The missionaries had tried to rehabilitate the converts in agriculture too. But the missionaries felt that the tenants tended to be lazy. Therefore, focus turned more on industries as time went (Shiri 1986: 196).
Arasappa was possibly the most powerful and influential leader among the Billava brethren in and around Mangalore who numbered about 5,000. He held a meeting of the community members in 1869 and sent a telegram to the Brahmanand Keshab Chandra Sen, Secretary of the Brahmo Samaj of India, for the services of the missionaries to come and teach Brahmoism to the people of Mangalore. Three missionaries of the Brahmo Somaj, Bhai P.C.Muzoomdar, Bhai Gour Govind Roy, and Bhai Amrit Lal Bose came to Mangalore by the end of April 1870. They were accompanied by Vasudev Nowrangy of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj (Ibid.).

However, Brahmo Somaj missionaries were a failure in impressing “the minds of Arasappa’s people”. Their “ways and habits of life” were “something like Christian priests quite unlike their Hindu priests” (Ibid.). Or perhaps they looked rather more alien than the Basel Mission priests working in that region. The latter, they knew, were sympathetic to their cause. They took their children to school; gave medicines whenever they were ill; drove away the fear of Bhutas and so on. But these new comers were totally strangers for them as well as their aspirations. Therefore, the vast Billava contingent turned down the offer of their leader Arasappa. “However, Arasappa tried his best to induce them to come forward” (Ibid.). But only five persons including himself got ready for the initiation into the Brahmo faith. Some twelve days later fourteen more joined them. A Samaj was established for them in Arasappa’s house in May 1870, which went by the name of Brahmo Samaj (Ibid: 1-3).

In fact, the possible conversion into Brahma Samaj was highlighted in the then media. The Report of the Mission says, “The news of the Billawars of Mangalore had run the round of Indian newspapers…” (RBMS for 1869: 23). On the other hand, there was a considerable possibility of the large Billava contingent turning onto Christianity as propagated by the Basel Mission. Since it was a large group of people who were getting ready for this conversion into Brahma Samaj, the Mission was worried about the prospect of getting anymore converts from that community. The Mission had put up its efforts to win over the minds of some “leaders”, when it came to know about the Billava intention to embrace Brahmo Samaj. In fact, the Mission was even granted the permission by the leaders. The Report says, “These leaders are people with whom we had been acquainted for many years, and we now tried again to influence them in favor of Christianity. One of their leaders⁹ came to our house, and

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⁹ We do not come across was any other leader of the Billavas, who was of Arasappa’s stature. Therefore, this must have been Arasappa himself.
as soon as they granted us permission, we returned the visit in their houses. But it became more and more apparent that there were scarcely any spiritual motives, the chief reason of their wish for change being the desire to rise in social position, and they begged to make conditions, that in the event of their becoming Christians, they would not be one with the congregation, but remain an independent body, to be allowed to visit heathen plays etc.” (Ibid.). The Mission was always for a single congregation without any fragments of caste or creed entering into it. The change in social position would only be a contingent factor along with conversion but not a primary factor. To this ideal, the Mission stuck to the end of its tenure and had a uniform congregation. However, the slow trickle of Billavas into the Basel Mission fold continued till the Mission existed in India and on the other hand, the Brahmo Samaj mainly consisting of a handful of Billavas, died down with the death of Arasappa in 1876.10

IV

Now, it is also important to see why the Billavas felt so alien to the Brahmo ideals that within the time of a single speech 4,995 (or approximately so!) of them had decided not to accept Brahmoism as a way of life. Firstly, we saw that the “ways and habits of life” of the Brahmos were alien. Secondly, and most importantly, the elites who were involved in persuading and influencing Arasappa were the Saraswat Brahmins of Mangalore such as Ullal Raghunathayya and Bharadwaj Shiva Rao etc. And it was the Brahmins who were quite opposed to the upward mobility of the Billavas in South Canara as evident in the nineteenth century itself. In 1836 itself, the Brahmins were against the employment of Billavas in government offices as trainees, on the ground that such Billavas would attain the headship of the offices and Brahmins would be compelled to follow the orders of a man they could hardly look at without getting polluted. They even went to the extent of complaining to the judge. However, the judge had replied that under the administration of the East India Company, no man could be deprived of office, or employment on account of religion, custom, and caste (David 1986: 167). It could be easily observed that the ones who had undergone schooling in the Basel Mission school in Mangalore were immediately absorbed in to one of the government offices in

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10 The Saraswat Brahmins had started their own group of congregation called Upasana Sabha, because they did not like to be identified with the Brahmo Samaj, which was mainly consisting of Billavas. This group started to be called Brahmo Samaj only in 1903, much after the death of Arasappa in 1876.
Mangalore and it was the Brahmins of Mangalore who had appealed for the starting of the schools by the Mission in Mangalore (Rossel 1986).\footnote{Goud Saraswat Brahmins, Valerian Rodrigues says, ‘were in a way the most troubled community looking for a religious identity throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries, unhinged from its traditional anchor by the colonial interventions including that of the Portuguese and looking for a larger alternative’ (Rodrigues 2006). However, it did not resort to conversion (except for an occasion in 1844 when three boys of this community were converted followed by a big commotion in Mangalore city, see Gundert 1997: 131) but it oriented itself sometimes to Brahmo Samaj, some other times to Theosophical society or yet some other times to a regional variety of Brahmo Samaj – Upasana Sabha (the latter being distinct part of Brahmo Samaj, since the actual Brahmo Samaj was represented by the Billavas, Saraswat Brahmins did not want to identify themselves with that version of Brahmo Samaj)}

At this point, it is interesting to note certain remarks of the Oriental scholars with regard to Bhuta worship and related cultural practices. It seems that the Brahmin intervention in Bhuta worship started only in the mid-nineteenth century or roughly from the time since the Billavas’ entry into modern spaces was legitimised by the British rule in South Canara. To quote R.C. Temple, a British official and a scholar placed in Mangalore in the nineteenth century, “One of the points…which will prominently strike the reader conversant with Hinduism as a whole, is the stronghold that modern Brahminism has now obtained over the minds of the Tuluva Bhuta-worshippers, and the acuteness with which their practices have been bent towards Hinduism pure and simple” (Temple 1894: 4, emphasis mine). It looks probable that a community that could not be ‘subdued’ or isolated had to be appropriated and as a way of appropriation, the upper castes got assimilated in practices such as Bhuta worship\footnote{It should also be noted that the practice of Bhuta worship also involves the resolution of certain social disputes or disputes related to land etc. This takes place during the Bhuta worship ceremony called ‘Kola’, which is an annual ceremony.} and started orienting it towards Brahminical practices. Thus, the various Bhutas that were worshipped were identified as the attending forces of Shiva and the names of the ceremonies were also sanskritised, though sometime back, the practices were ignored by Brahmins. The observation of A.C. Burnel and Johannes Hesse is as below:

This primitive religion is now no longer neglected by the self-styled “higher castes”, which formerly merely tolerated, but now almost respect the barbarous rites; while some philanthropic Brahmins labour to persuade the people that their gods are Bhutas, or attendants on Siva. These influences are apparent in the classification of the rites, which are deva-kriya or asura kriya, according as offerings are, or are not, made to the Bhuta. As the aboriginal “Peyi” has been changed into “Bhuta”, so these rites have now a Sanskrit name, nema (i.e., niyama), and they are sana (i.e., sthana) or illechchhida, according as they are performed at a temple or in a house… (Burnel and Hesse 1894: 7, emphasis mine).

One cannot come across the word ‘Peyi’ at present as the word ‘Bhuta’ has already become a commonly accepted word to refer to those spirits or deities. Going through the Indological writings,
thus, one can get references to the upper caste mediation in the modernity as it was represented to lower caste communities. When modernity could not be denied to lower caste communities, the upper castes tried to mediate or appropriate modernity through the cultural sphere to maintain their hegemony. However, the evident opposition of the upper castes against the upward mobility of the Billavas did not allow the latter community to see the agency of modernity (of the kind they wanted) among Brahmins or upper castes, who had arrived in the form of Brahmo Samaj.

CONCLUSION

Going back to where we started, it should be seen that modernity as it was represented by the Western agencies such as the missionaries or the British officials was a conscious choice among certain sections of the native population. By saying that through mechanisms of hegemony the Western colonial forces spread the tentacles of power, and by monolithising the colonial subjects as a uniform collectivity without any agency, is to deny the deliberate opting for colonial modernity by certain native communities, as it was represented by the West. However, a major chunk of Billavas remained within the fold of their caste accepting the Narayana Guru inspired Hinduism in the early twentieth century.13

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HIGH-TECH VERSUS HIGH-TOUCH EDUCATION: PERCEPTIONS OF RISK IN DISTANCE LEARNING

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ABSTRACT
As post-secondary institutions increase the availability of on-line programs, students must now consider the method of instruction among university choice criteria. This paper reviews a selection of literature on university choice, with specific reference to ‘high-tech’ versus ‘high-touch’ instruction. Using conjoint analysis, the study determines the importance students place on method of delivery, relative to several traditional criteria. The results identify two unique student segments (technology-sensitive and cost-sensitive) reflecting concerns regarding methods of education delivery. While the technology-sensitive segment expresses strong preference for face-to-face instruction the cost-sensitive segment is open to high-tech delivery, if the price is right.
HIGH-TECH VERSUS HIGH-TOUCH EDUCATION:
PERCEPTIONS OF RISK IN DISTANCE LEARNING

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INTRODUCTION
For most students, the selection of a post-secondary institution involves the evaluation of university programs using traditional criteria such as program focus, campus location, and cost. The typical method of education delivery can be described as ‘high-touch’. Students attend a physical campus for lectures and tutorials, and consult with instructors and peers in face-to-face settings. More recently, however, students have been given the option to consider ‘high-tech’ delivery alternatives. Web-based technologies create virtual campuses where lectures are delivered on-line and chat room tutorials are available for students to interact with classmates and instructors. Larson (2002) compares traditional and virtual education and defines high-tech alternatives as course-related communications unconstrained by fixed classroom locations. Positioned as a cost effective and convenient alternative to the traditional classroom, high-tech instruction creates education opportunities for unique student segments including travel- and cost-constrained international students.

The objective of this research is to determine the relative importance of education attributes considered by students when choosing a post-secondary college. Specifically, this study focuses on the preferences of students in their final year of study prior to applying to an undergraduate institution. The study examines the preference for high-tech versus high-touch instruction and the influence of education delivery method on the university selection process.

HIGH-TECH VS. HIGH-TOUCH EDUCATION
Originally limited to mail correspondence, distance education delivery systems have evolved to include television, video, teleconferencing, CD-ROM, and the Internet. Driven by the financial objectives of educational institutions, program administrators view on-line education as a means to expand the reach of a class that in many cases is already being taught on campus. The potential market may include individuals living in remote areas, students with inflexible work schedules, and foreign students and expatriates working in international locations.

Advocates of distance education have reported overwhelming success from technology-mediated instruction. Quoting the Director of the Michigan State Virtual University, Eccles (1999) notes, “When on-campus students were given the choice of the same course offered online or in the classroom, they choose the virtual section.” Studies conducted by Comeaux (1995), and Thompson (1999) unanimously report that students in distance education courses perform as well or better than those in traditional face-to-face programs. Klesius, Homen, and Thompson (1997) acknowledge the limitations of distance education, but conclude that convenience alone can overcome most deficiencies.
Although many studies have compared on-line versus classroom learning with regard to course preparation, instruction, course evaluation, and technology, few studies have examined the possible concerns of the on-line novice; the student with only face-to-face classroom experience. There is evidence to suggest many faculty, senior administrators, and students perceive on-line courses to be inferior to classroom instruction. Expressed concerns include: (1) a cold learning environment lacking interaction with faculty and students; (2) increased time commitments compared to regular classrooms instruction; and (3) subject to the whims of ‘temperamental’ technology (Drago, Peltier, & Sorensen, 2002). Fuller, Vician and Brown (2006) believe many prospective on-line students may suffer from email anxiety (“the fear or apprehension associated with real or anticipated communication via email”), computer anxiety (“the tendency of individuals to be uneasy, apprehensive, or fearful about current or future use of computers”), and communication anxiety (“an individual’s level of fear or anxiety associated with real or anticipated communication with another person or persons”). Since most communication within the context of on-line interaction takes place via electronically written messages or shared files, prospective students who have poor writing skills may believe they would be at a disadvantage in a high-tech learning environment (Smith & Rupp, 2004).

COLLEGE CHOICE CRITERIA
There are numerous sources listing post-secondary choice criteria, including magazine rankings of colleges and universities, higher education promotional material, and the academic literature. McDonough et al. (1998) studied various magazine rankings of American universities. These rankings include the “best colleges” (in terms of reputation) by U.S. News and World Report, the “best buys” by Money magazine, the “best party schools” by Playboy magazine and the “top jock schools” by Sports Illustrated. Potter (2003) reports the emergence of yet another college ranking—the “most chic campuses” by Women’s Wear Daily. Similarly, MacLean’s ranks Canadian universities on a number of criteria across six broad categories: student body, classes, faculty, library, reputation and finances. The student body measures include average incoming grade point average, percentage of out-of-province students and percentage of international students.

In the academic literature, Chapman (1981) presented a conceptual model consisting of internal (student characteristics) and external influencers (significant persons, fixed college characteristics, and college efforts to communicate with students) of college choice. Chapman’s fixed characteristics, so called because they are hard to alter in the short-term, include location, cost, campus environment, and availability of desired programs. Petr and Wendel (1998) studied university choice criteria used by students who leave their home state to attend a university in another state. Their research categorized choice criteria into four clusters: academic program, campus climate, cost of attendance, and influential persons. Some of the academic program indicators included institutional reputation, reputation of professors, starting salaries of graduates, average SAT scores of entering students, and average class size. Campus climate was described as athletic tradition, friendliness, aesthetic beauty of the campus, and extra-curricular activities. Total cost of attendance was defined as tuition fees plus living expenses minus any financial aid available to the student.
RESEARCH OBJECTIVE AND METHODOLOGY

A conjoint methodology was used to estimate the importance of method of instruction as a decision criterion relative to more traditional university attributes such as tuition fees and location. The conjoint model also estimated student preference for internet instruction, face-to-face instruction, and a hybrid model consisting of on-line instruction together with a partial on-campus requirement. A main-effects, fractional factorial design presented the respondents with descriptions of 16 competing university profiles. Each profile contained different levels for teaching philosophy, employment prospects, tuition fees, campus location, and method of instruction. The range for each attribute was determined using previous studies, current exploratory research, and select university websites.

The researchers drew a cluster sample by randomly selecting five classes at a South-East Asian polytechnic college. The sample included only students who were actively engaged in the search for a university and who needed to consider travel and/or distance education options as part of the decision criterion. The survey booklet simulated the Good Universities Guides (Hobsons PLC), a publication familiar to most students searching for an undergraduate university. Instructions and definitions were provided in the opening pages and demographic data were collected at the end of the survey.

One-hundred and forty-seven students in the five classes completed the conjoint survey, producing a 92% response rate. Incomplete responses eliminated 11 surveys. Low consistency scores (minimum individual Pearson’s $r = 0.80$) eliminated an additional 16 subjects from the analysis. Of the 120 remaining respondents, 30 were male and 90 were female. The average age of the group was 20 years. A large majority of their parents worked in either trade/technical-based jobs (48.3%) or professional/office-based jobs (38.3%). One-third of the respondents reported having at least one parent with a university education.

Aggregate Model Results

As shown in the Aggregate Results column in Table 1, the students performing the conjoint task appeared most sensitive to method of education delivery (relative weight = 26.79%). Course fees displayed the second highest importance rating (24.20%), followed by employment prospects (19.89%). University location (14.59%) and education philosophy (14.52%) contributed the least influence.

The results also demonstrate a strong preference for traditional, face-to-face instruction (mean utility = 0.46). If this method is unavailable, the students appear less inclined to attend a university offering even partial Internet-based instruction (mean utility = -0.01) and may possibly forego attending university if on-line education is the only means offered to obtain a degree (mean utility = -0.44).

As expected, lower tuition fees and greater ease finding a job contribute to utility. In this study, the respondents strongly preferred the lowest tuition fees (mean utility = 0.00), demonstrating increasing disutility when tuition fees were increased to $8,000 per year (mean utility = -0.19), and $15,000 per year (mean utility = -0.80). The respondents demonstrated minimum utility for
a 50% likelihood of receiving a job after 4 months (mean utility = 0.00), moderate utility for a
65% likelihood (mean utility = 0.35), and a strong preference for an 80% probability (mean
utility = 0.68). The respondents demonstrated no significant difference in their preferences for
campus location or education philosophy.

Segmented Model Results
The aggregate model found respondents willing to accept the increased costs of on-campus
programs due to concerns about on-line programs and the quality of education. However, high
variance suggested the presence of a group of students with higher utility for on-line instruction.
A hierarchical cluster routine identified two homogeneous student segments. The first segment
(n=67) was comprised of 16 males and 51 females. The second segment (n=53) was comprised
of 14 males and 39 females. Average age, parent’s occupation and parent’s education did not
differ between the two groups.

As shown in the last two columns of Table 1, the two clusters differ most on the relative
importance placed on method of delivery and course fees. The technology-sensitive (TS)
segment placed highest importance on method of delivery (relative weight = 36.55%), followed
by employment prospects (19.35%) and course fees (17.64%). Similar to the aggregate model,
education philosophy (14.05%) and university location (12.41%) demonstrated the least
influence. In contrast, the cost-sensitive (CS) segment rated course fees most important (relative
weight = 32.50%) and method of delivery least important (14.46%). This group ranked
employment prospects second (20.58%), followed by university location (17.35%) and education
philosophy (15.11%).

The utility for method of delivery shows that the TS segment values on-campus instruction
(mean utility = 0.84) and is opposed to any form of on-line education (hybrid mean utility = -0.09; on-line mean utility = -0.75). In contrast, the CS segment is indifferent to the method of
delivery. Although the CS segment favors the hybrid model over both the on-campus and the
Internet models, the difference is not significant.

As shown in Table 1, both segments demonstrate disutility from increases in tuition, but the CS
segment is more price-sensitive. In contrast to the TS group, the CS segment perceives only
moderate utility from smaller tuition fees ($5,000, mean utility = 0.00; $8,000, mean utility = -0.16), but may forego a university education at higher costs ($15,000, mean utility = -1.16). The
TS group perceives more moderate disutility with an increase in tuition from $5,000 (mean
utility = 0.00) to $8,000 (mean utility = -0.22) to $15,000 (mean utility = -0.53).

If finding a job is necessary to cover the costs of education, it is not surprising that the two
groups also differ significantly on utility for employment prospects. The results reveal that the
TS group is about equally content with either a 65 percent or an 80 percent chance of fielding a
job offer within four months of graduation. However, the CS segment is not satisfied with only a
65 percent chance of getting a job offer within four months of graduation, and has a much
stronger preference for an 80 percent chance of an offer (mean utility = 0.60).
**IMPLICATIONS**

The purpose of this study was to examine the importance of mode of education delivery relative to more traditional university attributes, and to determine the preferences of prospective students for high-tech versus high-touch education. The research confirmed that undergraduate students continue to use a subset of attributes when selecting a college or university. These core decision criteria include course fees, philosophy of the university, employment prospects, and location of the university. The results also show that while more students are considering mode of delivery as a search attribute, many continue to express concerns regarding limitations of the technology and quality of education.

At the aggregate level, the results from this study support previous research suggesting on-line education may not be attractive to undergraduate students (e.g., Clow 1999). However, further analysis reveals the existence of two significantly different student populations. The technology sensitive population appears to be most concerned with “how” they will receive instruction. This group displays a strong preference for high-touch education. Consistent with comments recorded in exploratory interviews with this population, lack of trust in the technology and quality of education are of major concern to these students. In contrast, the cost-sensitive population is most concerned with “how much” their education will cost. This segment appears willing to accept the risks associated with high-tech instruction, provided it is the most cost effective alternative.

An important finding of this study is the identification of an undergraduate student segment with a propensity toward on-line education. Latanich, Nonis and Hudson (2001) compared profiles of distance and non-distance learners. They found distance learners to be older, more likely to be female, and more likely to be employed full-time. In this study, however, the cost-sensitive segment was comprised of students matching the profile of most first-year undergraduate college students. They were younger, had little work experience and limited family commitments. In addition, the females in the sample were evenly divided in their preference for on-line versus on-campus education. Post-secondary institutions could use the results of this research to design academic programs, establish course fees, and develop promotional campaigns targeting unique student segments with preferences for either high-tech or high-touch instruction.
Table 1 – Aggregate and Segmented Models

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attribute</th>
<th>Relative Importance / Utilities</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aggregate</td>
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<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
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<tr>
<td>Method of Delivery*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Face-to-Face</td>
<td>0.4571</td>
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<td>Hybrid</td>
<td>-0.0138</td>
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<tr>
<td>Internet</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education Philosophy</td>
<td>14.52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stronger Academic</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stronger Industry</td>
<td>-0.0339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal Academic/Industry</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Location</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia/New Zealand</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>0.072</td>
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<tr>
<td>North America</td>
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<tr>
<td>Course Fees per Annum*</td>
<td>24.20%</td>
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<tr>
<td>$5,000 USD</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$8,000 USD</td>
<td>-0.1947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15,000 USD</td>
<td>-0.8039</td>
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<tr>
<td>Employment Prospects*</td>
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<td>50%</td>
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<tr>
<td>65%</td>
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<tr>
<td>80%</td>
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<td>Pearson's R</td>
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<td>Kendall's Tau</td>
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<tr>
<td>Respondents (n)</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* = Significant difference in utilities at $p<0.05.$
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Hey! Where Are You "Homo Sapiens" Going?: A Clinical Case of the Urbanized Man

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Man is said to have evolved from the ape through the repetitive evolution over 2 million years. The evolution was occurred perhaps because the change of climate on the earth, accordingly followed excessive traveling for better climate, the style of living by inventing tools, or other reasons. Through the evolution the man has constantly acquired wisdom, hence, the man has been called as *Homo sapiens*, a creature of wisdom.

However, has the man been using the wisdom since then? One clinical case of the urbanized man may give us an idea or an indication how we can think of the inquiry.

A male client aged 24 whom I met for a counseling purpose was arrested in charge of molesting a woman in the park. It happened while we met once a week for about one year. This act of molesting a woman shows that he hasn’t developed a sense of wisdom, not knowing what was right and what was not. In addition, he wasn’t wise enough to control his sexual desire. He was once diagnosed as a borderline personality disorder. In case of him, according to psychoanalytic view, he might have suffered from maternal deprivation and didn’t seem to get enough parental discipline to the point he could behave all right in the outer world. In other word, he didn’t seem to developed so-called *attachment* (Bowlby, 1969) to his mother, one most significant other. The *attachment* is considered to be a means-whereby with which the man develops the confidence in himself and accordingly in others, hence, it is a base to relate with others.

As I continuously saw him once a week and the psychotherapeutic process seemed to progress, he has gradually become better in expressing his thoughts and feelings in responding therapist’s accepting attitude. It was before he was arrested and I felt the psychotherapy was going well. Then, he suddenly began canceling the psychotherapy. I found later on it was because his parents who were absent for business for nearly a year came back home and began staying together with him and started interfering and insulting. He was soon right back where he started. He became confused and violent. Finally he run away from home and went out of control.

After nearly 3 months passed, he suddenly appeared to psychotherapy with me again and said he lost every thing he had not only money but self-confident. He regretted the return of his parents to his home. He couldn’t help but tolerate with their intrusion into his life. Because of it, he stopped attending the university he was able to return before his parents joined living together. I as a psychotherapist tried to listen and relate what he
How to fulfill our drive.

Traditional

Sublimation  ➔  Culture  ➔  Ethics

Tolerance

Sexual  ➔  Aggressive

Drive  ➔  To Fulfill

Today

Imidiate expressive  ➔  Lucking model  ➔  One

No tolerance  ➔  No goal to be tolerate

Burst up = explosion (Dissociation  ➔  Expression with body  ➔  Acting out)

Family  ➔  School  ➔  Society  ➔  Cultural collapse

In Disorder

Not knowing where to go  ➔  Unstable  ➔  Confidenceless

No tolerance  ➔  No goal to be tolerate

Burst up = explosion (Dissociation  ➔  Expression with body  ➔  Acting out)

Family  ➔  School  ➔  Society  ➔  Cultural collapse

In Disorder

Not knowing where to go  ➔  Unstable  ➔  Confidenceless

How to fulfill our drive.

wanted to say. My psychotherapy seemed successful in that he spoke a lot and disclosed what was happening during his absence for psychotherapy while I was attending to him. He was a bit in a state of high tension but was under control with himself. He seemed all right.

It was on the day after he came to see me that he got involved in the criminal. Therefore, in a sense, it can be said that the acceptance on the part of psychotherapist was not good enough to the degree the client fulfilled his needs of being loved, hence it was psychotherapist’s responsibility. I agree with it to some extent, but I somehow feel discontent and I argue if it might be due to the fact that his sense of wisdom as a homo sapiens, or value system, had not been developed. He was rather ambiguous, not knowing what was right and what was and he accordingly could not draw a line between right and wrong. He said later on he didn’t know it was a bad thing to do. He said how strongly he needed to be cared and loved at the time he attacked the lady in the park.

This episode suggested that he was experiencing the maternal deprivation and didn’t obtain parental discipline to the point he could behave all right in the world. I thought the above was more contributing factor and I knew it was psychotherapist’s role to give him such a need and discipline. However, I found an inclination in the client the more accepted he was, the easier he tended to do acting out. To deal with the acting out, it is not an easy job since it varies from an easier one to a pathologically difficult one and his was that of pathological. In another look I could say that it was due to a matter of liking the sense of human wisdom, or human values, and in general I have difficulty in relating with those who haven’t acquired the sense of wisdom as
a *homo sapiens*. It doesn’t necessarily mean I can not deal with those who have pathology, rather I feel I am good at it in most of the time.

In case of him he was born in a foreign country and brought to Japan when he was 3 years old. He was confused what language he could speak. He was taken to another country when he was 7 years old and faced with language problem and cultural confusion during 2 years of his stay. He was raised with the parents who didn’t know how to raise children. The parents often moved from place to place where father was busy and had almost no chance to relate with him. Moreover the parents didn’t get along well with each other and his mother was suffered from father’s violence. He seldom talked to his father and feared for his father. He had an eldest sister who became anorexia and who was hard on him. During junior-high school years he was bullied often times and became school refusal. He suffered from pathological episodes, some of which were hesitate to describe in this paper for the sake of privacy, and was diagnosed as a borderline personality disorder. As he became better in his health he was brought to my private clinic.

After he was released from police we talked about what was happening in him and found the above. Then, my psychotherapy with him has slightly changed in a way that he became able to acquire a sense of wisdom by understanding what would be right and wrong, along with skills that would enable him as to how he could relate with others or with the world. It was, for one, with my self-disclosure: “If I were to relate to a lady, I would become acquainted with her by saying ‘hallow’ and talk with each other. I would make relationship with her first. It is my way. How about you? What would you like to do?” In my psychotherapy I was neither preaching nor lecturing, but relating with him based on my self-disclosure and a role rehearsal. What I value and depend on in my psychotherapy is a sense of wisdom as a *homo sapiens*.

Not only him, but also relatively many in Japan are like him, lucking the ability to relate with others. For instance, a 14-year old boy, a son of the physician, killed a younger sister and the mother by setting a fire to the house. The reason known to us was that he was pressed by the stress in studying for a college entrance examination. A 34-year old mother killed a 7 years old child and threw the body in the river because the child didn’t behave as she expected. A 6th-grade girl threw another 6th-grade girl from a 12 story-high building because she was insulted by an e-mail sent by another girl.

There were more cases like the above in modern Japan during a past two years. People today, young and old, do not seem to behave with wisdom. Therefore I am anxious as to where we, creatures of wisdom, are going. Traditionally, we behave what we are supposed to behave. This is so to
speak culture including parental discipline. By culture I mean a certain social conditioning in which we acquire necessary wisdom so that we know how to behave, what is okay and what is not, and what is necessary to live together with others. However, the case cited here along with others tends to show symbolically as if we were going back to the pre-stage of *Homo sapiens*. In conclusion, I would like to say, “Hey! We got to use our wisdom for survival.”

**Bibliography**

Introducing A Group Approach To Graduate Students: Its Impact And Implications

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INTRODUCING A GROUP APPROACH TO GRADUATE STUDENTS: ITS IMPACT AND IMPLICATIONS

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Purpose
I introduced a group approach to the special class of graduate students who were candidates for the license in clinical psychology. Together with a project team sponsored by the Naruto University of Education, I was expected to contribute to present a training model of the licensed clinical psychologist. Therefore, this study aimed at finding a feasibility of offering a training model along with its necessary process. The group approach was that of combination of the psychotherapy group and the exercises taken from the humanistic education. The therapy group was conducted by me whose orientation in therapy was that of existential phenomenological and the exercises were consisted of values clarification, self-awareness exercises, imagery, and others.

Method
The class was consisted of 40 classroom sessions during a spring vacation. Eighteen graduate students participated the class. To see how well the class went the post meeting reaction was collected and the questionnaire was administered before and after the group approach. The post meeting reaction was scored and categorized into 3 categories; self-awareness, interpersonal relationship, and recognition. The questionnaire was analyzed by a principal factor analysis.

Results
Results of the factor analysis yielded 3 factors in both times; the understanding and relating with others, realization of the weak point, and the present state and tasks to be attained. A t-test indicated a significant statistical difference between before and after the experience in the understanding and relating with others (t=.613, p<.05). The post meeting reactions revealed that almost all students appreciated the group experience, for instance, “I am aware that I have a lot of shoulds,” “I have become clear what to do to get the license,” in the self-awareness category, “I have difficulty in verbalizing so that I would like to get use to it,” “It was nice that I could express what I felt to others,” “It was wonderful I experienced that I was warmly accepted,” “I felt it was okay to express my feelings” in the interpersonal relationship category. “I learned a lot if I opened my heart,” “I realized it was true that ‘parricide’ in the dream existed and whereby people could reconstruct the image of the mother in better way,” “I became to know that self-disclosure was effective to reach to others,” in the recognition category.

Discussions
All in all, the group approach seemed helpful to the students. This can imply that the group approach can offer a training model for the candidate for the clinical psychologist. I more detail, results from the factor analysis showed that the group approach was helpful in 3 factors, namely, the understanding and relating with others, realization of the weak point, and the present state and tasks to be attained. This meant these 3 factors were the contents of the group approach that were helpful to the candidate. And the t-test
between before and after the group approach indicated that the group approach was most effective especially in the field of *understanding and relating with others*.

It was the style of group approach that was effective, meaning that, more than anything, sharing with others in the form of group therapy or exercise was effective. In other words, experience rather than a series of lectures helped the candidate to open their hearts whereby the learning process was facilitated. The contents of the group approach, starting from *the ice breaking* to the final goal in *the self-awareness*, were also helpful to promote learning. That the students were staying in the same student’s dormitory and knew each other was another contributing factor. They knew each other and were already reliable, feeling safe enough to disclose themselves in the group.

Also the students who had positive motivation and participation seemed to contribute the cohesiveness of the group, hence, most contributing factor in this study. The way of relating that the facilitator exposed to the students might have helped to this end, resulting that almost all participants enjoyed and learned from the group approach.

However, the study was limited to the small number of students and the number of classroom sessions, although it was suggested statistically and experientially that the group approach would be feasible to hypothesize a training model for the candidate for the license in the clinical psychology.

**Bibliography**

Title:

The Rise of Temp Staffs in Japan since the 1990s:
Increased Labor Mobility and the Socio-Economic Implications

Topic area: Economics or Public Administration
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The Rise of Dispatched Workers in Japan since 1990s:
Increased Labor Mobility and the Socio-Economic Implications

Abstract
Reflecting the recent IT penetration and the economic stagnation in Japan, a new type of labor force, the dispatched workers (temp staffs), has increased. With the reduced costs of skilled labor and labor mobility, more and more firms have been accepting dispatched workers. This research paper discusses the rise of temp staffs in Japan. The first part analyzes the system and the demographic trend of dispatched workers. The second part reviews the history of liberalizing the labor laws concerning dispatched workers. Finally, the last part discusses the economic impact and socio-economic implications Japan may face in the future with the new labor forces. This paper may present an objection against a globally believed myth that Japan’s labor cost is too expensive to operate its manufacturing operations in own country. Given the fact that labor-cost of Japanese people has tremendously decreased due to the rise of temp staffs, does Japan still need to outsource its manufacturing operations offshore?

Dispatched Workers
Dispatched workers, called haken-shain in Japanese, are a new type of work force in Japan. They in many ways are similar to the “temp” workers in the U.S.. Although the population of dispatched workers was roughly 100 million or less, which accounts for merely 1.5% of the total labor force in fact, the rapid increase of the new labor force is a significant trend in Japan, particularly within the past few years.¹

Indirect Employment System
As figure 1 exhibits, dispatched workers are first hired by the dispatching worker service agencies, and then the workers are sent to the client firms. The dispatched worker actually works under the supervision of the client firms. In other words, a firm that hires a worker and a firm that commends tasks to the worker are different. The dispatched employee is paid by the dispatching agency. The agencies interview employees before the client firms. Most of the agencies provide the employees with various job trainings such as a basic or higher level of PC operations, skills for office working, web designing and programming.

There are two types of arrangements: agencies hire the workers as their full-time regular employee, and then send them to client firms as needed; or workers just register with agencies and obtain various temporary jobs as work becomes available, which is more similar to the temporary staff or “temps” in the U.S.² In both cases, the agencies are required to submit the business reports and balance sheets that state the number of workers, fees and payments to the government.³

¹It is quite difficult to measure the actual population of dispatched workers for several reasons, partly because some workers have just registered with the agencies but do not actually work, partly because some workers register with several agencies so that the data might count one worker as two or more. The Ministry of Labor, Health and Welfare announced 236 million, by simply counting the number of registrations in the dispatching agencies in 2005. The Ministry of International Affairs and Communication, by contrast, reported 85 million by counting the number of those who have worked at least for an hour in the last week of a month in 2004, which excluded the workers who worked only in the beginning of the month. Thus, the actual population can be roughly estimated as around 100 million or less.
Demographics

Figure 2 shows the changing trend in employment positions in 2003-4. Despite the continuous decrease in permanent employees and the moderated increase of part-time employees, the ratio of dispatched workers rapidly increased after 2004.5

Dispatched workers, NEETs and Freeters: Japan’s Young Age Groups

Figure 3 shows the demographic trend of dispatched workers. In the second and third quarter of 2004, the number of the dispatched employees drastically increased. Particularly, the increase in the number of people in the young group of (15 to 34-year-old) is remarkable.5

However, it should be noted that the young people, who can be categorized as NEETs, are different demographic characteristics from those who can work as dispatched workers. NEETs are jobless young people who are not in education, employment or training. Japan’s NEETs have a strong correlation with educational background.ii Among the jobless youths, college graduates tend to be seeking for jobs and become “unemployed,” while those with lower educations including high school graduates are more likely to give up their job search entirely and become NEETs.6 Furthermore, given the fact that most of dispatching agencies requires a qualification of college degree other than specified skills, the groups categorized as young dispatched workers and as NEETs are mostly different.

The distinction with Freeters and the unemployed youths is obscure. Freeters are young people who work as part-time and change jobs frequently. The populations of both Freeters and jobless youths have been increasing as well.iii Despite the full-time employment status and the higher average wage than Freeters, dispatched workers are sometime considered as upgraded version of Freeters because of the frequency of changing jobs. Also, dispatched workers easily become jobless after the contracted period of work ends.

Gender Differences

Historically, gender differences in Japan’s labor market have been significant. Even in 2001, the employment ratio of all the population significantly differed (71.5% males vs. 46.3% females). Females tend to work as non-regular employment such as part-time workers more so than males. To illustrate, in 2001 the ratio of non-regular employees is only 10.3% for males, whereas it was 39.8% for females. The only exception is found in the unemployment rate, where with both genders the rate was increased from 2.3% in 1990 to 4.7% in 2001.7

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ii The increasing population of NEET in Japan reached 0.8 million in 2002, which became a social problem.

iii The population of Freeters in Japan reached 2.0 million in 2002. The population of unemployed youth also reached 2.1 million in 2002, jumping up from 1.3 million in 1992, when the bubble economy collapsed.
Furthermore, the population of dispatched workers also represents large gender differences. In 2004, 57,000 females worked as dispatched workers, whereas only 23,000 males were dispatched workers. The ratios for each labor population are respectively 2.1% and 0.6%. As for kinds of occupations, female dispatched workers prefer to work as clerk generals, office assistants, and accountants, while males prefer to work as sales persons, system engineers, and programmers. Recently, however, gender differences in dispatched workers’ population have been diminishing. The primary reason is the increased number of males who fall into dispatched workers from permanent employees, while the change in females was virtually little.

Liberalization of Dispatching Worker Services

The original Labor Standards Law, introduced in 1947, did not permit the private business to dispatch workers from one company to another. It was feared that such dispatching arrangement could lead to the exploitation of workers. Dispatching worker services were permitted only for the public sectors or non-profit private sectors. In addition, some private sector were allowed to dispatch workers in the limited business categories such as doctors, translators, hair dressers, and artists.

The Dispatched Workers Law in 1986
In 1986, the Dispatched Workers Law was enacted, reflecting the domestic firms’ large demand for the labor mobility and skilled workers. The law defined the business of dispatching workers as “to dispatch the employees hired by the dispatching agency to the client firm to work under the supervision of the firms.” The law permitted for an agency to supply dispatched workers, only if the employment relationship of the agency and the staffs is defined.

At that time, the range of the permitted industries was limited to only 13 industries that required a high mobility of workers and a certain level of technical skills mostly related to information technology. The jobs included office administrators, market analysts, editors of business and financial documents, and receptionists. The revisions of the law in 1996 and 1999 allowed the dispatching worker services in a wider range of industries. Rather, the revised laws allowed all the industries, except for the listed industries such as some professional jobs, transportation, and constructions.

In 2004, the law was finally revised to permit an industry of production-line manufacturing. In March 2006, the law was revised again. Some jobs in the medical industry were added to the list of the permitted industries for dispatching workers. Yet, a certain industries such as the construction, security, and harbor industries were still prohibited from accepting dispatched workers.

Protection of the worker’s rights: Yodobashi case in 2002
The primary purpose of its latest revision was shifted towards protecting the dispatched worker’s rights from expanding the permitted industries. It extended the periods for which a dispatched worker can work in a firm, and also enforced the responsibility of dispatching agencies on maintaining the employee’s safety and health and offering labor insurances.

In addition, the revised law prohibited firms from re-dispatching the dispatched worker, who was already sent from an agency, to another firm to work. The issue of re-dispatching workers was raised by Yodobashi case in 2002. The case revealed the weak position of dispatched workers, who were easily abused by the firms and agencies. Observing Japan’s diversified and individualized labor systems, Kazuo Sugeno emphasizes “the establishment of rules for employment contracts which are needed in response to the mobilization of the labor market.” Even today, the liberalization of the Dispatched Worker’s Law is continuing.

iv Yodobashi case in 2002: a dispatched worker, 25-year-old male, sued Yodobashi Camera (electric products retailer) and E-persons (dispatching agency) for the repeated physical violence by a supervisor of Yodobashi to him. The worker hired by E-persons was first sent to DDI pocket (cell-phone manufacture). However, DDI sent him to Yodobashi which retailed the DDI’s cell phones in the retailing shops.
Economic Demands for the Dispatched Workers

Japan’s unique employment systems, lifetime employment and seniority-based payment, contributed to the Japanese firm’s long-term investment in developing human resources efficiently. Due to the rigid systems, compared with other developed countries, Japan’s aggregate employment for the entire economy has been considerably stable. The changes of aggregate employment to the changes of output were also small.

Indeed, even before the advent of dispatched workers in 1980’s, external work force companies existed and contributed to Japan’s rapid economic growth, such as part-timers or staffs hired from outside the company. As Japan’s position in the global economy improved, the demand for outside labor forces also changed. When Japan obtained global competitive advantages more than comparative advantages, multinational enterprises started to seek for more internationally viable employment systems to attract competent professionals and enhance productivity.

The economic stagnation: reduced labor costs

In 1990’s-2000s, a new type of external labor forces rose up. There were two main factors that caused the rapid demand for the dispatched workers. First, Japan’s economic slowdown increased the number of unemployed people, who eventually became dispatched workers. At that time, getting hired as dispatched workers was much easier than getting hired as permanent workers, particularly for those who needed jobs immediately and wanted various choices of job type, time, and place to work. Second, many firms reduced the number of new employees to hire, which generated a severe climate for the young labor market, including college graduates. As a result, these conditions generated more supply of dispatched workers to Japan’s young labor market.

From the viewpoint of firms, utilizing dispatched workers is advantageous in many ways. First, firms can find skilled workers as they need immediately. Second, since dispatched workers are not their permanent employees, they do not have to pay for the benefits and insurances, and they can fire the employees easily. These responsibilities are attributed to the dispatching agents (real employers in contract). Third, the cost of hiring dispatched workers appears in financial statement as non-fixed cost, not fixed cost. The fees to agencies are already imposed tax, which results in reducing the consumption tax. Kenn analyzes, “long recession in the 1990s added difficulty and immediacy, especially in reducing labor cost in an effort to retain/recover competitive advantage in the market place.”

Labor flexibility of skilled workers

Another factor for the rise of dispatched workers was the penetration of information technology into business environments. According a survey of the Ministry of International Affairs and Communication about “non-permanent staffs and dispatched workers” the biggest reason of choosing non-permanent staffs was “to keep the low labor cost.” By contrast, compared with the ratio of all types of the non-permanent employment, firms tend to hire temporary staffs in order to “to secure the skilled labors.” That is, the skilled labor’s flexibility matters more than the reduced costs. Indeed, if the firms want to reduce the human resource costs, they could hire temporary staffs as part-time by themselves without paying expensive fees to the dispatching agencies.

The fact that the number of dispatched agencies keeps increasing implies that their business is profitable because of the increasing demand for providing the skilled labors immediately. Traditionally companies in Japan developed their own long-term and intra-organizational training systems, and hired young college graduates obtained well-designed training programs to become candidates for the administrative or specialized positions. The dispatching agencies, by training the employees for business and IT skills in advance, tend to displace Japan’s traditional intra-organizational trainings. Therefore, both the reduced labor costs pressured by the economic slowdown, and the skilled labor’s mobility contributed to the rapid increase of the dispatched workers.
Socio-Economic Consequences: Polarized Labor Market

Reflecting the rapid increase of dispatched workers, Japan’s labor’s market moved towards polarization and divided into permanent employees and dispatched workers. In a recent survey of MHLW, 40% of the dispatched workers answered that the difficulty in finding permanent employment positions made them work as dispatched workers. Figure 4 shows that the possibility for permanent employee to fall into non-permanent has been drastically increased since 2002, while the promotion from non-permanent employment to permanent employment has not changed or slightly declined since 2001. That is, it is difficult for dispatched or non-permanent workers to be hired as permanent employee, once they have become non-permanent employees. When the data analyzed separately by gender, the barrier for male is getting bigger while that for female is not changing.

Income Gaps

A negative outcome of the polarized labor market is the increasing gap of their incomes. The average income of a dispatched employee is 206,000 yen per month, or 2,917,000 yen per year, which is roughly 60% of the average of a permanent employee of 334,910 yen per month (see figure 5). The income gaps in males are bigger than females. In particular, the gap tends to increase, as the employees get older. While an average income of male temporary employees is 86% of the average of male permanent employee at the 20s age group, the ratio becomes 56% at the late 40s age group.

The National Community Union, an organization united to solve the dispatched worker’s issues, held a conference in March 2006. They announced that two requirements must be met:

1) Maintaining a lowest payment above 1,780 yen/hour, which results in 3 million yen/year.
2) Avoiding an unstable condition in which the fairly short-term (1 to 3 month) contracts are repeated.

Asami Nakano, a lawyer and chair of the NCU, commented, “Our goal is to save the dispatched workers, suffering from continuously low incomes, from loosing their social status and positions.”

Bonus system as incentive for savings and consumptions

In addition, even if the gap of monthly wage is relatively small, the bonus wage system, another unique custom to Japan, can also increase the income gap. With the bonus wage, permanent employees tend to obtain extra 25-35% of the total wage bill annually. The bonus system enables employers to profit from the interest saved on the amount of bonus retained. Also, since the amount of bonus depends on the net profit of the firm’s operation, bonus wages functions as a reward for the employee and enhances the relationships between employers and employees.

The bonus wage is usually paid in cash in summer and at Christmas. This bi-annual cash flow has been big incentives for consumption in Japan. It also contributed to the high saving rate of Japan during 1950s-90s. Due to its indirect and short-term employment, dispatched workers cannot get the bonus wages. Furthermore, the unstable employment status makes it difficult for the workers to request a loan from banks or credit companies. In conclusion, through the rise of dispatched workers, the polarized labor market
increases the income gaps, and the lack of bonus system negatively affects the consumption behavior of Japan’s economy.

**Estimated Structural Changes in Dispatched Worker’s Market**

Recently, Japan’s economy and labor market showed signs of recovery. The unemployment rate has been continuously decreasing within the past three months, reaching 4.1% in February 2006. In particular, the demand for permanent employment positions showed a remarkable recovery from the past seven years. Alexander analyzes, “since there are twice as many as full-timers as part-timers, the reversal of their growth paths has even more positive implications than suggested in the crude growth numbers.”

Then, given the recent recovery of Japan’s labor market, the question is whether or not the labor of dispatched workers will change.

**Recovering young labor’s demand: the 2007 problem**

In 2006 many firms increased the number of new employees both from college and high school graduates. Furthermore, some firms reduced the restriction on their candidate’s career history; calling *second-Shinsotsu*, same job opportunities as new college graduates was opened to those who already worked as full-time or part-time for two to three years after they graduated from colleges.

Behind these positive trends, there is a firm’s concern about “the 2007 problem,” other than the economic recovery. In 2007, when the generation of baby boomer’s children turns to be 60-year old, the senior employees are expected to leave the firms, many of whom are in management positions. The potential consequence will be a lack of transferring knowledge and techniques from the older to the younger workers within firms and industries. This problem is severer in the research and development department of high-technology related industries, which are the Japan’s competitive fields.

**Labor’s structural changes**

The ageing demographics and the big layoffs of the middle-aged employees both contributed to the increase of the middle-senior aged labors in Japan’s workplace. Since the 1980s, many firms concerned themselves about the impact of demographic changes on horizontal and vertical hierarchies. Because increasing the number of dispatched workers in the workforces does not solve any the issues above, the firms turned their recruiting strategy to hire more young employees. Therefore, as for the young labor market in Japan, it is difficult to conclude that the number of the dispatched workers will continue to increase in the future.

By contrast, particularly in the manufacturing sectors, many firms plan to increase the number of non-permanent workers including dispatched workers. Many empirical surveys of MHLW support the trend. In 1999, 50% of the sample firms reported to “plan to increase the share of non-standard employees in their workforce over the coming three years.” The proportions were highest in manufacturing, trade, and services. More recent survey in 2002 states, “the liberalization of dispatching workers for the manufacturing industry will highly increase the number of dispatching agencies and dispatched workers.” Therefore, perhaps the workplace of dispatched workers will shift towards the manufacturing fields.

**Conclusion**

Dispatched workers have been rapidly introduced to Japan’s labor market, reflecting the economic slowdown and the penetration IT. The biggest advantage for firms to hire dispatched workers is the enforced flexibility to provide skilled labors. However, due to the liberalization of Japan’s Dispatched Worker’s Law, the ageing society issue and the economic recovery, the workplace for dispatched workers tend to change gradually. If the demand for dispatched workers continues to increase, particularly in the manufacturing sectors, Japan will again face some socio-economic problems. Even if Japan’s economy recovers, the stagnated consumptions and low incomes and savings of the dispatched workers will prevent the Japan’s economy from fully recovering.
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Parent Training with Behavioral Couples Therapy for Alcoholism:
Secondary Effects on Children

**Topic:** Psychology
**Presentation Format:** Poster session

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Parent Training with Behavioral Couples Therapy for Alcoholism: Secondary Effects on Children

Among the major public health concerns of the 20th century, alcoholism is certainly among the most devastating and costly. Among the many consequences of these disorders are the harmful effects of parental alcohol abuse on the family environment. These deleterious effects can, in turn, adversely affect the psychosocial development of children in these households. Estimates suggest that more than 17 million children currently live with an alcohol-abusing parent (Windle, 1997); it is widely accepted that these children are at risk for developing a host of emotional and behavioral problems.

Interventions are needed to address the clinical needs of these children. To date, treatment approaches have targeted the children themselves or have used family-based interventions to treat both the parents and their children. Unfortunately, research suggests that parents who enter outpatient treatment with a drinking problem are very reluctant to involve their children in these services, with more than 60% refusing to allow their children to participate (Fals-Stewart, Fincham, & Kelley, 2004). In circumstances in which substance-abusing parents will not allow their children to receive treatment directly, interventions for adult patients that improve parenting skills and the family environment may hold the most promise for the psychosocial adjustment of their children. Evidence suggests that couple-focused substance abuse treatment for mothers and fathers who abuse alcohol can have secondary benefits for children even when parenting skills are not directly addressed (Kelley & Fals-Stewart, 2002). Through a NIAAA-funded pilot trial, we examined whether adding parent skills training to behavior couples therapy (PSBCT) would be more effective at improving children’s psychosocial adjustment relative to Behavioral Couples Therapy (BCT) alone and to individual-based treatment (IBT) (with no couples- or family-focused therapy).

Methods. Substance-abusing men (N = 30) entering outpatient treatment for alcohol misuse and their nonsubstance-abusing intimate female partners were recruited. Eligible couples had to have custodial care of at least one pre-adolescent child between the ages of 8 and 12 years, inclusive. The substance-abusing patients and their partners were randomly assigned to one of three equally intensive treatments: (a) PSBCT, (b) BCT (without parent-skills training), and (c) IBT (without couples-based or parent skills intervention components). Couples and the children in their families who were within the above-noted age range were assessed at baseline, posttreatment, and at 6- and 12-month follow up. This presentation compares preliminary effects of PSBCT relative to IBT on children’s externalizing and internalizing behaviors, as reported by both mothers and fathers, through 12-month follow up. Data were analyzed using multilevel regression models, which account for the inherent nesting (e.g., partners nested within couples, repeated measures nested with time); MLwiN was used to model the data.

Results. Regardless of condition, children’s functioning improved, as indicated by the Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL; Achenbach, 1991) total, externalizing, and internalizing T-scores from baseline through treatment completion. However, as hypothesized, differences emerged by treatment condition. Children of alcohol-abusing fathers who participated in PSBCT experienced greater improvements than those of fathers who received individual behavior therapy without
parent skills training from baseline to treatment completion. Differences remained significant through 12-month follow-up, although there was some erosion of effects during the posttreatment follow-up period. Although mothers and fathers who participated in PSBCT reported higher levels of children’s functioning on the CBCL than parents who received BCT only, these differences were not significant (which is likely due to low power resulting from small sample size).

Conclusions: Custodial children (8-12 years) of fathers who abused alcohol and received couples therapy with a parenting skills training component showed significantly greater increases in psychosocial adjustment than those whose parents received individual behavior therapy alone, supporting study hypotheses. These differences were found not only during treatment, but continued through 12 months posttreatment. Although not significant, a similar pattern was found between children of fathers who participated in PSBCT compared with BCT alone. Results of this pilot study are promising, but very much support the need for a larger trial to explore these and other effects with a sufficiently powered investigation. Future research on the families will explore cross-respondent relationships between parenting (e.g., fathers, mothers, and children) and children’s adjustment, and other dimensions of parents’ adjustment as related to children’s functioning.
Title: Multiculturalism and Disability Education

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Abstract

This article will discuss the importance of placing disability education within the construct of multiculturalism. Within an international context, some of the important issues surrounding multiculturalism and disability education, and how these issues relate to teacher education, will be explored.

KEYWORDS: multiculturalism; disability; teacher education
Introduction

This discussion will examine the importance of placing disability education within the framework of multiculturalism. It will begin with a brief review of the history of the construct of multiculturalism followed by the importance of teacher reflection, exploration of personal bias, and personal understanding of this construct. The significance of placing disability within cultural context will be reviewed as well as issues of policy, overrepresentation and the influence on educational equity. Finally, within an international context, some of the important issues surrounding multiculturalism and disability education, and how these issues relate to teacher education, will be considered.

Background

In discussing multiculturalism, it makes sense to begin with a brief explanation for the inspiration and a definition of the term. Multiculturalism evolved from the concept of cultural pluralism and has its roots in the civil rights movements of various microcultures (O'Connor, 1993). Culture and cultural diversity are the core of multiculturalism (Nieto, 1992). It is a reform movement with international educational and social implications. Multiculturalism makes cultural and linguistic differences, gender, and physical and mental disabilities a legitimate part of the social discourse (Talbani, 2003). It is crucial that any dialogue about multiculturalism include a discussion of disability education. Children with disabilities who are from racially, ethnically, linguistically diverse backgrounds are often treated by educators from majority populations as if the disability is the single defining characteristic (Miles, 2002). Viewing disability
through the multicultural lens is not a new concept. More than 30 years ago Bogdan and Biklen (1977) and Biklen and Knoll (1987) discussed the notion of *handicapism* within the larger social construct of prejudice and drew comparisons with other types of discrimination such as racism and genderism; their analysis laid the groundwork for placing disability within the context of multiculturalism and it is important to continue this discourse.

**Clarification and Reflection**

There remains much confusion over the terms multiculturalism, cultural diversity, cultural pluralism, and interculturalism and many educators use the terms interchangeably. Every educator has a unique set of life experiences which color her/his perceptions, expectations, and interactions, and thus, her/his definition of multiculturalism and use of the term. In addition, country of origin also determines how one defines the term. In Latvia, for example, multiculturalism is a movement whose goal is to incorporate many ethnic groups of the same race into mainstream Latvian culture; in the United States, multiculturalism is often erroneously believed to be simply an issue of race. Defining the term and reflecting upon its meaning and personal implications allows the educator time to think deeply about her/his personal biases and the way those biases may influence her/his teaching and interactions with children.

**Cultural Context and Disability**

Educators must understand that family culture has the most profound influence on the child; as educators they must educate themselves about the cultural backgrounds of their students. In addition, it is imperative for educators
to understand the ways in which different cultural groups view disability. The cultural context within which the disability is perceived should inform good practice. Many educators equate *different* with *deficit* and perceive persons from other cultures and persons with disabilities as somehow less valuable, knowledgeable, or important than persons from the majority population. Educators must learn and respectfully acknowledge that all families have their own views and perceive problems, solutions, and support in different ways; in deed, families may view situations from an entirely different perspectives than the educator or the majority population. Educators must find ways to listen, understand, support, and respond in culturally sensitive ways, to families from diverse backgrounds, including those with children with exceptionalities; they must learn to view families’ differences as strengths and build on those strengths. Educators who engage their families as cultural informants will be more successful in establishing respectful partnerships with those families and better able to address the needs of their students.

**Policy, Educational Equity, and Overrepresentation**

Each country throughout the world has attempted and continues to attempt, with varying degrees of success, to institute policies that guarantee educational equity and meet the needs of many microcultures. There is pressing need for appropriate policy and educational equity. However, policies are often shaped by political agendas and prejudice rather than sound research and effective pedagogy (Miles, 2002). For example, over the past twenty years, Spain has seen a tremendous increase in immigrant populations; this increasing
diversity has resulted in many educational inequities including students from diverse backgrounds performing at lower academic levels than their peers (Arnaiz & Soto, 2003). In Australia, approximately 25% of all students come from non-English speaking backgrounds (Janiszewska, 2003) but as Janiszewska affirms, until very recently the Australian government’s policy on diversity was one of assimilation. Assimilation, she states “is a process by which individuals from minority ethnic groups adopt both the language and cultural values of another (usually dominant) cultural group (p.50).” We have seen this in the United States where a “melting pot” mentality prevailed until fairly recently.

In the discussion of disability education, it is evident, on a world-wide basis, that many ethnic groups are overrepresented in special education, especially among children assessed as having mild learning disabilities, mental retardation, and emotional/behavioral disorders, but under-represented in gifted programs. Thus, disability education is a political issue. In many countries children from minority groups travel to special schools. For the child, this may mean moving out of their home area to be taught with children who do not share their cultural and linguistic background by teachers who may have no knowledge and limited sensitivity to the needs of these students.

While there is a tendency to point fingers at third world countries when discussing educational inequities, we see that in many developed countries like the United States, there are social policies in place to promote inclusion and educational equity however, evidence indicates that in many cases there is a dramatic difference between policy and practice; marginalized populations are
still victimized. As an example, in one major U.S. urban city, an assistant principal forced a group of students of Haitian descent to sit and eat on the cafeteria floor using their hands, calling them animals and stating “that’s how you people eat in your own country” (Saulney, 2005). The students were American citizens. In other parts of the world, children of minority populations, those who are typically developing as well as those with disabilities are denied schooling completely. In the Turks and Caicos Islands, a vacation haven for the wealthy, Haitian immigrants provide the work force but their children are not allowed to go to school (Bolderson, 2002). In Great Britain, entire schools consist of one ethnic and/or racial group of students (Miles, 2002) many classified as having disabilities; separation does not facilitate educational equity.

Conclusion

As the worldwide discussion of multiculturalism continues, “scholars will have to pay much greater attention to situating special education research within the discourse on race, class, culture, and language and acknowledge that the context within which all disability exists is always an individual’s socioculture” (Pugach, 2001, p.447). Pugach further states the study of disability without a discussion of race, class, culture and language will result in misconceptions. According to Waite (1999) including students with disabilities is a central feature of school reform and teacher education but it is often overlooked in multicultural education and diversity coursework. Teacher preparation programs must spend more time – theoretical and practical – devoted to instructing future teachers on working with diverse populations and providing teacher-trainers opportunities for
hands-on work with families from diverse backgrounds and children with
disabilities. For teachers currently in the classroom, reflective exercises and
quality professional development opportunities can help sensitize them to issues
of diversity and disability, inform practice, and help them develop the skills and
understanding necessary to place disability within the framework of
multiculturalism. As educators, policy makers, administrators, and researchers,
we must remember that multiculturalism means educating for social justice and,
therefore, we must help future teachers learn to teach for social change (Waite,
1999).
References


Assumptions About Personhood in Chinese Malaysians’ Discourse of Dissatisfaction

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Abstract

In this study, we seek to provide an emic understanding of the general assumptions about personhood among the Chinese Malaysians as communicated through discourse about and performance of complaint-making. We particularly focus on discourse about *thou soo* and *aih auan*—two speech acts that community members consider meaningful in expressing dissatisfaction. Expressions of dissatisfaction with others and with life situations in general provide an excellent window into assumptions about personhood as they deal with unmet expectations that in other circumstances are taken for granted. Furthermore, the communication focused on dissatisfaction involves the evaluation of the inadequacies of people involved in the situation, since the complainer assumes some shared value or ideal that has not been met when expressing dissatisfaction. This situation allows the observation of the interlocutors’ assumptions of the nature of individuals, as they discuss how people, including themselves, should or should not behave. Although the findings of this study do not provide a comprehensive list of the community’s assumptions of personhood, we believe we have provided important insights into a community that has not received much attention in research. In short, the Chinese Malaysians’ discourse and performance of complaint-making reveal four assumptions of personhood: (a) people are inescapably connected, (b) people are vulnerable, (c) people have one true self, and (d) people have partial agency. In the discussion, we reflect on how these revealed assumptions about personhood fit with past research on East Asians in general and highlight the importance of understanding the underlying meanings associated with certain communicative behaviors and the danger of large scale generalizations.
Assumptions About Personhood in Chinese Malaysians’ Discourse of Dissatisfaction

The discourse about and performance of speech acts are useful in understanding people’s sense of self. Previous studies have shown that speech acts contribute to and reveal individuals’ conceptions of the self in their talk (e.g., see Carbaugh, 1989, 1993). As Goffman (1967) proposed, individuals form their self-conception via talk. Individuals depend on others to complete the picture of themselves and to understand themselves. At the same time, via talk, individuals also reveal to others how they view themselves in a social interaction (Goffman, 1971). Therefore, discursive practices reveal important information pertaining to people’s assumptions about personhood, or the nature of individuals.

People’s assumptions about personhood that are revealed via speech acts are intertwined with culture. Fundamentally, the performance of speech acts involves the use of symbolic resources—the arbitrary and conventional commodities and ideas that people rely on to communicate and to make sense of their lives (Hall, 2005). Since humans assign meanings to symbolic resources, their use of symbolic resources (i.e., communicative acts) reveals their assumptions about personhood. These assumptions are culturally laden. In fact, studies that strive for native understanding of speech acts and other culturally laden elements should be understood from and interpreted according to the emic (i.e., within culture) perspective—through the lens of a specific community (e.g., Carbaugh, 1990; Witteborn, 2003) and the native terms of that community (e.g., see Gales, 2003; Wierzbicka, 2003a; Witteborn, 2003).

Therefore, to obtain a genuine understanding of people’s assumptions about the self that is revealed via speech acts and as grounded in cultural context, we use an emic approach in this study. The purpose of this study is to identify and describe general assumptions about
personhood via the discourse about and performance of complaint-making from one Chinese Malaysian community—a community whose culture is not widely studied in the communication field (see the next main section for further discussion).

In the following section, we provide background information on the Chinese Malaysian community of study. Next, we explain the selection of expressing dissatisfaction or complaint-making as an appropriate speech act to identify and describe the Chinese Malaysians’ assumptions about personhood. We also discuss complaint-making based on the Chinese Malaysians’ understanding by using words in their native languages.

The Chinese Malaysian Speech Community

The Chinese Malaysian speech community that we studied consisted of ethnic Chinese people who were born and raised in Malaysia. Malaysia consists of three main ethnic groups: Bumiputra (65.1%), Chinese (26%), and Indians (7.7%) (Department of Statistics Malaysia, n.d.). Bumiputra, literally translated as sons of the soil, composed of the Malay ethnic group and other indigenous people represent the dominant group in the country (Lam & Yeoh, 2004). The dominant group, the Malay population that is Muslim, rules the politics of the country. During the British colonial period (1789-1957), the British imported ethnic Chinese people from China and ethnic Indians from India to work as laborers. Although the current postcolonial Malaysia is multiracial, cultural or racial issues and underlying ethnic differences and values are taboo topics (Giacchino-Baker, 2000). Cultural diversity is perceived as threats to the country.

The common identity among Chinese Malaysians is rooted in their ethnicity mainly because of great-grandparents or grandparents who migrated from China. However, Chinese Malaysians consider themselves as having different cultural identities based on the languages they speak (Freedman, 2001; Lam & Yeoh, 2004). They divide themselves further into at least
five different cultural groups based on the mutually unintelligible languages that they speak: Hokkien, Cantonese, Teochew, Hainan, and Hakka (Tan, 1999; Waller & Fam, 2000). Although the languages originated from different provinces in China, they have been adapted to local culture since the 1700s (Platt, 1976). The languages incorporate local lexicons and folk concepts from the Malay language and certain words from the English language (Platt, 1976). The languages are limited to oral form and writable in Chinese characters using equivalent words in combination with Malay and English lexicons.

Chinese Malaysians also identify themselves differently based on their different schooling systems (e.g., there are Chinese Malaysians who attend the Malay school) and religions, as well as their attitude toward (e.g., disbelief in or acceptance of) Westernization. Westernization is commonly associated with adoption of Christian values and is perceived as modern or hip (e.g., see Wierzbicka, 2003b). Furthermore, certain Chinese Malaysians who are particularly receptive to Western influences also speak Malaysian English in combination with their own languages based on their descent.

Public and mundane discourse among the ethnic Chinese people as diaspora in Malaysia commonly focuses on their fluid identifications with Malaysians (i.e., the citizens of the country) and/or the minority ethnic Chinese people (Nonini, 1997). However, the country and the cultural group’s discourses do not single out specific assumptions about the nature of individuals, whether referring to the Malaysian population in general or the Chinese Malaysians. Furthermore, the U.S. and Western common conceptualization of the self as an independent entity or in relation to others is not used in the country and the Chinese Malaysians’ discourse. Since cultural values are influential in people’s assumptions about personhood (Smith, 1991), we
discuss possible cultural values that may influence the Chinese Malaysians’ perceptions of the 
self and possible assumptions of personhoods in the next subsection.

*Cultural Values and Personhood*

Based on the colloquial way of discussing cultural values, Malaysians and Chinese 
Malaysians rarely use of scholarly terms such as those discussed in U.S. and other Western 
literature (e.g., collectivism-individualism, high- and low-context communication, etc.). Instead, 
the Malaysian government accentuates its call for *bangsa* Malaysia—a Malaysian race that 
highlights Malaysian identity (Giaccino-Baker, 2000; Waller & Fam, 2000). Common terms 
used in the limited discussions about monocultural values or so-called Malaysian values include 
references to *social responsibility, civic mindedness, mutual tolerance, acceptance,* and 
*celebration of different cultures* (Waller & Fam, 2000). This aspiration of achieving *bangsa* 
Malaysia and the promotion of the associated government-prescribed values do not necessarily 
single out or reveal any distinct set of Chinese Malaysian cultural values and assumptions about 
personhood.

Since the Chinese Malaysian cultural values are not openly discussed in Malaysian public 
discourse, some possible cultural values that may shape their assumptions about personhood may 
be identified from the teachings of Confucius (Lee-Wong, 2000; Wierzbicka, 2003b). As 
examined in different studies, Confucianism is a prominent foundation for learning about the 
core of Chinese cultural values (e.g., Liu, 2003; Yick & Gupta, 2002). Although people in the 
speech community that we studied did not grow up in China, as one of the many Chinese speech 
communities in the world, it is expected to share certain traditional Confucian values with people 
in China (Lee-Wong, 2000).³ Common Confucianistic virtues include filial piety, transcendence 
of individuality and sociality, love and respect, and benevolence.
Confucianistic virtues are proposed as influential in the ethnic Chinese people’s notions related to and conceptualization of the self (e.g., Gao, 1996; Ng, 1999; Tu, 1985). Based on the key philosophical elements of Confucianism, scholars posit and portray the ethnic Chinese people as collectivists who define themselves in relation to others (e.g., see Gao, 1996; Ho & Chiu, 1994; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Yum, 1988). Since the preservation of harmony and human relatedness are central in Confucianism, the ethnic Chinese people are said to view themselves according to relational status and social role that are interdependent with others (Gao; 1996; Tu, 1985). The self is then characterized by how well people fit into groups and live up to others’ expectations of them in order to pursue interpersonal accommodation (Gao, 1996; Ng, 1999). Hence, the Chinese self is described as selfless, in the sense that people deemphasize self-centeredness and voluntarily devote to social obligations, such as to conform, cooperate, and suppress one’s internal desires and emotions (Hu & Grove, 1991).

From a philosophical standpoint, Confucianistic values and the understanding related to the self can be mentioned and discussed as those manifested in well-researched Chinese communities, such as the mainland Chinese and Taiwanese. However, due to the historical background of the Chinese Malaysians, there are two possible influences that may distort the assumptions about the self as influenced by Confucianistic values. First, the ethnic Chinese people in the community of study have been exposed to British influences and Western values. Second, the community was not exposed to the anti-intellectual Cultural Revolution of 1966 in China, in which traditional Chinese cultural beliefs and values were under severe attack (Fang, 1998; Lee-Wong, 2000). Consequently, the community might have been influenced by a fusion of cultural sources that affect the Chinese Malaysians’ assumptions about personhood. These sources may include Confucian teaching, Western values that have been adapted to local needs,
Malay (i.e., Islamic) values that are reflective of the dominant group in the country, and to some extent, the government-sponsored bangsa Malaysia values.

**Complaint-Making**

Since people’s sense of self is constituted and reconstituted via social interaction, we treat the discourse and performance of complaint-making as a speech act that is useful to infer people’s assumptions about personhood. As Davies and Harré (1999) stated, the social meaning of the self is realized through interlocutors’ participation in discursive practices. Thus, through discourse, in this case complaint-making, people realized their positioning—which is defined as the ways people perceive themselves as “being a person of a certain sort” (Davies & Harré, 1999, p. 52).

Basically, individuals participate in social interaction in terms of a special capacity, or status called a “special self” (Goffman, 1967, p. 52). Since individuals participate in social interactions using the “special self,” they do not participate in social interactions in terms of a total self (Goffman, 1967). This means that each individual has a continuity of a multiplicity of the self (Davies & Harré, 1999). Furthermore, the multiple selves could also be different from or contradictory to each other (Davies & Harré, 1999).

Indeed, utterance of dissatisfaction reveals a complainer’s perception of the situation and evaluation of the inadequacies and the parties involved (Olshtain & Weinbach, 1993; Tracy, Van Dusen, & Robinson, 1987). As Hochschild (1983) explained, complaints indicate a gap between cultural moral ideals and the complainer’s negative experience that the complainer justifies by complaining. The evaluations of the inadequacies and expectations of people involved in the situation allow the observation of the interlocutors’ assumptions of the nature of individuals, as they discuss how people, including themselves, should or should not behave (Lee, 2005). In fact,
this observation of the notions of personhood as related to the evaluation of how people should and should not behave was borne out in the Chinese Malaysians’ discourse and performance of complaint-making as everyday talk.

In the following subsections, we briefly describe the main types of complaint-making—known as *thou soo* and *aih auan*—that Chinese Malaysians treated as meaningful speech acts. We intend to use these folk concepts to aid in the discussion of assumptions of personhood. We use native folk concepts in order to better resonate with the community members’ own understanding of these issues and to avoid misleading assumptions that may occur if other complaint-oriented speech act labels were used (e.g., fault-finding, criticizing, bitching, whining, troubles telling, and griping).

*Thou Soo*

*Thou soo* is a cultural specific form of solution-focused of complaint-making in which people who perceive themselves as *victims-of-offense* express their dissatisfaction and want the *offenders* to change the unsatisfactory situations and/or to solve the problems that caused the dissatisfaction. The *victims-of-offense*’s performance of *thou soo* may focus on the *offender*’s wrongdoings through omission or commission. Focusing on issues of omission when performing *thou soo*, the *victim-of-offense* complains about actions that the *offender* is perceived to have failed to take, or should have taken, to avoid eliciting the victim’s dissatisfaction. The issues of omission in this study mostly emerged from Chinese Malaysians’ discourse of services or task-oriented matters that public organizations or agencies failed to provide to the victims and/or society (i.e., public issues). Organizational or governmental acts of omission include the lack of the teaching of defensive driving skills in driving schools, the lack of enforcement of no-smoking rules, and the absence of public safety in residential areas. The *victims-of-offense* also
complain about issues of commission in which offenders committed mistakes by engaging in behaviors that the victims considered inappropriate and wanted stopped. We found that issues of commission emerged mostly from Chinese Malaysians’ discourse about private issues—matters that pertained to individuals’ personal lives.

The victims-of-offense talked about their dissatisfaction either directly to the offender who committed mistakes (i.e., direct sequence) or to an advocate who could facilitate the complaint-making process between the protagonists (i.e., mediated sequence). In the direct sequence, the face-to-face nature of thou soo between the victim and the offender was seen as extremely face-threatening, so the performance was often delivered in a tense, emotional tone. In the mediated sequence, the performance of thou soo was often characterized by a hopeful tone mixed with fear and frustration. The victim hoped that the advocate’s mediation would bring about the desired changes. At the same time, the victim was afraid of speaking directly to the offender and frustrated at having to endure the dissatisfaction and to deal with what was perceived as the offender’s mistakes. The victim-of-offense used an advocate because the victim perceived that threats would be involved if he or she talked directly to the offender. The community members cited possible negative consequences associated with the speech act, such as physical violence, psychological abuse, job losses, and other repercussions. Consequently, the community members evaluated the performance of thou soo as risky.

Aih Auan

In contrast to the performance of thou soo, the performance of aih auan is not solution-focused. Rather, those who engage in aih auan see themselves more as victims-of-fate and assume that their unsatisfactory situations are irreversible and/or partially predetermined by fate-related elements and, therefore, beyond their control. Consequently, aih auan is used to lament a
problem but not solve it. The *victims-of-fate* performed *aih auan* to supportive companions—people who are willing to listen and be sympathetic about their plight. Since the victims do not seek to solve their problems, the victims perform *aih auan* to achieve catharsis and to seek and gain empathy. On certain occasions, in the hope of preventing the supportive companions from repeating the same or making similar mistakes, the performance of *aih auan* is meant as a caution and aimed at educating the listeners.

Issues about which the Chinese Malaysians in this study performed *aih auan* included one’s poor health condition, inability to be rich regardless of job competence, no compensation for dedication and physical labor provided to help the business of one’s spouse, and regrets about one’s wedding which was not conducted appropriately some 30 years ago. Due to the irreversibility and uncontrollability of the unsatisfactory conditions, performance of *aih auan* by the *victims-of-fate* was repeated and continuous. That is, the victims mentioned their dissatisfaction repeatedly during an episode of *aih auan*. Alternatively, they continued to air their grievances over time and space (i.e., at different times and during different episodes of *aih auan*), to the same and/or to different companions.

The tone of the performance of *aih auan* was emotional and characterized by despair and resignation. The Chinese Malaysians also described the performance of *aih auan* as essential and natural. Primarily, they viewed the purging of negative emotions related to dissatisfaction as part of their basic human needs. The Chinese Malaysians also viewed the victim’s expressions of emotions that accompanied the performance of *aih auan*, such as raising the voice, expressing anger, crying, and yelling, as natural and acceptable.

As reviewed above, both types of complaint-making among Chinese Malaysians—*thou soo* and *aih auan*—essentially entailed the community members’ discussion of the perceptions
and evaluations of the unsatisfactory situations, other people involved, and the complainers themselves. Therefore, *thou soo* and *aih auan* revealed the community members’ positioning of the self, and the different and multiple selves people hold (e.g., the self in the past as compared to the self at present, or the different roles that people play when they engage in the performance of *thou soo* or *aih auan*). Their discourse also entails the discussion of how people should or should not behave, and who people are. Evidently, the Chinese Malaysians’ discourse and performance of complaint-making reveals rich and complex notions they attached to the self. Therefore, we ask:

*RQ*: What are Chinese Malaysians’ general assumptions about personhood that are revealed via the speech act of complaint-making?

**Method**

The authors collaborated to devise a research plan for collecting and interpreting the data for this study. The first author grew up in the community and speaks the community languages with native fluency. Although she now resides in the United States, her native knowledge of the community was invaluable in terms of making connections with community members that may otherwise have been suspicious and resistant to strangers. Her background also helped in understanding the conscious cultural knowledge. The second author is an outsider to the community. Though he does not have the native knowledge of the first author, he has a background in studying cultural communities that provides a point of reference to notice what would often be unconscious to those within the community. Working together, the authors have been able to provide an in-depth exploration of folk concepts related to complaint-making and the relevant cultural ideals within the Chinese Malaysian community.

*Data Collection*
We used two types of data: (a) transcribed semi-structured interviews, and (b) field notes and transcribed versions of spontaneous conversations that contain complaint-making. The first author interviewed 11 community members in the Chinese Malaysians’ native languages (i.e., a combination of Hokkien, Teochew, Mandarin, Bahasa Melayu, and Malaysian English). She recruited the participants using the snowball sampling technique and obtained informed consent from all participants before conducting the interviews at the participants’ place of selection.

Although the informal visits typically lasted much longer, the formal interviews ranged from one to two hours and centered around four main issues: the interviewee’s experiences expressing dissatisfaction, his or her observation of others expressing dissatisfaction, situations when the interviewee has been the target of complaints, and labels and other identifying characteristics associated with the expression of dissatisfaction. All but one of the interviewees were non-college students with various life experiences. Additionally, pseudonyms were given to each participant.

Since interviews did not allow the observation of actual interactions in progress, the first author also collected naturally occurring interactions, in which people performed and responded to complaint-making. As a participant observer, she took field notes and audio-recorded the conversations whenever possible. She obtained the interlocutors’ permission to record their interactions. She generally audio-recorded all conversations at the beginning of the interaction and continued until she left, since complaint-making episodes were embedded within occurring conversations.

Data Analysis

We employed four steps in the data analysis process. First, the first author transcribed the oral data. She transcribed the interviews and spontaneous recordings involving expressions of
dissatisfaction. Second, in keeping with the speech code perspective, we made a close reading of the letters and transcriptions and identified categories of instances that conformed to the elements of Hymes’s (1972) SPEAKING framework (i.e., setting or scene, the participants and participant identities, the ends, the act sequence and act topic, the key or tone, the instrumentalities, the norms of interaction and of interpretations, and the genre). In doing so, we also identified key native terms associated with these categories. Third, we looked for patterns among the categories. For example, we noted if certain participants were related to certain types of complaint-making, but not to others. Fourth, we sought connections among our initial findings by employing the constant comparison technique (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). That is, we compared each unit of one source of data to other units of the same source. Then, we cross-compared the different sources of data to identify distinct themes that existed across the data. Finally, to answer the research question, we used the related information that we organized by category to identify and then analyze the relevant themes.

Findings

The community discourse of complaint-making revealed four assumptions about personhood: (a) people are inescapably connected, (b) people are vulnerable, (c) people have one true self, and (d) people have partial agency. The community’s various assumptions about personhood are intertwined with each other. In order to provide a meaningful understanding of the community assumptions of human nature, we also discuss the interconnections between and among the different assumptions. However, all four assumptions about personhood mentioned above may not be explicitly present in each community member’s narrative.

People are Inescapably Connected

In their discourse, the community members revealed that a person’s behavior affected
Assumptions About others with whom he or she interacted; that is, people were inherently linked to one another. However, it was not a matter of choice to be thus connected even when people did not like it and/or were unwilling to continue the links. For example, the victims-of-offense spoke thou soo because they believed that changes in the offenders’ behaviors would necessarily change their state of dissatisfaction. Thus, a change in one person’s life was seen to change many people’s lives. Furthermore, the victims’ belief that people were connected led to their wanting to talk about their dissatisfaction and to find a solution. As Kwan observed:

People meet each other as a consequence of predestination. Whether or not they have a good or a bad relationship, they should work it out. If they have dissatisfaction toward each other, then they need to talk in order to solve the problem.

Additionally, the community discourse about dissatisfaction revealed their belief that when a person was not responsible, the person’s act imposed burdens on and adversely affected other people. Therefore, the community members emphasized people should act responsibly, since the consequences of their actions were not confined to themselves. Bee Hoon’s narration about her husband’s thou soo regarding their son’s laziness illustrates this point. Her narration implied that everyone was connected to others and that who they were always depended in part upon others. She stated:

Such frequent thou soo from him [referring to her husband] also caused me to be dissatisfied with him. . . as a father, he has not been really taking care of and spending time with our son since he was little. . . . Then, I also feel dissatisfied. . . I have to help him with [family business] management. And, that caused me not to have time to do the things that I would like to do for my family. Like, I don’t even have time to cook a quick and simple meal for my family. So, the situation has caused me to be like, I am angry at
myself. And, I am also angry at him. What I mean by this is, because of his job, I am also affected.

Clearly, Bee Hoon believed that her husband’s job caused both of them to sacrifice family time. As a result, they neglected their son. Specifically, without her husband discharging his responsibility adequately, she equally could not realize her responsibility fully to contribute to her family’s success. Another interviewee, May Ping, indicated that the exchange of information was possible only via people’s connections with each other, even though the connections were not a matter of choice. She noted:

As for working in a corporation, people have to put on a mask to go to work to ensure their survival. . . . Like right now, I am working with a group of colleagues who have no qualifications and have bad attitudes. . . . If I don’t want to mingle with them, I will be left alone. [So that] in the future, if I have anything that I need or want to know, they won’t talk to me. . . . [So] I won’t have a single piece of information.

The community members’ discussion of *aih auan* also revealed their belief that people’s personhoods were inherently connected. This point was illustrated by Siew Ean’s spontaneous performance of *aih auan* during which she revealed her dissatisfaction about preparing a Chinese New Year steamboat meal for 30 family members and relatives. Siew Ean was aggrieved that none of these 30 people offered to help her. As Siew Ean noted, “When they all came here for the event, they caused me to suffer.” Her complaints about the burdens imposed on her by her relatives revealed her assumption that people’s selves were inexorably connected.

Furthermore, the *victims-of-fate*’s beliefs about their fated situations also revealed their assumption of the connectedness personhood. For example, Ah See reflected:

In the past, I helped him out working on the plantation. He did not give me money for
working there. For a long time, deep inside my heart, I thought that, maybe in a past life, I owed him. If not, why do I have to work my tail off and almost paid with my life working for him?

In Ah See’s eyes, her husband’s lack of compensation for her hardwork was probably the result of a past debt she owed him during their past lives. Traditionally, the community believed that debts that a person owed others in a past life must be paid during the person’s current life. Consequently, debtor was fated to meet the specific people he or she was indebted to in the current life in order to pay off the debt—for example, by giving to them without receiving anything in return.

*People are Vulnerable*

Given that people’s selves were inexorably connected, it followed that the ways that they behaved affected the people around them. Therefore, when people’s undesirable behaviors yielded negative effects and dissatisfaction on the community members, the community members tried to avoid those negative effects that could harm them. Indeed, the community’s discourse on protecting the self revealed their belief that individuals were naturally fragile; that people were naturally susceptible to harm.

The assumption of a vulnerable personhood emerged from the community members’ discussion about their utilization and avoidance of complaint-making. Their use of an *advocate* and their careful selection of *supportive companions* revealed their assumptions that the nature of individuals was fragile and susceptible to harm. For example, Aih Lih stated that she performed *thou soo* to her husband regarding her mother-in-law’s criticisms and accusations of her. Her explanation of her action revealed her vulnerable self. She discussed:

I needed to let go some of the burdens of feeling dissatisfied. . . . I must perform *thou soo*
so that my husband knows that his mother is incorrect. . . [so that] my husband will not think that I am at fault. Of course, when people mention the incident in the future, I want the situation to turn out in favor of me [so that] my husband will support me . . . I need to \textit{thou soo}. I need to protect myself. All humans behave just like me . . . All humans want to protect themselves before anyone else.

In her narration, Aih Lih highlighted two aspects of the protective self that revealed the vulnerable nature of individuals. First, her mother-in-law’s accusations made her feel uncomfortable and hurt. She performed \textit{thou soo} to protect herself from present hurt—to lessen and/or stop the feelings of and associated with dissatisfaction. Second, Aih Lih performed \textit{thou soo} to protect her image in the present and future. She did not want her husband to think that she was in the wrong and, by clarifying her position, Aih Lih was protecting herself against potential undesirable effects.

When Ah Chong spoke about Chinese Malaysians’ reluctance to engage in the \textit{thou soo} about public issues, he attributed the reluctance to people’s avoidance of potential threats, such as becoming the subject of governmental investigation and/or being harmed physically. His comment further revealed the community members’ assumption about the vulnerable personhood. Ah Chong said, “I think that the Chinese people in Malaysia are very afraid, very afraid of performing \textit{thou soo}. . . They think that by avoiding \textit{thou soo}, they are looking out for themselves.”

Furthermore, Yew described how female colleagues carefully framed their complaint messages to avoid conflict and serious possible consequences. Such avoidance of harm revealed the colleagues’ need to protect the self and recognition of the vulnerable self. The consequences included, as Yew mentioned, “[Maybe] afraid of losing a job, of getting a warning letter, or
being sidelined by the boss. . . . Or, one might fear being denied a promotion by the boss, or afraid that her boss will harm her in retaliation.” In order to protect themselves, the community members often avoided not only performing *thou soo*, but also avoided engaging in the process of the speech act itself. For example, May Ping’s justification of her refusal to play the role of *advocate* revealed this vulnerable self:

I don’t even know if the person who complained to me is a good or a bad person, or if that person is the culprit or the wronged party. I am saying this because at the workplace, everyone competes. Everyone fights against the others. So you don’t know if that person will come back and attack you.

Although the community members cited the use of an *advocate* as a means of guarding against potential harmful effects of complaint-making, they were also wary of relying completely on an *advocate*. For example, Choo Choo confessed her mixed feelings about depending on an *advocate* to convey her messages of dissatisfaction, “. . . I feel that people can’t be trusted one hundred percent . . . people can’t be trusted. You can’t trust them. I feel that with anyone and everyone in this world, you have to be careful.” Choo Choo’s view was that, people can be hurt as a result of completely depending on others; that complete trust may lead to betrayal, hurt feelings, and other harmful outcomes. This belief led her to try to minimize the level of trust she placed on others, thus revealing her assumption that personhood was indeed vulnerable.

Last, in the performance of *aih auan*, the community members also stressed the need for the *supportive companions* to avoid gossiping about the victim’s dissatisfaction. The *victims-of-fate*’s desires for confidentiality was one way of protecting themselves against potential risks, thus suggesting the fragile nature of personhood. For example, Chew Lien said, “The people I talked to gossiped and my family members heard about my complaints. Family members who
heard about my complaints did not like what I said. . . . The whole situation was just unpleasant.

And, I was placed in an awkward position.”

*People Have One True Self*

The community discourse about the performances of *thou soo* and *aih auan* also revealed that while people may employ many disguises in their interactions with each other, they have only one true self. Such disguises are used for various strategic reasons, for example, to hide one’s true feelings and/or inner thoughts and to spare someone else’s feelings. Kee Kee’s explanation illustrated this specific assumption of personhood:

If I reveal my true evaluations and tell the person that he or she is wrong, what will happen if that person thinks that I am a bad person for not taking his or her side? . . . To be honest, I do not always say things that are consistent with my thoughts and feelings. I will take that person’s side, even though I have to fake it. . . . Doing so will help the person feel better. Another way to look at this is that the person will not be more dissatisfied and then come back to complain to me [to] talk about more unsatisfactory stuff. My concern is that I do not want to be bothered again. Basically, that person’s matter has nothing to do with me.

In fact, Kee Kee’s actions of pretending to be supportive of the *victim-of-fate* while hiding her true evaluations in turn suggested that her perception of herself depended on how other people perceived her. This action makes her personhood connected to that of other people (i.e., their negative comments affected her), as well as vulnerable to their manipulations (e.g., due to fear of rejection). Consequently, she strategically utilized disguises to hide her one true self—to utter messages that were different from her true evaluations—to befriend someone. She further explained, “. . . making enemies with others will not work toward my advantage.”
Assumptions About

Echoing Kee Kee’s views about people’s one true self, May Ping used the metaphor *mask* to describe how she spoke and behaved differently in different situations and/or with other people during the performance of *thou soo* and *aih auan*. The use of the metaphor *mask* indicated that May Ping believed that she had a true self that she was masking strategically in order to avoid creating enemies. She said, “Of course, if I were to tell that person my true evaluation, that he or she was wrong, then I would put myself at risk. This means that I would only be exposing myself to trouble. I would only be creating one more enemy for myself.” As her comment revealed, May Ping recognized that her well-being was connected to that of the other people at work—hence she wanted friends and not enemies—and she acknowledged that she was vulnerable as she risked losing the friends.

May Ping’s further narrative also betrayed her assumption that people have one true self that they can disguise using multiple identities. Although her elaborate disguises were meant to curry her favor and to gain her certain advantages, they also served to support the notion that personhood was interdependent or connected. Indeed, her need to curry favor with her colleagues also left her vulnerable—hence her revelation that she needed to disguise her true self in order to look out for herself. She described:

> Sometimes people do not know who are the good people and who are the bad people. For example, I do not know the gang [at the workplace] to which I belong. And, I also do not know which is yours. So I can pretend to join your gang and be your friend. However, I can also betray you and be your enemy. . . . I can always create a story, even talk falsehoods, in order to present myself as a friend to almost everyone in different gangs. Doing so is not about being selfish. It is about me thinking about my interests and benefits to me. I am looking out for myself.
Bee Hoon’s description of some of the means that lower-rank staff employ to climb up the corporate ladder further illustrates the belief that people have one true self. According to Bee Hoon, the particular selves that some employees present when communicating with their bosses are disguises, but not their true selves. She gave an example of an employee she knew, June, who was jealous of her manager because she wanted to be a manager herself. But, June disguised her true intentions and hid her desire to climb up the ladder. June reported her manager’s small mistakes to the director in order to get her manager fired. The director then promoted June as the manager. Bee Hoon then commented:

Deep down, June is sly. She is smart. It was just like she was trying to cover that up. . . . She was effective in hiding her real motives. Actually, she wanted to climb the corporate ladder to become a manager. But she framed her messages to the director like it was for the company’s benefit.

People Have Partial Agency

In addition to the previous three assumptions about personhood, the community members’ discourse also revealed that people have partial agency. In their discussion about complaint-making, the community members pointed out that there were things over which they had little or no control. They revealed their assumption that people did not have complete autonomy over all aspects of their lives. The first main aspect of the community’s discourse that revealed the assumption that people have partial agency was the indication that people did not have full control over their emotions or other people’s behaviors; however, they could control their own outward behaviors depending on how they spoke and displayed their emotions. For example, Bee Hoon’s reference to situations in which victims-of-offense approached her illustrated this point. She said:
... when a person performs *thou soo* to me, it is not surprising that the person raises his or her voice. ... When the person raises his or her voice, I will also be affected in such a way that I can’t even stay calm and think clearly. What I can do is to help the person to calm down so that he or she can think rationally and speak clearly. So that I can also engage in sound reasoning when listening to the issue ... actually, I understand the feelings associated with dissatisfaction. People have emotions, so I won’t get angry at that person.

Indeed, Bee Hoon’s narrative that suggested that she perceived influence over helping to minimize the *victims-of-offense’s* raising of their voices, she, however, did not have complete autonomy to control the ways the victims react (i.e., outward behavior). This was also a clear pointer to the assumption that personhood was connected. Furthermore, when the victims expressed their emotions as a result of hurt (e.g., dissatisfied, angry, and/or sad), the victims were essentially revealing their one true self that was vulnerable. They were hurt, so they sought *advocates’* intercession in order to seek protection.

Yew’s comment echoed Bee Hoon’s assumption that people had control over their own outward behavior, albeit not their emotions. Yew added the criticism he faced when he did not control his emotional display at the workplace, and thus implied that since people had control over their outward behavior, they were accountable for the way they behaved. Yew narrated:

Um, after he [referring to his boss] criticized me, I started to observe my own behavior. ... And I agreed with him that I displayed too much emotion. ... To be honest, there are a lot of other emotions that I hide. It is true that people affect others with whom they interact by displaying negative emotions. But, for me, not hiding all my emotions is just natural.
Related to the assumption of partial agency as explained above, the community members’ discourse of dissatisfaction also revealed the assumption that people did not have control over fate-related situations; however, they could control their outward attitude about the fated situations. According to Ah Khoon:

Part of being human is to live under fate’s control. . . . Clearly, when people do not have certain good things that are fated to happen to them, then it is their misfortune. They will have to live their lives as predetermined. . . . Just accept it and go on with living life.

In fact, Ah Khoon’s viewpoint also revealed his assumption regarding the vulnerability of personhood. In effect, the partial agency gave the victims power to accept the inevitable, thus giving them a semblance of protection against endless dissatisfaction. Ah See basically agreed with Ah Khoon’s standpoint that people did not have control over fated situations, but that people could change their attitude toward such situations. Referring to her husband’s lack of compensation for her hard work (see earlier reference in section of People are Connected), she discussed the advice she received:

Yin [referring to her sister] said to me, “You do not need to scold him [referring to her husband]. As you can see, even after you have scolded him, he still does not give you any money.” What Yin meant was that “When you scold him, you are the only one who is provoked emotionally. . . . Since he does not change his attitude, scolding him will only hurt you and [affect] your health.”

Later, Ah See remarked:

Yin said that even though I couldn’t change his [referring to her husband] way of treating me [since it had been pre-determined by past life], I could change the way I thought about the situation . . . so that I would not continue to feel angry about it.
Clearly, Yin’s suggestion that Ah See change her attitude toward the situation supported the notion that Ah See had partial agency in the matter and could opt not to continue getting angry at her husband. The narrative also revealed the notion of the vulnerable self: if Ah See did not control her own outward behavior (i.e., scolding her husband), she was likely to affect her health.

Discussion

We sought to provide an emic understanding of Chinese Malaysians’ general assumptions of personhood via their discourse and performance of complaint-making. Our discussion of the findings was based on the community’s discussion about thou soo and aih auan—the speech act that the community members considered meaningful in expressing dissatisfaction. Although the findings of this study do not provide a comprehensive list of the community’s assumptions of personhood, we believe we have provided important insights into a community that has not received much attention in communication research. In short, the Chinese Malaysians’ discourse and performance of complaint-making revealed four assumptions of personhood that were intertwined: (a) people are inescapably connected, (b) people are vulnerable, (c) people have one true self, and (d) people have partial agency.

Theoretical Contributions

The assumption of connected personhood was shown in the community members’ narratives that a person’s actions always had an effect on others. Consequently, the community members indicated that people need to be responsible, since they were accountable for their behaviors. More importantly, the community members indicated that people should not impose unnecessary burdens on others. Based on a facile comparison, it can be argued that the Chinese Malaysians, similar to other ethnic Chinese people whom researchers often categorized as East
Asians (e.g., as separate groups or as a combination of ethnic Chinese people from mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong), view themselves as interdependent or interconnected with others. Such an interdependent view was cited in literature in terms of reliance on others for multiple communicative purposes, such as cooperation (e.g., see Utz, 2004). However, the finding of this study revealed that the Chinese Malaysians viewed interdependence not as some type of reliance on others, but a motivation for people to be responsible and to act proactively to maintain their social position.

The community members’ complaint-making discourse also revealed their belief in a vulnerable personhood. Consequently, they emphasized that people must protect themselves against harm by others. One way of protecting the self was by avoiding performing *thou soo* that exposes oneself to negative consequences, such as threats to personal safety and risks of losing one’s job. Such avoidance was largely influenced by external social factors and in relation to people’s perceptions of their agency. This finding suggests further that the examination of communicative behaviors cannot be isolated from the understanding of larger social structure, echoing a similar suggestion by Shuter (1990). More importantly, the Chinese Malaysians’ avoidance of performing *thou soo* about public issues with the intention to protect themselves should not be interpreted as the result of mere passivity in changing these situations.

Moreover, since people are connected to other people in diverse ways, interactions between them inevitably lead to dissatisfaction. Therefore, people must guard against the adverse effects of others’ behaviors. The community members’ perception that they need to protect themselves before others attack them is one of the main highlights of this study. To the best of our knowledge, these findings about the Chinese Malaysians’ need to protect their vulnerable selves from possible harm from others’ actions has not received as much attention as deserved in
literature dealing with communicative behaviors and social psychology of the Chinese or the broader category of East Asian people (e.g., see Ho & Chiu, 1994; Hofstede, 2001; Kagitcibasi, 1997; Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

To a certain extent, the Chinese Malaysians’ indication of protecting their vulnerable selves indicates their assertiveness in guarding themselves against current and/or future threats. Such assertion by performing *thou soo* or *aih auan* suggests that the Chinese Malaysians indeed seek to stand up for themselves, even if that means to confront others about the unpleasant situation and display negative emotions in complaint-making. This finding broadens the understanding of the mentality of the crude category of East Asians. It also contradicts the common view of the Chinese people as harmony-loving cultural groups who tend to avoid conflict in general (e.g., Ting-Toomey, 1988).

Although past literature commonly characterized the Chinese people place others before themselves in favor of group considerations (e.g., see Bond, 1986; Gao, 1996; Hu & Grove, 1991), the finding of the current study, however, intimates that the Chinese Malaysians prioritize the self in communication, even it means at the expense of others. In essence, the preservation of the self is an important goal of communication among the Chinese Malaysians. Furthermore, the Chinese Malaysians did not emphasize relationships with others at the expense of the self. Therefore, this finding also seems to contradict the popular claims in cross-cultural studies that the Chinese people in general are collectivistic and are interdependent in self-construal and, hence, seek to smooth out relationships with others because they place others before the self.7

The Chinese Malaysians’ communicative strategy of putting on different disguises to mask their one true self further portrays the complexity of the presentation of multiple selves. People presented multiple identities that were different from their true selves for various strategic
reasons. The presentation of a true self and a disguised self suggests the Chinese Malaysians’ adaptability in negotiating the simultaneous tensions of multiple and contradictory selves. This revelation highlights the absence of discussion in previous literature that narrowly categorizes cultural groups using a certain dimension of the self, such as independent or interdependent self-construal (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991). It can be considered as a caution to the simplistic view of targeting an aspect of the self in capturing various communicative behaviors and across contexts.

The finding of the Chinese Malaysians’ use of disguises for self-interests, especially to protect themselves from negative reactions and negative evaluations by others, should be interpreted with caution and from the community standpoint. On the surface, such use of disguises by Chinese Malaysians to secure favorable impressions from others might be interpreted as concealing the inner self in order to maintain harmonious relationships with others, which is consistent with such claims in popular research (e.g., Hofstede, 2001; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). However, a deeper look and interpretation of the underlying reasons for such disguise shows that the behavior is a strategy for protecting one’s self-interests, but not for building solidarity and preserving harmony as proposed in many studies (e.g., Bond & Sabourin, 2000; Ho & Chiu, 1994; Ting-Toomey, 1988). Therefore, it can be argued that the strategic use of disguises to protect one’s vulnerable self for self-interests is, in fact, self-oriented and self-centered.

Last, the community members also believe that people have partial agency. That is, people are not fully in control of their emotions, other people’s behaviors, or fated situations. However, they are capable of rationalizing and controlling their outward behaviors (e.g., their manner of speech and whether or not to display emotions). The Chinese Malaysians’ acceptance
of emotions as natural and desirable, and their concurrent emphasis on rationality, also enhances the reservoir of knowledge on the topic in communication studies. It is common in literature to characterize ethnic Chinese, and other East Asians in general who share many cultural characteristics with the Chinese Malaysians, as suppressive of their inner emotions (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). In contrast, the present study found that Chinese Malaysians assume they have partial agency in controlling their emotions. Even though they acknowledge that negative emotional displays affect others, the Chinese Malaysians wholly accept people who react emotionally while performing complaint-making, including those who raise their voices, display anger, cry, or even shout.

In conclusion, the findings of this study imply the importance of the in-depth examination of communicative behaviors; particularly, the understanding of the driving force behind certain behaviors. The findings of this study also challenge some of the Western common views used to portray the Chinese people, especially by using some generalized labels (e.g., collectivism and interdependent self-construal) that are commonly theorized and imposed from the outsider perspective. In fact, understanding the particular contexts and forms of communication involved will help give us a more nuanced and useful understanding of the communities in question. By giving voice to the community to label their own realities, we believe this study has contributed to our ongoing and partial understanding of the Chinese Malaysians’ general assumptions of personhood, the community, its people, and its culture.
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Assumptions About 31

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Assumptions About


Assumptions About Footnotes

1 In past studies, the languages spoken among Chinese Malaysians were labeled as dialects (e.g., see Lee-Wong, 2000; Platt, 1976; Waller & Fam, 2000). However, debate has recently arisen as to whether the Chinese dialects should be labeled as languages, since they are mutually unintelligible (Comrie, 1989). In this study, we will talk about different languages instead of dialects because language plays an important role in the Chinese Malaysians’ distinction of their different identities.

2 To the best of our knowledge, no research studies have been conducted to identify behavioral differences and similarities among different groups of Chinese Malaysians. Wierzbicka’s (2003b) research was based on Chinese Singaporeans. Due to the close similarities between Chinese Malaysians and Chinese Singaporeans (Lee-Wong, 2000), it can be argued that Chinese Malaysians possess similar perception of Westernization.

3 In fact, during the first author’s data collection trip in the community of study, she also visited several historical places of worships of the Chinese Malaysians that are still used by the people. Some of the places were used as schools in the 1800s. Confucian values were carved on the buildings and are currently well-documented and preserved as part of the history of the people.

4 The term thou soo is spelled phonetically as tō sōō, which is how it is pronounced by the community members. Aih auan is pronounced as ī ō won.

5 Detailed discussions of the speech act are contained in the first author’s doctoral dissertation.

6 It is important to note that the traditional Western research approach of conducting each interview with a single interviewee was not always feasible in the Chinese Malaysian
community, given the cultural norms and expectations. In four of the interview sessions, one to three other family members showed up, often just to watch and listen. The community members whom the first author was interviewing often shared living space with other family members, with a typical family consisting of at least five members. The first author did not object to this phenomenon as she did not want to impose alien standards from her researcher’s standpoint and thereby creating a laboratory condition out of the community members’ lives.

Some studies have claimed that the Chinese people are integrated into groups (Hofstede, 1991, 2001) and view themselves as interconnected with others (e.g., see Markus & Kitayama, 1991); hence they emphasize allegiance to the group before the self. We do not make the comparison here on the basis of physical geography (i.e., Chinese Malaysians live in Southeast Asia); rather, our comparison is based on the shared history and cultural heritage of the groups.
Abstract

The main purpose of this project is to collect and put in order the experiences of the medical foreign aid from respected aged person in tropical countries years ago, and thereafter the Taiwan medical mission in Africa, and the foreign aid from non-governmental organizations. Using these historical records to uncover the past and preserve it for the future.

This oral history project collects memories and personal commentaries of historical significance through recorded interviews and related documentary materials. Finally the project interviews seventeen representative individuals. By interviewing, recording, transcribing, summarizing and analyzing, the project explores the history of disease control foreign aid in Taiwan.

The major findings are as follows:
The disease control foreign aid workers in Taiwan include Respected aged person, Taiwan medical mission leaders, Taiwan medical mission physicians, Taiwan Youth Overseas Servicemen, Hospital medical service missionary workers, Foreign aid Non-governmental organizations, and Overseas volunteers.

Keywords: oral history, disease control, foreign aid
ABSTRACT

The purpose of this project was to explore the present situation and related factors of refreshing oral solution drug use in the laborers. The laborers of construction and transportation in Taiwan were the population, and the samples were selected by using PPS and quota stratified random sampling. In total, 550 workers of construction and 550 workers of transportation were interviewed and investigated in this study. The research instruments were an epidemiological survey questionnaire and the data collected from the questionnaire were analyzed with statistical methods.

The major findings were as follows:
1. 86.5% of the construction laborers and 85.6% of the transportation laborers were used to take refreshing oral solution at workplace in working time.
2. Most laborers buy the refreshing oral solutions not in drugstore.
3. The main messages of refreshing oral solution came from TV advertisement.
4. The laborers had very low cognition about the refreshing oral solution drug use.
5. Educational background, living area and working character were significant factors related to cognition and self-efficacy of oral solution drug use.

Finally, based on the findings of the epidemiological survey, several recommendations for health administration and future study were proposed.

Keywords: refreshing, oral solution, drug use, epidemiology
Proceedings submissions

1. Title of the submission
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6. Abstract and/or full paper

   ABSTRACT
   The purpose of this project was to explore the present situation and related factors of refreshing oral solution drug use in the laborers. The laborers of construction and transportation in Taiwan were the population, and the samples were selected by using PPS and quota stratified random sampling. In total, 550 workers of construction and 550 workers of transportation were interviewed and investigated in this study. The research instruments were an epidemiological survey questionnaire and the data collected from the questionnaire were analyzed with statistical methods.

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   Keywords: refreshing, oral solution, drug use, epidemiology
A Reassessment of South African Liberals under Apartheid

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A Reassessment of South African Liberals under Apartheid

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This study, through an analysis of selected literary works, proposes a reassessment of the South African whites who have been impeached by both blacks and whites. By recalling the theoretical debate of the 1980s between liberals and such new communitarians, this study argues that liberalism, as defined by John Rawls, is different from the political ideology subscribed to by figures such as J. M. Coetzee, Nadine Gordimer, and others. The ultimate goal of liberalism is to grant individuals maximum freedom and, to quote Rawls’s words, “to advance as far as possible [their] welfare, [their] system of desires” while still preventing harm to others. Yet, communitarians unanimously proclaim that individualistic liberalism alone does not suffice to guarantee the communal good and solidarity. When Gordimer finds fault with her white compatriots, she raises the same issues, such as self-interest versus social responsibility and autonomy versus communal solidarity. The same issue is found discussed in the literary works of J. M. Coetzee. The conclusion of this study is that the vision preached by, and often practiced by, the so-called liberal whites in South Africa has ethical elements that go beyond the limitations of individual liberalism and thus may be called communitarian.

In South Africa, English-speaking whites have been criticized by both Afrikaners and blacks. The Afrikaners had a reason not to like the English-speaking whites who, despite their verbal protests against apartheid, all the while benefited from the notorious system. Es’kia Mphahlele, the South African Marxist, tells us about the blacks’ perspective on this issue when he claims that black people don’t read her. (qtd. in Wagner 235) In The African Image, this Marxist critic criticizes South African liberals in more straightforward terms. According to him, the white liberals in South Africa “spend two-thirds of their energy trying to avert a revolution and one-third to verbal protest against repressive legislation.” (87) Lewis Nkosi is also found on the list of the black critics who castigate the white liberals in South Africa for their assumed cowardice and hypocrisy. Nkosi attributes the liberals’ anti-apartheid slogans to
the “fear of exclusion, the fear of loitering without intent in the vicinity of revolution.” (“Resistance and the Crisis of Representation,” 46) Just a bit more careful condemnation from this camp is also heard when Njabulo Ndebele states: “At the risk of setting up simplistic binary oppositions, one should state that, on balance, the guilt of English-speaking South Africans is as extensive as that of the Afrikaners.”

(27) This study proposes a reassessment of these whites, whose ambivalent positionality in the South African politics, when duly considered, actually makes a wholesale impeachment of them look rather harsh.

In an attempt to assess the situation of the English-speaking whites under apartheid, let me revisit certain scenes in the literary works of a couple of writers produced by South Africa. Let me start with Veronica Slater, the white girl, in Lewis Nkosi’s *Mating Birds*, with whom Sibiya, a Zulu boy, falls in love at a beach of Durban. To Sibiya who roams the beach out of frustration at the political, educational and economic situation in South Africa, Ms. Slater seems to offer an exit from the social cul-de-sac, a rosy relationship that breaks through the barrier between whites and blacks. She certainly leads him on in the imaginary love game that is carried on behind the state’s surveillance. They communicate only with visual gestures across the state’s warning sign: Bathing Area—For Whites Only! According to a review essay of this novel:

Caught between the language of the bodies and the written language of the law, between the
power of his sexual attractiveness and the taboo which destroys the power of his body, Sibiya finds himself in a double bind, to which he responds with blind anger. His rage is not merely triggered off by the suggestion of racial inequality inherent in the warning, but also because it interrupts the illusory moment of his power over the “white” woman, his “victory” arising from the peculiar inversion of the power structures. (1st Par.)

However, when he finally and actually engages himself in the relationship partly for the desire of her body and partly out of his pent-up anger at racial discrimination, Ms. Slater panics and backs off from the relationship. Not just that. By calling him a rapist and representing herself as a helpless victim, she is able to save her own skin. This scene is important for several reasons; yet in the context of this paper it is significant for its allegorical or symbolic representation of the English-speaking whites’ failure to meet the expectations of their black compatriots.

English-speaking whites in J. M. Coetzee’s Disgrace serve as a comparison with Ms. Slater in Nkosi’s novel. One is David Lurie, a fifty-two-year-old professor in Communications at Cape Technical University, who has to resign from the school due to his sexual harassment of one of his students, Melanie Issacs. During the development of the alleged harassment case, Lurie maintains an insolent attitude towards the judging gaze of the academia, finding inner strength in considering himself to be a victim of those who, he believes, do not understand his inner world. Even when he goes to the country and stays
with his daughter, he does not show much change in his attitude towards his environment. Yet, after agonizing experiences at the hands of three black gangsters, he learns the virtues of compassion and love. Although he does not go so far as accepting or respecting the blacks around him as his equals, Lurie certainly learns to feel pity for the weak and the helpless at the end of the novel. Lucy, Lurie’s only daughter, makes another contrast to the conventional image of the English-speaking whites. After the three African blacks’ break-in and rape, Lucy finds herself pregnant and decides to give birth to the child. In addition to this, refusing to lend an ear to Lurie’s persistent urgings, Lucy decides to stay where she is and even considers marrying Petrus, her black helper, for the protection of her life. This attitude of Lucy’s makes a strong message that the South African whites need to accept the changes following the demise of the Apartheid in order to live on in South Africa.

Mrs. Elizabeth Curren, the heroine of Coetzee’s *Age of Iron*, makes even a stronger posture when she abandons all the comforts of her bourgeois existence in a protest against the police’s brutal killing of a black boy involved in a movement against the Apartheid. She leaves her home and sleeps on the street, careless of her own life, and then is rescued by Mr. Vercueil, the beggar she gradually comes to share her home with. Her anger at having been deceived for so long by the Afrikaner government concerning the racial realities of South Africa leads her to consider burning herself in front of the parliament. Her action of sacrificing herself in the cause of the oppressed blacks surely makes a big stride towards racial equality. Something that is easier said than done. What this paper tries to argue is that the ethics of conduct,
suggested in the actions of Lurie and Lucy and directly preached by Curren, goes well beyond the individualistic liberalism which is, after all, to grant individuals maximum freedom while still preventing harm to others. In calling upon others to sacrifice what they can for the oppressed, as seen in the case of Curren, the ethics advocated by Coetzee can be called communitarian, not liberal. Underlying this moral obligation or what Hegel called “sittlichkeit” is the belief that morality and self-realization reach their completion in a community. When Gordimer finds fault with her white compatriots, she raises the same issues, such as self-interest versus social responsibility and autonomy versus communal solidarity, in other words, liberalism versus communitarianism. The conclusion of this study is that the vision preached by, and often practiced by, the so-called liberal whites in South Africa has ethical elements that go beyond the limitations of individual liberalism and thus may be called communitarian.

Works Cited


TITLE: Law In Transition: A Study on the Constitutional Review Cases of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region and the Political Role of Hong Kong Courts in the Early Years After the Handover.

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BIO: PhD student, Tsinghua University School of Law, Beijing, People’s Republic of China. I would like to express my special thanks to my teacher, Vice-Dean Wang Zhen-Min for the research support that made this paper possible. And the first Secretary for Justice of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, Ms. Elsie Leung Oi Sze for the comments on this paper.

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LENGTH: 12136 words

SUMMARY:
The courts of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region have played an important political role in the early years after the reunification of Hong Kong and China, through reviewing the constitutionality of local legislation with the Basic Law. Scholars discuss the work of judiciary in two different ways, namely the less common positive analysis by social scientist and normative analysis conducted from within the professional by lawyers, law professors and judges. This paper is to be the former one. This paper seeks to study the political role of Hong Kong courts in the early years after the handover, from the perspective of constitutional review. My aim in this paper is to present my main thesis: The court was an important political actor supported with legal reasoning.

Part I of this paper introduces the methodology. Our discussion is based on the judgments. Two definition models, namely the “Legal Classification Model” and “Social Functional System Model” have been used as the indexes to make the analysis. And the statistics of this paper are based on the social-scientific approach with longitudinal and in-depth documentation research methodologies. Part II studies the two political approaches played by the Hong Kong courts: (1) The courts perorated and created new norms under the new public order, and (2) The courts searched for new
legal, political and social consensus. As well as the backgrounds experienced by the Hong Kong society in the early years after the handover: (1) New but un-concrete public orders appeared, and (2) Social polarization. Part III discusses all cases possessed by Hong Kong courts since July 1997 to November 2005. Among them, 77 cases with 96 related judgments have possessed a review on constitutionality matters, which the writer has categorized the case studies into (1) The subject of constitutional review, (2) The nature of constitutional review cases, and (3) Review results.
PART 1: TEXT.

The courts of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region ("HKSAR") have played an important political role in the early years after the reunification of Hong Kong and China, through reviewing the constitutionality of local legislation with the Basic Law. These issues have major consequences for the social, economic and political future of Hong Kong, and more specifically, the roles of courts in sustaining those relationships. Scholars discuss the work of judiciary in two different ways, namely the less common positive analysis by social scientist and normative analysis conducted from within the professional by lawyers, law professors and judges.¹ This paper is to be the former one.

This paper seeks to study the political role of Hong Kong courts in the early years after the handover (1997-2005), from the perspective of constitutional review. My aim in this paper is to present that: The court was an important political actor supported with legal reasoning. This paper will study the two political approaches played by the Hong Kong courts: (1) The courts perorated and created new norms under the new public order, and (2) The courts searched for new legal, political and social consensus. As well as the backgrounds experienced by the Hong Kong society in the early years after the handover: (1) New but un-concrete public orders appeared, and (2) Social polarization.

During the early years of the HKSAR, the other two political bodies, the Executive and Legislation, were only able to keep low public supports which were not strong enough to lead a social norm peroration. Judiciary is filled the gap to play the role, because it enjoyed the highest public reliance to make a judgment and therefore on average they are more consequential. Concerning the related executive and legislature information, please refer to other public polls studies.

“Politics” or “political role” will be discussed in this paper is a neutral expression of an entity which exercising power that makes impact to the public. It is not equal to “partisan” or somewhat “party animals”!²

Part I of this paper introduces the methodology. Our discussion is based on the judgments. Two definition models, namely the “Legal Classification Model” and “Social Functional System Model” have been used as the indexes to make the analysis. The statistics of this paper are based on the social-scientific approach with longitudinal and in-depth documentation research methodologies. Part II studies the two political approaches played by the Hong Kong courts: (1) The courts perorated and created new

² Ibid.
norms under the new public order, and (2) The courts searched for new legal, political and social consensus. As well as the backgrounds experienced by the Hong Kong society in the early years after the handover: (1) New but un-concrete public orders appeared, and (2) Social polarization. Part III discusses all cases possessed by Hong Kong courts since July 1997 to November 2005. Among them, 77 cases with 96 related judgments (Include applications for appeal) have possessed a review on constitutionality matters, which the writer has categorized the case studies into (1) The subject of constitutional review, (2) The nature of constitutional review cases, and (3) Review results.

For the abstract of judgments being studied, please refer to Part 2. The corresponding cases are shown in the “Reference case number” in each table.

1. New but Un-concrete Public Orders Appeared Under the New Political Framework

1.1 Most constitutional review cases being possessed were on issues concerning the establishment of the HKSAR

The impression that the Hong Kong courts played an important political role is due to the constitutional review cases that possessed are mainly on Constitutional and Public law. We use the three divisions of legal system to make our study, namely, (1) Constitutional or Public Law, (2) Criminal Law, and (3) Private Law. These divisions are not rigid, but they are commonly accepted to define the law or statutory.

The number of decisions made by Hong Kong courts on Constitutional or Public Law constitutional review was nearly 60%, compared to only 20% on the Criminal Law and Private Law respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Nature by Legal Classification</th>
<th>% &amp; Number of Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Constitutional or Public Law</td>
<td>62.3% (48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Criminal Law</td>
<td>18.2% (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Private Law</td>
<td>19.5% (15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100% (77)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Basic Law is a constitutional document. It is about politics and society, and more specifically, about issues concerning the establishment of the HKSAR. Like any other constitution, the Hong Kong Basic Law is a complex document consisting of
many clauses, each of varying degrees of generality and ambiguity\(^3\), and is especially general in character. In fact, the provisions of the Basic Law had to be general because it is a result of compromise and balance among different histories, legal orders and institutional arrangements. Therefore during the process of real practice, argument must therefore be aroused.\(^4\)

Constitutional review cases are therefore aptly regarded as “public” and “political”. When the courts decide constitutional review cases, it is not possible to consider everything merely on the basis of professional legal norms. Non-legal reasoning, such as policy and political rule or standard becomes another basis of decision. Constitutional text, history and other references of the Basic Law do not speak everything clearly.

### 1.2 Judgment is a creation of new and deep social norms

Constitutional case reviews also draw more attention because on average they are more consequential, since the **judgments are indeed making decisions on in-depth conceptual matters**.

The number of decisions made by Hong Kong courts was mainly on acts of the legislature, more than 60%. Compared to only about 38% on the acts of the government. About one-fourth of the acts of the government cases are about the immigration and right of abode issues. The result shows that the acts of the executive bodies are to a great extent agreed among the society.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acts of the Government or Acts of the Legislature.</th>
<th>% &amp; Number of Cases :</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acts of the Government</td>
<td>38% (30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acts of the Legislature</td>
<td>62% (49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100% (79)</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of cases:</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>


\(^4\) Not all judicial review cases involve the government.
3. 1 The discretion to suspend pending appeal of the Telecommunications Authority Appeal board. 4
4. 2 Electoral arrangement. 21, 80
5. 2 Commissioner’s discretion in relation to public order. 22, 64
6. 1 An offence in Public office. 25
7. 1 Post-release supervision of prisoners. 75
8. 1 Treatment to accuse. 76
9. 1 The definition of the mental element of murder. 79
10. 1 Requirements made by the Gambling Control Board. 81
11. 2 Police internal disciplinary control. 83, 84
12. 7 The Director of Immigration’s decision on right of abode issues. 8, 12, 13(46), 14, 86, 50(87), 91
13. 1 The assessments of the Commissioner of Rating and Valuation. 96
14. 1 The decision on compensation by the Director of Agriculture Fisheries Conservation Department. 48(72)
15. 1 The decision by the Stock Exchange of Hong Kong Limited. 60
16. 1 An application for bail. 62
17. 1 The integrity of the process of the Chief Executive to pardon persons convicted of criminal offences. 61
18. 1 Decisions made by the Commissioner of Transport. 65
Total 30/77

Acts of the Legislature:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of cases</th>
<th>Acts of Government being reviewed by the court</th>
<th>Reference case number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 1</td>
<td>“Grepe v Loam orders and extended orders”. -Concerning the Right of Appeal.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 1</td>
<td>“Noise Abatement Notice”.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 2</td>
<td>“Legal Practitioners Ordinance”.</td>
<td>5(39), 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 15</td>
<td>“Immigration Ordinance” and “Immigration (Amendment) Ordinance”.</td>
<td>6(29)(74), 7(41)(73), 9, 11,</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Transfer of Sentenced Persons Ordinance”.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Long-Term Prison Sentences Review Ordinance”.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>“Firearms and Ammunition Ordinance”.</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Copyright Ordinance”.</td>
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<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>“Grievous Bodily Harm Rule”.</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Mandatory Life Sentences For Murder”.</td>
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<td>11.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“National Flag Ordinance and Regional Flag Ordinance”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Hong Kong Court of Final Appeal Rules”.</td>
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<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Professional Accountants Ordinance”.</td>
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<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Public Order Ordinance”.</td>
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<td>15.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Police Force Ordinance”.</td>
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<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>“Criminal Procedure Ordinance”.</td>
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<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Evidence Ordinance”.</td>
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<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Foreshore and Sea-bed (Reclamations) Ordinance”.</td>
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<td>19.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>“Public Officers Pay Adjustment Ordinance”.</td>
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<td>20.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Letters Patent”.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Concerning the Functional constituencies.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>The “ipso facto” in Electoral System.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>The election arrangement for non-indigenous villagers on village representative in the New Territories.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Dangerous Drugs Ordinance”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Crimes Ordinance”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Bankruptcy Ordinance”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Mutual Legal Assistance In Criminal Matters Ordinance”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Telecommunications Ordinance”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Concerning telecommunications freedom.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Hong Kong Reunification Ordinance”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“Land Resumption Ordinance”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“Provision of Municipal Service (Reorganization) Ordinance”</td>
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<tr>
<td>---</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>49(85)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>49/77*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*In case number 26 and 71, the judgment reviewed two ordinances.

**Table 4: Case Nature by Acts of Government / Legislature In Legal Classification.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>% &amp; Number of Cases:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Acts of the Government (38.1%)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constitutional or Public Law</td>
<td>24.1% (19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal Law</td>
<td>1.3% (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Law</td>
<td>12.7% (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Acts of the Legislature (62%)</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constitutional or Public Law</td>
<td>43% (34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal Law</td>
<td>11.4% (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Law</td>
<td>7.6% (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100% (79)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The difference between reviewing acts of the government and acts of the legislature is that: Acts of the government reviews more on administrative and technical, operational level stuffs, and acts of the legislature reviews on the law itself, considers more fundamental legal philosophies, ideologies and conceptions.

Therefore, it is aptly to say that constitutional review cases that possessed by Hong Kong courts tend to deal with fundamental issues. They include constitutional context and political issues as mentioned above, as well as different kind of social issues.

The Basic Law established certain new public orders and amended some old orders after the re-unification. However, these public orders require real practice to make them concrete and workable. The early years of the HKSAR were exactly in the situation of try and error for these orders. It was unavoidable to have different conceptions to the practice and understanding from different sides and ideologies during this process. This explains the arguments experienced by the Hong Kong society immediately after the re-unification.

At a more mature stage of arguments, an authority is demanded by the society or whatever way established by systems to make peroration and conclusion to a specific issue or norm. A new consensus on certain code of practice is to a greater extent fixed. Here, there is potentially a little misleading on what I called consensus. I do not mean that once the judgment is made and the whole society will all agree with that. The level of consensus depends on first: the level of reliance of the entity making decision or
judgment. The higher level of reliance and authority the entity enjoyed, the higher consensus can be achieved. Second, the adequateness of argument and discussion by the society. However, no matter how much does the consensus level can be achieved, a decision or a judgment can at least provide a way of doing thing under the current system.

The judgments made by Hong Kong courts are indeed a creation of new social norms response to litigation.

2. Social Polarization in the Early Years of the HKSAR

2.1 Polarization on social order issues within the society

Besides, the constitutional review cases that possessed by Hong Kong courts have become more consequential because of the society’s increased polarization over just the sort of issue most likely to get the courts’ attention. The most controversial was on social order issues.

We use the five divisions of social functional system to make our study, namely, (1) Public Administrative Order, (2) Social Order, (3) Economic and Financial Order, (4) Constitutional and Political Order, and (5) Judicial Order.

The number of cases possessed by Hong Kong courts on social order was nearly 55%, compared to only 14% on the public administrative order, 12.7% on the judicial order, and 8.9% on economic and financial order / constitutional and political order respectively.

Table 5: Case Nature by Sociological Classification.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>% &amp; Number of Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Public Administrative Order</td>
<td>14% (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Internal Administration (Civil Servant Management)</td>
<td>10% (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Public Administration</td>
<td>3.8% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Social Order</td>
<td>55.7% (44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Economic and Financial Order</td>
<td>8.9% (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Constitutional and Political Order</td>
<td>8.9% (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Judicial Order</td>
<td>12.7% (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL :</td>
<td>100% (79)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The writer adopts Prof Herbert Spence’s “Social System Theory” to make the classification.

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5 The writer adopts Prof Herbert Spence’s “Social System Theory” to make the classification.
### Table 6: Case Nature by Sociological Classification (Details).

1. **Public Administrative Order**:
   - Number of Cases: 11; Number of review: 12

   1.1 **Internal Administration (Civil Servant Management)**:
   - Number of Cases: 8; Number of review: 9.
   - Details of Cases:
     - Reduce or adjust the pay of public officers: 4 cases, 5 reviews, 1(63), 69, 89, 90
     - Police internal disciplinary control: 2 cases, 2 reviews, 83, 84
     - “Public Officers Pay Adjustment Ordinance”: 2 cases, 2 reviews, 37, 38

   1.2 **Public Administration**:
   - Number of Cases: 3; Number of review: 3.
   - Details of Cases:
     - The discretion to suspend pending appeal of the Telecommunications Authority Appeal board: 1 case, 1 review, 4
     - An offence in Public office: 1 case, 1 review, 25
     - Decisions made by the Commissioner of Transport: 1 case, 1 review, 65

2. **Social Order**:
   - Number of Cases: 44; Number of review: 59.
   - Details of Cases:
     - Commissioner’s discretion in relation to public order: 2 cases, 2 reviews, 22, 64
     - Post-release supervision of prisoners: 1 case, 1 review, 75
     - The definition of the mental element of murder: 1 case, 1 review, 79
     - Requirements made by the Gambling Control Board: 1 case, 1 review, 81
     - The Director of Immigration’s decision on right of abode issues: 7 cases, 9 reviews, 8, 12, 13(46), 14, 86, 50(87), 91
     - “Noise Abatement Notice”: 1 case, 1 review, 3
     - “Legal Practitioners Ordinance”: 2 cases, 3 reviews, 5(39), 30
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinance</th>
<th>No. of cases</th>
<th>No. of review</th>
<th>Reference number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Immigration Ordinance&quot; and &quot;Immigration (Amendment) Ordinance&quot;.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6(29)(74), 7(41)(73), 9, 11, 16(44)(88), 17, 18, 19, 20(53)(93), 40, 42, 43, 56, 78, 52(92)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Transfer of Sentenced Persons Ordinance&quot;.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Long-Term Prison Sentences Review Ordinance&quot;.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Firearms and Ammunition Ordinance&quot;.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23, 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Grievous Bodily Harm Rule&quot;.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>26, 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Mandatory Life Sentences For Murder&quot;.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;National Flag Ordinance and Regional Flag Ordinance&quot;.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Professional Accountants Ordinance&quot;.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Public Order Ordinance&quot;.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>32(67)(95)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Police Force Ordinance&quot;.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Dangerous Drugs Ordinance&quot;.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Crimes Ordinance&quot;.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Telecommunications Ordinance&quot;.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>82(94)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Economic and Financial Order:
- Number of Cases: 7; Number of review: 9.

- Details of Cases:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Review</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The assessments of the Commissioner of Rating and Valuation.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The decision on compensation by the Director of Agriculture Fisheries Conservation Department.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The decision by the Stock Exchange of Hong Kong Limited.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Copyright Ordinance&quot;.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Foreshore and Sea-bed (Reclamations) Ordinance&quot;.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Bankruptcy Ordinance&quot;.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Land Resumption Ordinance&quot;.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Constitutional and Political Order:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Description</th>
<th>No. of cases</th>
<th>No. of review</th>
<th>Reference case number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Electoral arrangement.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21, 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Letters Patent”.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concerning the Functional constituencies.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The “ipso facto” in Electoral System.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The election arrangement for non-indigenous villagers on village representative in the New Territories.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Hong Kong Reunification Ordinance”.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Provision of Municipal Service (Reorganization) Ordinance”.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>49(85)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Judicial Order:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Description</th>
<th>No. of cases</th>
<th>No. of review</th>
<th>Reference case number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Treatment to accuse.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An application for bail.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The integrity of the process of the Chief Executive to pardon persons convicted of criminal offences.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language used in the court.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Grepe v Loam orders and extended orders”.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concerning the Right of Appeal.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Hong Kong Court of Final Appeal Rules”.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Criminal Procedure Ordinance”.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>34, 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Evidence Ordinance”.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Mutual Legal Assistance In Criminal Matters Ordinance”.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of social order cases also shows the polarization in this aspect. Among the 96 judgments being studied, 59 belong to this category. Especially on the immigration and right of abode issues, have 33 cases. Debate on these issues existed in both the acts of government (The Director of Immigration’s decisions) and acts of legislature (“Immigration Ordinance” and “Immigration (Amendment) Ordinance”).8

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8 The jurisprudence on the right of abode issues is amended after the interpretation of the Basic Law by the National People’s Congress Standing Committee.
2.2 Controversy on social order cases within the courts

Social order issues are more controversial even within the courts. Among the social order constitutional review cases, 54% of the judgments were decided “constitutional” and 46% were decided “unconstitutional”. Besides, decisions on constitutional and political order were controversial too. However, the total amount of case in this category was small and therefore it was not significant. There were totally 7 decisions on this type of cases, five decided “constitutional” and two “unconstitutional”.

Compared to public administrative order / economic and financial order / judicial order cases, the decisions were much less controversial. Over 80% of decisions decided “constitutional” in public administrative order and economic and financial order cases. In the judicial order cases, about 75% were decided “constitutional”.

Table 7: The Review Decisions by Case Nature.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kind of Cases</th>
<th>Constitutional</th>
<th>Unconstitutional</th>
<th>Not Decided, not arguable or granted leave to other courts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Public Administrative Order</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Social Order</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Economic and Financial Order</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Constitutional and Political Order</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Judicial Order</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>96 judgments</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the cases, decisions on social order cases by different courts were split. In the Court of the Final Appeal, about 40% of the judgments decided “constitutional” and 60% decided “unconstitutional” respectively. In the Court of Appeal of the High Court, it was 53% decided “constitutional” and 47% decided “unconstitutional” respectively. For the High Court, it was 70% decided “constitutional” and 30% decided “unconstitutional” respectively.

Table 8: The Review Decisions by Case Nature and Courts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Court</th>
<th>Constitutional</th>
<th>Unconstitutional</th>
<th>Not Decided, not arguable or granted leave to other courts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Public Administrative Order</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Court of Final Appeal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Court of Final Appeal</td>
<td>Court of Appeal of the High Court</td>
<td>High Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Social Order</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Economic and Financial Order</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Constitutional and Political Order</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Judicial Order</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.3 Other aspects and different courts did not show a controversy

Compared to other aspects, the decisions were much less controversial. On the average, about 75% of the cases were decided constitutional, and about 25% were
unconstitutional. Different courts also did not show a significant difference on the ratio of constitutionality decisions.

Table 9: The Review Decisions by Different Courts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Court</th>
<th>Total Number of Cases</th>
<th>Constitutional</th>
<th>Unconstitutional</th>
<th>Not Decided, not arguable or granted leave to other courts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Court of Final Appeal</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Court of Final Appeal (Civil)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Court of Final Appeal (Criminal)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Miscellaneous Proceedings</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Miscellaneous Proceedings (Civil)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5 Miscellaneous Proceedings (Criminal)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Court of Appeal of the High Court</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Application for Review</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Attorney General’s Reference</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 Civil Appeal</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4 Criminal Appeal</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5 Reservation of Question of Law</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6 secretary for Justice’s Reference</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. High Court</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. District Court</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Miscellaneous</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4 High appeal rate on social order cases
The Social Order cases are concluded to be controversial also because the high appeal rate. Among the 96 cases, 10 social order cases have been appealed for one time and 5 cases have been appealed for two times. Compared to about one appeal in other types of case.

Please refer to the case abstracts in part 2 (with reference to “Reference Case Number” in the list) to see the appeal situation.

Table 10: Appeal Case by Sociological Nature.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kind of Cases</th>
<th>Number of Appeal</th>
<th>Number of decisions being Appealed</th>
<th>Reference Case Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Public Administrative Order:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>63→1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Social Order:</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>39→5, 74→29→6, 88→44→16, 95→67→32, 94→82, 46→13, 73→41→7, 93→53→20, 87→50, 92→52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Economic and Financial Order:</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>70→36, 72→48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Constitutional and Political Order:</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>85→49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Judicial Order:</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conclusion: Hong Kong Court is An Important Political Actor Supported With Legal Reasoning

The courts of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (“HKSAR”) have played an important political role in the early years after the reunification of Hong Kong and China, through reviewing the constitutionality of local legislation with the Basic Law. This paper studies the political role of Hong Kong courts in the early years after the handover, from the perspective of constitutional review. This paper presents my main idea: **The court was an important political actor supported with legal reasoning**, with two political approaches, namely (1) The courts perorated and created new norms under the new public order, and (2) The courts searched for new legal, political and social consensus.

Because in the early years of the reunification, the Hong Kong society experienced (1) New but un-concrete public orders appeared, and (2) Serious social polarization.

Our constitutional review case studies and statistics examine several political conception of the courts: (1) Most constitutional review cases being possessed were on
issues concerning the establishment of the HKSAR, (2) Judgments made by Hong Kong courts functioned as a creation of new and deep social norms, (3) Polarization on social order issues within the society, (4) Controversy on social order cases even within the courts, (5) Other aspects and different courts did not show a critical controversy, and (6) High appeal rate on social order cases. The first two founding are talking about Hong Kong court’s role in creating new norms in response to the new public orders. The latter four founding are talking about court’s role in searching for consensus in response to social polarization.
PART 2: BASIC LAW CONSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BY HONG KONG COURTS (July 1997-Nov 2005).

1. COURT OF FINAL APPEAL

1.1 Final Appeal (Civil)

1. SECRETARY FOR JUSTICE v. MICHAEL REID SCOTT  Reported in :[2005] 3 HKLRD 88

The operative provisions in the two Ordinances namely ss 4 to 6 of Cap. 574, s.10 of Cap. 574 of the Public Officers Pay Adjustment Ordinance, and ss 4 to 11 of Cap. 580, s.15 of Cap.580 of the Public Officers Pay Adjustments (2004/2005) Ordinance, which purported to reduce the pay of public officers, are not inconsistent with arts. 100 and 103 of the Basic Law.

Court: Court of the Final Appeal

2. NG YAT CHI v. MAX SHARE LTD AND ANOTHER  Reported in :[2005] 1 HKLRD 473; (2005) 8 HKCFAR 1

The restrictions on the right of appeal in the context of Grepe v Loam orders and extended orders are consistent with the protections provided under the Basic Law and the Bill of Rights.

Court: Court of the Final Appeal

3. NOISE CONTROL AUTHORITY AND ANOTHER v. STEP IN LTD

Reported in :[2005] 1 HKLRD 702

The terms of the NAN (a noise abatement notice) are consistent with the principle of legal certainty which incorporated in art. 39 of the Basic Law and in art. 11(1) of the Bill of Rights.

Court: Court of the Final Appeal

4. PCCW-HKT TELEPHONE LTD v. THE TELECOMMUNICATIONS AUTHORITY  Reported in :[2005] 3 HKLRD 235

If s32N(2) bars discretionary suspension pending appeal, then it is unconstitutional
(The court reaches its conclusion that the Appeal Board has no discretion to suspend pending appeal before dealing with the constitutionality.)

Court: Court of the Final Appeal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The finality provision in section 13(1) of the Legal Practitioners Ordinance is inconsistent with the Basic Law and is unconstitutional and invalid.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Court: Court of the Final Appeal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6</th>
<th>PREM SINGH v. DIRECTOR OF IMMIGRATION</th>
<th>Reported in: [2003] 6 HKCFAR 26</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Para. 3(1)(c) of Schedule 1 to the Immigration Ordinance is unconstitutional.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Court: Court of the Final Appeal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>7</th>
<th>Ng Siu Tung &amp; Others v. The Director of Immigration; Li Shuk Fan v. The Director of Immigration; Sin Hoi Chu &amp; Others v. The Director of Immigration, FACV 1-3 of 2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The part of the Immigration (Amendment) (No. 3) Ordinance 1997 which required those persons to hold one-way exit permits was held to be unconstitutional as being inconsistent with art. 24(2)(3) of the Basic Law in the case Ng Ka Ling, and the part of the Immigration (Amendment) (No. 2) Ordinance 1997 which purported to exclude Chinese nationals who were born before at least one of their parents became a permanent resident of Hong Kong was also held unconstitutional in the case Chan Kam Nga.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(This court just mentioned the above issues)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Court: Court of the Final Appeal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>8</th>
<th>The Director of Immigration vs Lau Fong, FACV No. 10 of 2003</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>This is an appeal pursuant to leave granted by the Appeal Committee from a judgment of the Court of Appeal allowing the respondent’s appeal from a judgment of the Court of First Instance dismissed the respondent’s application for judicial review of decisions of the appellant, the Director of Immigration (“the Director”). The Director’s decisions were (i) to refuse the respondent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
permission to land in Hong Kong; (ii) to remove her from Hong Kong; and (iii) to detain her pending removal. The Court dismisses the appeal, it is not unconstitutional.

Court: Court of the Final Appeal

GURUNG KESH BAHAADUR v. DIRECTOR OF IMMIGRATION Reported in: [2002] 2 HKLRD 775; [2002] 5 HKCFAR 480

The application of s.11 (10) of the Immigration Ordinance to such a none—permanent resident as in this case would be unconstitutional and invalid.

Court: Court of the Final Appeal

Director of Lands vs Yin Shuen Enterprises Limited & Nam Chun Investment Company Limited, FACV Nos. 2 and 3 of 2002

The claimants submitted that, if s.12(c) of the Lands Resumption Ordinance has the effect for which the Government contended, then it is incompatible with art. 105 of the Basic Law. The Court did not agree with that.

Court: Court of the Final Appeal


Para. 1(4) (b) of Schedule 1 to the Immigration Ordinance is constitutional.

Court: Court of the Final Appeal

FATEH MUHAMMAD v. COMMISSIONER OF REGISTRATION, FACV No. 24 of 2000

The Commissioner of Registration refuse the verification of the applicant’s eligibility for a Hong Kong permanent identity card. Such a card signifies official recognition of the holder's Hong Kong permanent resident status with the right of abode in Hong Kong. Appeal dismissed.

Court: Court of the Final Appeal

THE DIRECTOR OF IMMIGRATION v. CHONG FUNG YUEN, FACV No.
### 26 of 2000

The Director of Immigration rejected the respondent’s claim that he is a permanent resident within art. 24(2)(1) of the Basic Law with the right of abode. The Director's appeal is dismissed

Court: Court of the Final Appeal

### 14

**TAM NGA YIN AND CHAN WAI WAH v. THE DIRECTOR OF IMMIGRATION; XIE XIAOYI v. THE DIRECTOR OF IMMIGRATION, FACV No. 24 of 2000**

The Director of Immigration rejected the respondent’s claim that they are permanent residents within art. 24(2)(1) of the Basic Law with the right of abode. The Director's appeal is dismissed

Court: Court of the Final Appeal

### 15

**In re YUNG KWAN LEE and Others**

S.10 (1) of the Transfer of Sentenced Persons Ordinance is constitutional.

Court: Court of the Final Appeal

### 16

**LAU KONG YUNG and Others v. THE DIRECTOR OF IMMIGRATION**

1. The original scheme (a scheme to deal with the permanent residents by descent under the category in para. 2(c) of Schedule 1) introduced in the Immigration (Amendment) (No.3) Ordinance is and has since 1 July 1997 been constitutional.

2. The time of birth limitation in the Immigration (Amendment) (No.2) Ordinance is and has since 1 July 1997 been constitutional.

3. The provisions in the No.3 Ordinance and the Notice declared by the Court to be unconstitutional (as set out in the two declarations set out in A(1) and A(2) of Ng Ka Ling at 46A - F) are and have since 1 July 1997 been constitutional.

4. Section 1(2) of the No. 3 Ordinance which was declared to be unconstitutional in Ng Ka Ling case is also viewed as unconstitutional since 1 July 1997 by this court.

Court: Court of the Final Appeal
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Title</th>
<th>Details</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CHAN KAM NGA v. DIRECTOR OF IMMIGRATION</td>
<td>The words “if the parent had the right of abode at the time of the birth of the person” in paragraph 2(c) Schedule 1 of the Immigration Ordinance, Cap. 115 (which schedule was introduced by the Immigration (Amendment) (No. 2) Ordinance 1997) contravene Article 24 of the Basic Law and are therefore unconstitutional. Court: Court of the Final Appeal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NG KA LING AND ANOTHER v. THE DIRECTOR OF IMMIGRATION</td>
<td>1. The Immigration (Amendment) (No.3) Ordinance is unconstitutional to the extent that it requires permanent residents of the Region residing on the Mainland to hold the one way permit before they can enjoy the constitutional right of abode, while the rest of the No. 3 Ordinance is constitutional. 2. Para. 1(2)(b) of Schedule 1 of the No. 3 Ordinance is unconstitutional. Court: Court of the Final Appeal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSUI KUEN NANG v. THE DIRECTOR OF IMMIGRATION</td>
<td>1. The Immigration (Amendment) (No.3) Ordinance is unconstitutional to the extent that it requires permanent residents of the Region residing on the Mainland to hold the one way permit before they can enjoy the constitutional right of abode, while the rest of the No. 3 Ordinance is constitutional. 2. Para. 1(2)(b) of Schedule 1 of the No. 3 Ordinance is unconstitutional. Court: Court of the Final Appeal</td>
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<tr>
<td>THE DIRECTOR OF IMMIGRATION v. CHEUNG LAI WAH</td>
<td>1. The Immigration (Amendment) (No.3) Ordinance is unconstitutional to the extent that it requires permanent residents of the Region residing on the Mainland to hold the one way permit before they can enjoy the constitutional right of abode, while the rest of the No. 3 Ordinance is constitutional. 2. Para. 1(2)(b) of Schedule 1 of the No. 3 Ordinance is unconstitutional. Court: Court of the Final Appeal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Case Title</td>
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<tr>
<td>SECRETARY FOR JUSTICE OTHERS v. CHAN WAH AND OTHERS</td>
<td>Reported in: [2000] 3 HKLRD 641</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. The electoral arrangements in restricting Mr Chan from voting and Mr Tse from standing as a candidate are unreasonable and inconsistent with Article 21(a) of the Bill of Rights.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. There is no justification for deriving the political rights contended for from the rights and interests within Article 40 of the Basic Law to ensure their adequate protection.</td>
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<td>Court: Court of the Final Appeal</td>
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</table>

### 1.2 Final Appeal (Criminal)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Title</th>
<th>Details</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LEUNG KWOK HUNG AND OTHERS v. HKSAR</td>
<td>Reported in: [2005] 3 HKLRD 164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The commissioner’s discretion in relation to public order in the law and order sense is constitutional.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Court: Court of the Final Appeal</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CHOU SHIH BIN v. HKSAR</td>
<td>Reported in: [2005] 1 HKLRD 838; (2005) 8 HKCFAR 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The constitutionality of section 24 of the Firearms and Ammunition Ordinance is not decided in this case.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Dismissing of the appeal)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Court: Court of the Final Appeal</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TSE MUI CHUN v. HKSAR</td>
<td>Section 121 of the Copyright Ordinance which makes hearsay evidence admissible is constitutional.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Court: Court of the Final Appeal</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SHUM KWOK SHER v. HKSAR</td>
<td>Reported in: [2002] 2 HKLRD 793; [2002] 5 HKCFAR 381</td>
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<tr>
<td>The offence in public office in this case is constitutional.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Court: Court of the Final Appeal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Case Details</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>LAU CHEONG AND ANOTHER v. HKSAR Reported in :[2002] 2 HKLRD 612; [2002] 5 HKCFAR 415</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In this appeal, a challenge is made to the legal and constitutional validity of two aspects of the offence of murder, namely, an intention to cause grievous bodily harm as a sufficient form of <em>mens rea</em>; and life imprisonment as the mandatory penalty under section 2 of the Offences Against the Person Ordinance, Cap 212. Both the grievous bodily harm rule and the mandatory life sentence for murder are constitutional.</td>
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<td>Court: Court of the Final Appeal</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The section 7 of the National Flag Ordinance and the section 7 of the Regional Flag Ordinance are necessary for the protection of public order (ordre public). They are justified restrictions on the right to the freedom of expression and are constitutional.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Court: Court of the Final Appeal</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.3</td>
<td><strong>Miscellaneous Proceedings</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>(No Constitutional Review case possessed)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4</td>
<td><strong>Miscellaneous Proceedings (Civil)</strong></td>
</tr>
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<td>28</td>
<td>CHOW SHUN YUNG v. WEI PIH STELLA AND ANOTHER  Reported in :[2003] 6 HKCFAR 299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The manner in which the rule 7 of the Hong Kong Court of Final Appeal Rules operates is lawful and constitutional.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Court: Court of the Final Appeal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>PREM SINGH v. DIRECTOR OF IMMIGRATION</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The issue is: The constitutionality of para. 1(5)(b) of Schedule 1 to the Immigration Ordinance.</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>(This court grants leave to appeal to the Court of Final Appeal on the question of the constitutionality)</em></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
30

**TSE WAI CHUN PAUL v. SOLICITORS DISCIPLINARY TRIBUNAL AND ANOTHER**

The critical issue is the constitutionality of the s.9B(4) of the Legal Practitioners Ordinance.

*(This court dismiss the appeal by other reasons without dealing with the constitutionality)*

Court: Court of the Final Appeal

31

**PETER P.F. CHAN v. HONG KONG SOCIETY OF ACCOUNTANTS**

Reported in : [2001] 2 HKLRD 779

The issue is: Whether s.41(2) of the Professional Accountants Ordinance would be constitutional if it is to be so read.

*(This court grants leave to appeal to the Court of Final Appeal on the question of the constitutionality)*

Court: Court of the Final Appeal

1.5 Miscellaneous Proceedings (Criminal)

32

**LEUNG KWOK HUNG AND OTHERS v. HKSAR**

The issue is: Is the scheme which the Public Order Ordinance lays down for notification and control of public processions constitutional?

*(This court grants leave to appeal to the Court of Final Appeal on the question of the constitutionality)*

Court: Court of the Final Appeal

33

**CHEN NOEL AND OTHERS v. HKSAR**

The issue is: If the true construction of s.10 of the Police Force Ordinance, Cap. 232 is not limited as they contend, would item (g) (preserving order in public places and places of public resort, at public meetings and in assemblies for public amusements") thereof then be unconstitutional?

*(This court confirm s.10(g) by other reasons without dealing with the constitutionality)*
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Court: Court of the Final Appeal</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>CHAU CHING KAY NAUTHUM v. HKSAR</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>The issue is: Whether not having a separate leave application made to a single judge of the Court of Appeal prior to the matter coming before the full Court of Appeal renders the safeguard under s.83 W(2)(a) of the Criminal Procedure Ordinance nugatory or at least so severely diminished that, in the absence of such an application made to a single judge, any contrary direction under subsection (1) of that section would be unconstitutional as contrary to the applicant's right to an appeal according to law conferred by art. 11(4) of the Bill of Rights and guaranteed by art. 39 of the Basic Law.</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>(This court grants leave to appeal to the Court of Final Appeal on the question of the constitutionality)</em></td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td><strong>HKSAR v. LAM CHI KEUNG</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>The constitutionality of s4(1) and (2) of the Evidence Ordinance has been dealt comprehensively by the Court of Appeal</td>
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<td><em>(This court just mention that this point is not remotely arguable)</em></td>
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<td>Court: Court of the Final Appeal</td>
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2. COURT OF APPEAL OF THE HIGH COURT

2.1 Application for Review
*(No Constitutional Review case possessed)*

2.2 Attorney General’s Reference
*(No Constitutional Review case possessed)*

2.3 Civil Appeal

36

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PENNY’S BAY INVESTMENT CO LTD v. DIRECTOR OF LANDS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The issue is: whether sections 10(2), 11 and 12 of the Foreshore and Sea-bed (Reclamations) Ordinance are invalid and to be struck down for being</td>
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</table>
inconsistent with the constitutional provisions under Articles 6 and 105 of the Basic Law.

(This court considered it imperative that the issues both of fact and law should be clarified in a form of pleadings)

Court: Court of Appeal of the High Court

<table>
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<tr>
<th>37</th>
<th>LAU KWOK FAI BERNARD v. SECRETARY FOR JUSTICE ; Reported in: [2004] 3 HKLRD 570</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The reduction in pay provided for in POPAO (the Public Officers Pay Adjustment Ordinance) is constitutional.</td>
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<td>Court: Court of Appeal of the High Court</td>
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<tr>
<th>38</th>
<th>MICHAEL REID SCOTT v. HKSAR ; Reported in: [2004] 3 HKLRD 570</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>The reduction in pay provided for in POPAO (the Public Officers Pay Adjustment Ordinance) is constitutional.</td>
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<th>39</th>
<th>A SOLICITOR v. THE LAW SOCIETY OF HONG KONG</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The issue is whether section 10(2)(e) of the Legal Practitioners Ordinance which confers power on the SDT to order full indemnity costs is unconstitutional.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(This court deems that the appellant is not contending that s 10(2)(e) is unconstitutional as a statutory provision that ought to be struck down, but rather that the exercise by the SDT of the powers on costs conferred by the provision was unconstitutional for being inconsistent with the Basic Law and the Bill of Rights)</td>
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<td>Court: Court of Appeal of the High Court</td>
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<tr>
<th>40</th>
<th>COMMISSIONER OF REGISTRATION v. REGISTRATION OF PERSONS TRIBUNAL AND ANOTHER ; Reported in: [2000] 2 HKLRD 523</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The provisions of the Immigration Ordinance mentioned in this case are constitutional.</td>
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<td>Court: Court of Appeal of the High Court</td>
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<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Ng Siu Tung and others v. The Director of Immigration; Li Shuk Fan v. The Director of Immigration; Sin Hoi Chu and others v. The Director of Immigration , CACV 415, 416 &amp; 417 of 2000</td>
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<tr>
<td>The compatibility of the requirement of the certificate of entitlement to be attached to a one-way exit permit, for establishing the right of abode in Hong Kong was challenged.</td>
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<td>The Court of Appeal agreed, it is not unconstitutional.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Court: Court of Appeal of the High Court</td>
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<tr>
<th>42</th>
<th>LAU KONG YUNG AND OTHERS v. THE DIRECTOR OF IMMIGRATION ; Reported in: [1999] 2 HKLRD 516</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The scheme introduced by the No. 3 Ordinance, apart from the requirement of one way permits is constitutional.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. The provisions of the scheme whereby a person must stay in the Mainland whilst applying for such a certificate and whilst appealing against any refusal of the Director to issue a certificate are also constitutional.</td>
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<td>Court: Court of Appeal of the High Court</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>43</th>
<th>YEUNG NI NI v. THE DIRECTOR OF IMMIGRATION</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The Immigration Amendment (No. 3) Ordinance 1997 is not unconstitutional but the retrospective provision is invalid being contrary to Article 24(3) of the Basic Law (and also contravenes Article 12 of the ICCPR);</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. The definition of the relation between father and child in the Immigration Amendment (No. 2) Ordinance 1997 is unconstitutional being contrary to Article 24(3) of the Basic Law (and also contravenes the provisions of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and the ICCPR regarding equality before the law).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Court: Court of Appeal of the High Court</td>
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<tr>
<th>44</th>
<th>1.LAU KONG YUNG AND OTHERS v. THE DIRECTOR OF IMMIGRATION ; Reported in: [1999] 2 HKLRD 516</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.TSUI KUEN NANG v. THE DIRECTOR OF IMMIGRATION</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.YEUNG NI NI v. THE DIRECTOR OF IMMIGRATION</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. NG KA LING AND ANOTHER v. THE DIRECTOR OF IMMIGRATION</td>
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</table>
1. The scheme introduced by the No. 3 Ordinance, apart from the requirement of one way permits is constitutional.
2. The provisions of the scheme whereby a person must stay in the Mainland whilst applying for such a certificate and whilst appealing against any refusal of the Director to issue a certificate are also constitutional.

**Court:** Court of Appeal of the High Court

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**LEE MIU LING and Another v. THE ATTORNEY GENERAL**

Here the persons of a particular description are the voters in functional constituencies and the additional voting entitlement conferred upon each of them is a vote in his or her functional constituency is not unconstitutional in that it comes squarely within article VII para. 3 of the Letters Patent.

**Court:** Court of Appeal of the High Court

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**Master Chong Fung Yuen and others v. The Director of Immigration, CACV No. 61 of 2000**

The respondent claimed that he is a permanent resident within art. 24(2)(1) of the Basic Law with the right of abode. The appellant, the Director of Immigration ("the Director") rejected his claim. The Director’s rejection violated the Basic Law.

**Court:** Court of Appeal of the High Court

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**Mok Tai Kei v. Constitutional Affairs Bureau of the HKSAR government, Electoral Affairs Commission and Registration and Electoral Office ; Reported in: [2005] 1 HKLRD 860**

The “ipso facto” system is not unconstitutional with the electoral rights granted by Article 26 of the Basic Law and the same right granted by Article 25 of the ICCPR (Article 21 of the Hong Kong Bill of Rights Ordinance).
Kowloon Poultry Laan Merchants Association vs Department of Justice for and on behalf of Director of Agriculture Fisheries Conservation Department of HKSAR, HCAL 2630/2000

The decision not to pay additional compensation for the implementation of the segregation arrangement is inconsistent with, or contravenes, Art. 105 of the Basic Law.
The court did not agree with that.

Court: Court of Appeal of the High Court

Wong Chung Ki v. The Chief Executive; Chan Shu Ying v. The Secretary for Constitutional Affairs, CACV No. 1 of 2000; HCAL No. 151 of 1999

Hong Kong’s two municipal councils were abolished at the beginning of this year. Their functions were transferred to other bodies. Those bodies were not elected bodies. That was believed by the Applicants to be contrary to various provisions in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (“the ICCPR”), the Basic Law and the Bill of Rights. Accordingly, an application for leave to apply for judicial review of the decisions which resulted in local government in Hong Kong being in the hands of non-elected bodies was lodged.

That application was dismissed,

Court: Court of Appeal of the High Court

Xie Xiaoyi and others v. The Director of Immigration, CACV No. 301 of 1999

Whether Article 24(3) of the Basic Law confers a right of abode in Hong Kong on persons born outside Hong Kong but who have been adopted by a Hong Kong permanent resident.

This appeal is allowed by the Court.

Court: Court of Appeal of the High Court


The election arrangement of the right of non-indigenous villagers to take part in the election of a village representative in the New Territories is challenged
violation of Article 40 of the Basic Law.
The appeals are dismissed.
Court: Court of Appeal of the High Court

52
Chan Kam Nga v Director of Immigration, Civil Appeal No. 40 of 1998
The words “if the parent had the right of abode at the time of the birth of the person” in paragraph 2(c) Schedule 1 of the Immigration Ordinance, Cap. 115 (which schedule was introduced by the Immigration (Amendment) (No. 2) Ordinance 1997) contravene Article 24 of the Basic Law and are not unconstitutional.
Court: Court of Appeal of the High Court

53
Cheung Lai Wah and others v Director of Immigration, Civil Appeal No. 203 of 1997
In these appeals and cross appeal, four issues have been raised. Three of them relate to the constitutionality and validity of certain provisions of the Immigration (Amendment) (No.2) Ordinance 1997 and the Immigration (Amendment) (No.3) Ordinance 1997. The fourth issue relates to the legality of the Provisional Legislative Council which enacted these Ordinances. The Court gives a decision on the constitutionality and validity of the relevant provisions of the two Ordinances.
Court: Court of Appeal of the High Court

2.4 Criminal Appeal

54
1. HKSAR v. HUNG CHAN WA; Reported in: [2005] 3 HKLRD 291
2. HKSAR v. ASANO ATSUSHI; Reported in: [2005] 3 HKLRD 291
The issue is: the reverse onus imposed by section 47(1) of the Dangerous Drugs Ordinance, if read as constituting a persuasive burden, is incompatible with articles 39 and 87 of the Basic Law, and article 11(1) of the Hong Kong Bill of Rights Ordinance. 
(This court held that to construe the presumptions enacted by sections 47(1) and (2) of the Dangerous Drugs Ordinance as presumptions that each create an evidential onus only, and that the provisions are not to be regarded as imposing persuasive burdens of proof.)
55

**HKSAR v. LAM KWONG WAI AND ANOTHER**

Section 20(1) of the Firearms and Ammunition Ordinance, *as and when read with* section 20(3)(c) of that Ordinance is inconsistent with the presumption of innocence prescribed by article 11(1) of the Hong Kong Bill of Rights Ordinance, article 14.2 of the ICCPR, and article 39 of the Basic Law.

Court: Court of Appeal of the High Court

56

1. **CHAN CHAK FAN AND ANOTHER v. R**
2. **LAI YIU PUI v. R.**

The presumption contained in the section 37K(1) of the Immigration Ordinance, Cap.115 is justifiable. And the argument that the subsection is unconstitutional fails.

Court: Court of Appeal of the High Court

57

**HKSAR v. PUN GANGA CHANDRA AND OTHERS**

The "grievous harm" rule, in its application to a person charged with murder who is alleged to be a primary offender, is neither inconsistent nor incompatible with the rights protected by the Basic Law and the Bill of Rights.

Court: Court of Appeal of the High Court

2.5 **Reservation of Question of Law**

58

**HKSAR v. MA WAI KWAN DAVID AND OTHERS**  Reported in :[1997] HKLRD 761

“The Reunification Ordinance” and the common law with its court system mentioned in the Ordinance are not inconsistent with the Basic Law.

Court: Court of Appeal of the High Court

2.6 **Secretary for Justice’s Reference**

*(No Constitutional Review case possessed)*
3. HIGH COURT

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<th>59</th>
<th>LEUNG TC WILLIAM ROY v. SECRETARY FOR JUSTICE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The ss.118C, 118F(2)(a), 118H and 118J(2)(a) contained in Part XII of the Crimes Ordinance are inconsistent with the Basic Law and/or the Bill of Rights in that they discriminate on the basis of sexual orientation and are therefore unconstitutional.</td>
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<td>Court: High Court</td>
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<tr>
<th>60</th>
<th>New World Development Company Limited and Others vs The Stock Exchange of Hong Kong Limited, HCAL 79/2003</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The applicants contend that the Chairman’s directions (Chairman of the Disciplinary Committee of the Hong Kong Stock Exchange) deny them ‘effective’ legal representation, they are inconsistent with the Bill of Rights, the Basic Law and offend common law principles of procedural fairness. The application for judicial review made by all the applicants must be dismissed.</td>
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<td>Court: High Court</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>61</th>
<th>Ch'ng Poh vs The Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, HCAL 182/2002</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In terms of art.48(12) of the Basic Law, the Chief Executive is given the power to pardon persons convicted of criminal offences. In addition to this constitutional prerogative, he possesses the statutory power in terms of s.83P of the Criminal Procedure Ordinance, Cap.221 (‘the Ordinance’), to refer the cases of convicted persons who have otherwise exhausted their avenues of appeal to the Court of Appeal for fresh consideration. In order to seek a pardon or a referral, a person who believes himself aggrieved must petition the Chief Executive. This application for judicial review looks to the integrity of the process in terms of which the advice of those who serve the Chief Executive comes into being and the manner in which that advice is placed before him. The application for judicial review was dismissed.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Court: High Court</td>
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HKSAR vs Siu Yat Leung, HCMP 549/2002
An application for bail on to a Magistrate was unsuccessful. The applicant argued that was violated art28 of the Basic Law.
The Court refused the application.
Court: High Court

MICHAEL REID SCOTT v. SECRETARY FOR JUSTICE, HCAL 188/2002
S.15 of the Public Officers Pay Adjustment (2004/2005) Ordinance, Cap.580 (the 2003 Ordinance), is inconsistent with art.103 of the Basic Law and therefore is unconstitutional.
Court: High Court

LAU KWOK FAI BERNARD v. COMMISSIONER OF POLICE AND ANOTHER, HCAL 177/2002
The issues are: whether 1. A declaration that the Commissioner’s decision requiring the applicant to give prior written notice of his intention to leave Hong Kong and to seek exemption from the Commissioner should he wish to leave Hong Kong for any period that would affect the daily reporting condition associated with his interdiction, s in breach of Article 31 of the Basic Law (“BL”) and Article 8 of the Hong Kong Bill of Rights Ordinance (“BORO”), cap. 383 and is unconstitutional, unlawful and of no effect; 2. A declaration that the Commissioner’s decision as a whole is in breach of Article 35 of the BL and is unconstitutional, unlawful and of no effect.3. A declaration that the Commissioner’s decision as a whole is in breach of Article 11 of the BORO and is unconstitutional, unlawful and of no effect.
(This court held that the applicant’s application for judicial review is dismissed)
Court: High Court

Yook Tong Electric Company Limited vs Commissioner for Transport, HCAL 94/2002
The applicant seeks judicial review of three decisions made by the Commissioner of Transport. In criticising the decisions of the Commissioner for being Wednesbury unreasonable, he also urged that the fundamental rights of the applicant, those protected by the Basic Law, have been infringed.
The court does not accept that there has been any infringement of the applicant’s
fundamental rights.

Court: High Court

66

RE CHU WAI HA

Section 138 of the Bankruptcy Ordinance which is prima facie inconsistent with the fundamental principles set out in Paragraphs 7 to 12 above is actually constitutional.

Court: High Court

67

HKSAR v. LEUNG KWOK HUNG AND OTHERS ; Reported in: [2004] 3 HKLRD 729

The notification scheme contained in sections 13 to 15 of the POO (the Public Order Ordinance, Cap.245) is constitutional.

Court: High Court

68

1. RE THE LINK TRADING CO LTD AND OTHERS
2. RE ANSON GARMENT LTD AND OTHERS

The appellant mentioned that certain provisions of the Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters Ordinance Cap. 525 may be unconstitutional under the Basic Law and/or the Hong Kong Bill of Rights Ordinance (Cap. 383)

(This court held that it has never been suggested that these observations should form an independent ground in support of the judicial review applications. Moreover, the applicants have not sought leave to include in the Re-Amended Form 86A any argument regarding the constitutionality of the provisions in Cap. 525 so the applications are refused.)

Court: High Court

69

1. GOVERNMENT PARK AND PLAYGROUND KEEPERS UNION AND OTHERS v. SECRETARY FOR JUSTICE
2. LAU KWOK FAI BERNARD v. SECRETARY FOR JUSTICE

The Public Officers Pay Adjustment Ordinance has neither breached the individual articles of the Basic Law which have been placed before this court for consideration nor has it offended the principle of the separation of powers contained in that Law.
## PENNY’S BAY INVESTMENT CO. LTD. v. CHIEF EXECUTIVE-IN-COUNCIL AND OTHERS

The issue is: whether s. 12(1) of the Foreshore and Sea-bed (Reclamations) Ordinance is consistent with art. 105 of the Basic Law.

(This court held that it cannot at this time be argued with any prospect of success that that exclusive jurisdiction should, even as to matters of constitutional determination, be imported into this Court)

## 1 YAU KWONG MAN v. SECRETARY FOR SECURITY, HCAL 1595/2001

1 In respect of s. 67C of the Criminal Procedure Ordinance, Cap. 221 a declaration is granted that s. 67C(2), (4) and (6) is inconsistent with Art. 80 of the Basic Law and is thereby invalid.

2 In respect of s. 67C of the Criminal Procedure Ordinance, Cap. 221 the declaration sought that s. 67C(2), (4) and (6) is inconsistent with Art. 14(1) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights as applied to Hong Kong through Art. 39 of the Basic Law, and is inconsistent Art. 8 of the Basic Law, is refused.

3 In respect of s. 12(12) of the Long-term Prison Sentences Review Ordinance, Cap. 524, the declaration sought that it is inconsistent with Art. 9(4) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights as applied to Hong Kong through Art. 39 of the Basic Law, and is inconsistent Art. 8 of the Basic Law, is refused.

## Kowloon Poultry Laan Merchants Association vs Department of Justice for and on behalf of Director of Agriculture Fisheries Conservation Department of HKSAR, HCAL 2630/2000

The decision not to pay additional compensation for the implementation of the segregation arrangement is inconsistent with, or contravenes, Art. 105 of the Basic Law.
The court did not agree with that.

Court: High Court

73

Ng Siu Tung and others v. The Director of Immigration; Li Shuk Fan v. The Director of Immigration; Sin Hoi Chu and 42 others v. The Director of Immigration, HCAL No. 81 of 1999; HCAL No. 2 of 2000; HCAL No. 70 of 2000

The compatibility of the requirement of the certificate of entitlement to be attached to a one-way exit permit for establishing the right of abode in Hong Kong was challenged.
The Court of Appeal agreed, it is not unconstitutional.

Court: High Court

74

PREM SINGH v. THE DIRECTOR OF IMMIGRATION

The issue is: whether that a person must be settled in accordance with paragraph 3(1)(c) of the Schedule 1 is unconstitutional because Article 24(2)(4) of the Basic Law describes a state of affairs that, upon being established as matters of fact, entitled the claimant to recognition of permanent resident status.

(This court held that it is not necessary for this court to come to any concluded view on this matter because this is not a matter that would be determinative of Mr Singh's right in this case when he clearly had not fulfilled the seven-year ordinarily residence requirement in the first place.)

Court: High Court

75

LUI TAT HANG LOUIS v. THE POST-RELEASE SUPERVISION BOARD AND ANOTHER

The powers conferred on the Board by the Post-Release Supervision of Prisoners Ordinance, Cap.475 to impose supervision orders, and to recall a prisoner to prison under the circumstances prescribed by that Ordinance, do not constitute a heavier penalty within the meaning of art.15 of the ICCPR (or of art.12(1) of the Bill of Rights Ordinance), and the provisions of the Ordinance are accordingly not in breach of art.39 of the Basic Law.

Court: High Court

76
HKSAR v. YIK PO MAN

In the present case, this court held that it cannot see that any case has been made out on behalf of the accused which shows that the mandatory sentence, if imposed, would be an arbitrary or unlawful detention in terms of Art. 5(1) of the HKBOR or of Article 28 of the Basic Law.

Court: High Court

Chang Kai Nam, Gary (In the Matter of an Application by Cheng Kai Nam, Gary for leave to apply for Judicial Review (Order 53, rule 3)) , HCAL3568/2001

An application for leave due to the language used in the Court violates art9 of the Basic Law, to apply for judicial review. The Court refused.

Court: High Court

MASTER CHONG FUNG YUEN v. DIRECTOR OF IMMIGRATION

The words in paragraph 2(a) of Schedule 1 to the Immigration (Amendment) Ordinance enacted on 1 July 1997: "if his father and mother was settled or had the right of abode in Hong Kong at the time of the birth of the person or at any later time" were in this judgment incompatible with, and contravene art.24(2)(1) of the Basic Law; and so, too, are the same words as they are repeated in the amended paragraph 2(a) of Schedule 1 to the Immigration Ordinance, introduced by resolution made by the Legislative Council on 16 July 1999. They have therefore no effect to limit the right of abode of those Chinese citizens born within Hong Kong and, therefore, of this applicant.

Court: High Court

HKSAR v. MOK TSAN PING AND OTHERS

The definition of the mental element of murder as an intention either to kill or cause really serious injury is not incompatible with either the Bill of Rights (which came into force on 8th June 1991) or the Basic Law (which came into force on 1st June 1997).

Court: High Court

TSE KWAN SANG v. PAT HEUNG RURAL COMMITTEE ; Reported in: [1999] 3 HKLRD 267
The arrangements made by the Pat Heung Rural Committee for the Village Representative Election of Shek Wu Tong Village held on 2nd March 1999 ("the Election") are inconsistent with the provision of Article 25(a) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights as applied to Hong Kong and received by Article 39 of Basic Law.

Court: High Court

81

LAS VEGAS HILTON CORPORATION v. LO YUK LEUNG

The evidence clearly establishes that the statute, namely the law of Nevada that allows casinos immediate access to the courts, but requires gamblers to first have recourse to the Nevada State Gambling Control Board is not unconstitutional.

Court: High Court

82

MO YUK PING v. SECRETARY FOR JUSTICE

The issue is whether s.33 of the Telecommunications Ordinance, Cap.106 is inconsistent with art.30 of the Basic Law.

(This court held that these are not matters, in my view, which should persuade this court to exercise its jurisdiction, therefore, leave is refused.)

Court: High Court

83

1. 2000 105,
    31 8

2. GPO6-01(8)

3. ( ) 9(11) Grieves
    ( ) 9(11)

Court: High Court

*Only Chinese version Judgment available. English abstract as follow:

Chan Kwok Hung v. The Commissioner of Police

Executive orders concerning (1) free movement, and (2) personal financial situation are not inconsistent with Article 31 of the Basic Law / Article 8 of the Hong Kong Bill of Rights Ordinance and Article 1 of the Hong Kong Bill of
Rights Ordinance respectively. The judgment of Grieves of the European Human Rights Court is not applicable to the current case.

84

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>GPO6-01(8)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>9(11)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Court: High Court

*Only Chinese version Judgment available. English abstract as follow:

Law Hao Yi v. The Commissioner of Police

1. Executive order concerning personal financial situation is not inconsistent with Article 1 of the Hong Kong Bill of Rights Ordinance.
2. The accuse to the Investigation Panel on Staff Discipline on violation of Article 10 of the Hong Kong Human Rights Ordinance is not established. The judicial review request is not supported.

Chan Shu Ying v. The Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, HCAL 151/1999

The challenge is founded on the assertion that the legislative steps taken to bring the new framework into being – more particularly, the provisions contained in the Provision of Municipal Services (Reorganization) Ordinance, Chapter 552, (‘the Reorganization Ordinance’) – are inconsistent with Article 25(a) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (‘the ICCPR’), which is enshrined in our law through Article 39 of the Basic Law, holds that every citizen shall have the right and opportunity to take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives. It is said by the Applicant that in removing the old constitutional framework and replacing it with the new – at least in respect of executive power to control municipal affairs – the Reorganization Ordinance has indefinitely denied Hong Kong permanent residents the right to participate in public affairs at a regional or local level.

The application for judicial review was dismissed.
CHAN MEI YEE v. DIRECTOR OF IMMIGRATION, HCAL 77/99
The Respondent applies to strike out the Notice of Motion on the ground that it
discloses no reasonable claim in public law.
Application dismissed.

Xie Xiaoyi v. The Director of Immigration; Tam Nga Yin and others v. The
Director of Immigration , HCAL No. 13 of 1998; HCAL No. 14 of 1998
Whether Article 24(3) of the Basic Law confers a right of abode in Hong Kong
on persons born outside Hong Kong but who have been adopted by a Hong
Kong permanent resident.
The Court dismissed it.

Lau Kong Yung and others v. Director of Immigration, HCAL 20/99
The applicants claim to be persons of Chinese nationality born on the Mainland
China (the Mainland) of permanent residents of Hong Kong. They therefore
claim themselves to be permanent residents of the HKSAR under Article 24(3)
of the Basic Law. They apply for writs of Habeas Corpus Ad Subjiciendum and
to judicially review the decision of the Director of Immigration (the Director) to
remove them from Hong Kong.
Both the applications for writs of Habeas Corpus Ad Subjiciendum and for
judicial review are dismissed.

The Association of Expatriate Civil Servants of Hong Kong v. The
Secretary for the Civil Service , HCAL 9/1998
Several decisions by the Secretary for the Civil Service concerning civil servant
management are challenged in contravention of Article 100 of the Basic Law
The decisions are not unconstitutional.
### The Association of Expatriate Civil Servants of Hong Kong v The Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, A.L. No. 90 of 1997

This is an application by the Association of Expatriate Civil Servants of Hong Kong ("the A.E.C.S.") for judicial review of (a) the decision of the Chief Executive to promulgate two instruments and (b) various provisions in those instruments. The two instruments are the Public Service (Administration) Order 1997 (E.O. No. 1 of 1997) ("the Executive Order") and the Public Service (Disciplinary) Regulation ("the Regulation"). The grounds on which the legality of the two instruments are challenged are that (a) they provide for the appointment and removal of holders of public office contrary to the provisions of the Basic Law, and (b) they are retrospective in operation. Application for judicial review concerning the contravention of the Basic Law is dismissed. It is not unconstitutional.

**Court:** High Court

### Lui Sheung Kwan & Ngan Sau Ying v Director of Immigration, HCAL 109 of 1997

The applicants are not satisfied with Removal Order issued by the Immigration Department and apply for leave to seek a judicial review. The Order is constitutional.

**Court:** High Court

### Chan Kam Nga v Director of Immigration, A.L. No. 104 of 1997

A new legislation which was enacted to implement limited the right of abode in Hong Kong to the children of persons who had acquired the right of abode in Hong Kong by the time the children were born. The issue which the case raises is whether that legislative provision contravenes the Basic Law. The Court concludes that the words “if the parent had the right of abode in Hong Kong at the time of the birth of the person” in the new para. 2(c) of Sch. 1 to the Immigration Ordinance contravenes Art.24(3) of the Basic Law. It is unconstitutional.

**Court:** High Court
Cheung Lai Wah and others v Director of Immigration, A.L. Nos. 68, 70, 71 & 73 of 1997

The requirement placed by the Director of Immigration to those who claimed the right of abode in Hong Kong is challenged.
The Court decides that the requirement and amendments to the Immigration Ordinance are constitutional.

Court: High Court

4. DISTRICT COURT

HKSAR v. MO YUK PING AND OTHERS

The issue is: whether or not to sec. 33 of the Telecommunications Ordinance is inconsistent with the Basic Law.
(This court deemed that the constitutionality of sec. 33 is not a matter in which there is any necessity for it to make a determination for the purposes of disposing of these applications.)

Court: District Court

5. MISCELLANEOUS

HKSAR Government v. Leung Kwok Hung & others

Article 13, 13A and 14 of the Public Order Ordinance is constitutional to Article 27 of the Basic Law and Article 17 of Part II of the Hong Kong Bill of Rights Ordinance.


The Commissioner of Rating and Valuation (“the Commissioner”) demanded
for the first time government rent in respect of them. In these appeals the appellant challenged the assessments of the Commissioner.
The Court decided that Section 4 and 5 contravene Article 121 of the Basic Law.

Court: The Land Tribunal
Proceedings submission

1. Title of the submission: The Interaction between Quantifier and Negation in L2 Chinese interlanguage by Adult English-speaking L2 Chinese Learners

2. Name of the author: Yan Li

3. Affiliation of the author: University of Southern California

4. Address of the author: 1216 W 37TH DR; Los Angeles, CA 90007

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6. Abstract

   This paper reports the preliminary results of a study of adult English-speaking L2 Chinese learners’ interpretation of sentences that contain negation and numerally quantified NPs as shown in (1)a.

   (1) a. zhe-ge nanhair meiyou kan liang-ben shu. (Chinese)

       this-CL   boy       NEG read  two-CL book

       ‘This boy didn’t read two books.’

   b. This boy didn’t read two books. (English)

   It has been discussed in the literature (Musolino 1998; Musolino, Crain & Thorntorn 2000; Lidz and Musolino 2002, Su 2003) that sentences in (1) are ambiguous both in Chinese and English: they can either mean that it is not the case that this boy read two books (i.e. the negation takes the wide scope, not>two) or there exist two books such that this boy did not read (i.e. the quantified NP takes the wide scope, two> not).

   Studies in L1 acquisition with Chinese-speaking children show that young children do not interpret sentences like (1)a in the same way as adults do: according to Su (2003), while Chinese-speaking adults prefer the negation wide scope reading (72% acceptance) to the QNP wide scope reading (38% acceptance), Chinese-speaking children prefer the
QNP wide scope reading (63% acceptance) to the negation wide scope reading (35% acceptance). Su (2003) attributed children’s preference to their misinterpretation of the structures.

Based on the analyses of the L1 data, three predictions can be made on L2 acquisition. If it is as Su (2003) argued that the Chinese-speaking children’s preference for the QNP wide scope reading for sentences like (1)a is caused by children’s misinterpretation of the structures, it would be predicted that such preference would not be observable among adult English-speaking L2 Chinese learners, since there is no reason to believe that adult English-speaking L2 Chinese learners would misinterpret the structures in the same way as Chinese-speaking children do considering the fact that in English *not* does not form a constituent with the verb following it. If the Chinese-speaking children’s preference for the QNP wide scope reading reflects a developmental stage that Chinese-speaking children go through when they acquire the interaction between quantification and negation (Musolino 1998), it would be predicted that English-speaking L2 Chinese learners would experience a similar developmental stage as Chinese-speaking children. Learners at different proficiency levels would show different preference: they would prefer the QNP wide scope reading as Chinese-speaking children do at the beginning level and prefer the negation wide scope reading later as Chinese adults do. If L1 transfer plays a role in the process, it would be predicted that adult English-speaking L2 Chinese learners do not perform like Chinese children or Chinese adult speakers---they would pattern English adult speakers in equally accepting both readings in the initial state. The current study used a Truth Value Judgment Test (Crain and Thornton 1998) to test these predictions. The preliminary results we got seem to
confirm the first and the third predictions. English-speaking L2 Chinese learners did not show preference to the QNP wide scope reading and their performance do not pattern L1 children or L1 Chinese adults---they accept the QNP wide scope reading on the average of 50% of the time. The subjects in the beginning level prefer the QNP wide scope reading with a little higher percentage (n=12; 54.16%) than the subjects in the intermediate level (n=12; 45.83%). This result suggests that Chinese children’s preference for QNP wide scope reading does not reflect a developmental stage. It is caused by pragmatic reasons rather than their immature grammar (c.f. Musolino 1998; Lidz and Musolino 2002). L1 transfer effect is also observed.
Proceedings submissions

1. Title of the submission
   Development and evaluation of the health educational model in primary medical clinics in primary medical clinics
   (Submission ID #:353)

2. Name(s) of the author(s)
   Lin, Li-Feng (lead author)
   Lee, Fu-Hui (corresponding author)

3. Affiliation(s) of the author(s)
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6. Abstract and/or full paper

   Abstract
   The study purpose was amid to develop and evaluate evaluation of the health educational model in primary medical clinics. This project designed was depended on patient’s health educational demand and need that a study results of the effect of health education in primary medical clinics in 2004. According above study results and concern the difference between urban areas and rural areas therefore we apply quota sampling technique to select 14 samples from 7 areas in Taiwan. We develop health educational checklist to create a new primary medical clinics health education model and evaluate the efficiency from primary medical clinics and patients. The results as follow: (1) the health educational checklist can prevent some slip-up of health educational process and content. (2) the primary medical clinics makes some change for new health educational model such as clinics environment, equipment, educational member, educational process and content, and increase time for the health education. (3) the health education time was increased average 3.15 minute, all of the primary medical clinics will keep the educational model going because they think that the doctor-patient relationship will improve (66.7%). (4) the patients are male 618 (43.6%) and
female 798(56.4%) a total 1416 and 93.3% of clinic patient had receive disease-related health education while they medical treatment process. (5) the patient aware of the educational model was difference from the clinic before and other medical clinics. From the patient’s view, the educational model was acceptable (96%) and meet their need (95.2%), it useable (92.9%) and helpful (94.6%) in their daily live but take that educational model will spend more time (45.3%). (6) they will return to clinic if necessary (97.5%) and to suggest relatives and friends when they need medical check up(93.8%). (7) from the urban and rural areas view, the patient of urban areas could aware that health educational model take more time for medical treatment process then the patient of rural areas, the patient from rural areas senses of the health educational model was difference from clinic before and the health education content was used able. According above study finding suggest: (1) the health educational Prescriptions sheet will be design and apply disease related health education content in to primary medical clinics treatment process. (2) according urban and rural areas difference to recruit voluntarily primary medical clinics to participate and follow up the effective to promote the health educational model.

**Key words:** primary medical clinic, health educational model, development, evaluation.
Effects of Smoking Prevention Education Program on the Knowledge, Attitude, and Refusal Skills in the Elementary School children of Taiwan

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2. Department of Healthcare Administration, Asia University, Taiwan
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Introduction: Smoking is recognized as one of the major risk factors that affects human health. In recent years, the smoking age in Taiwan has touched a real low than ever. It was figured that the prevalence of smoking in our teenagers is increasing rapidly. Also, it is believed that the health of our younger generation is an important asset for the future of our country. This reinforced the importance of implementing the educational programs on smoking prevention to enhance knowledge, attitude and refusal skill for our school children, as education is considered to be a miraculous weapon to promote healthy behavior.

Objective: The purpose of this study was to evaluate the effect of the smoking prevention education program on knowledge, attitude, and refusal skills of 5th grade students in Taiwan.

Methods: The evaluation was based on a non-equivalent pre-post test design. For this study four sections of 5th grade students from an elementary school were recruited as the study sample. Among the four sections, two classes (N=68) were randomly assigned to the experimental group and the other two (N=67) were used as the control group. The experimental group received the 6- hour education sessions (2 hours each
week for 3 consecutive weeks), but the control group did not have any such sessions. The data was collected by a field-tested questionnaire and analyzed by using the SPSS package.

**Results:** The main findings of this study are as follows

Table 1 shows the basic information of 135 sample students. Out of them, 76 (56.3%) were boys and 59 (43.7%) were girls. Majority of the parents of the students had a high school education (fathers, 23.9%; mothers, 29.3%). The result showed that 8 (5.9%) students had ever smoked and 19 (14.1%) had the intention of trying it. Also, 76 (56.3%) reported that their fathers smoked and 37 (27.4%) said that their grandfathers also smoked. On top of it, 7 (5.2%) students reported that they even had their fathers buy them the cigarettes.
Table 1 Basic information of the study sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>N (%)</th>
<th>variable</th>
<th>N (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boy</td>
<td>76 (56.3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girl</td>
<td>59 (43.7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>135</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smoking experience</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>117 (86.7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>8 (5.9)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>missing</td>
<td>10 (7.4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>135</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tried to smoke</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>19 (14.1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>112 (83.0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>missing</td>
<td>4 (3.0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>135</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any family member who smokes (multiple-choice)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>none</td>
<td>34 (25.2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>76 (56.3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>4 (3.0)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandfather</td>
<td>37 (27.4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandmother</td>
<td>40 (29.6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brother or sister</td>
<td>4 (3.0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td>13 (9.6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who had ever invited you to smoke (multiple-choice)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>none</td>
<td>119 (88.1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>7 (5.2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandfather</td>
<td>3 (2.2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandmother</td>
<td>1 (0.7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brother or sister</td>
<td>1 (0.7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relatives</td>
<td>13 (9.6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td>10 (7.4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Independent t-tests were performed to reveal the differences in gain scores (posttest – pretest) of the knowledge, attitude, and refusal skill measurements between the two groups. The results showed that the gain score for the knowledge test of the intervention group was significantly higher than that of the control group \( t = 2.29, p < .01 \). The gain score for the attitude measurement of the intervention group was significantly higher than that of the control group \( t = 2.13, p < .05 \). No significant difference was found in the gain scores for refusal skill measurement of the two groups \( t = 1.75, p > .05 \). (Table 2)
Table 2  The intervention effect based on the posttest – pretest score difference of the two groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>intervention group</th>
<th>control group</th>
<th>T value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knowledge post-pre difference</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td>2.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>refusal attitude post-pre difference</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>2.27</td>
<td>6.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>refusal skill post-pre difference</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>3.74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

p< .05;  p< .01

Nearly all the students (N=64) in the intervention group expressed that they liked the smoking prevention program and 61 of them said that they would be looking forward to having a similar kind of smoking prevention program in the future also.

**Conclusion**

This study shows that the 6 hour program intervention uniquely enriched the knowledge of the students about the benefits of non-smoking, thereby greatly influencing their attitude towards smoking. However, the program did not show any significant improvement in their refusal skills. A longer intervention period and more effective teaching strategies may be needed for the refusal skill formation of the students. The parents’ cooperation in the non-indulgence in smoking and promoting a more responsible behavior may also be recommended.

**Acknowledgement**

We express our sincere appreciation to The Bureau of Health Promotion of Taiwan for giving us all possible assistance and financial support in order to accomplish this study.
ABSTRACT

The Inland Empire: The New Heart of Black Life in Southern California?

Historically, early Los Angeles afforded many Black migrants opportunities that they did not enjoy in the places where they migrated from. In particular, as many historians have noted, Los Angeles offered Blacks the opportunity to own homes. However, as Los Angeles developed into one of the world’s largest cities, the opportunities for Blacks in L.A. seemingly declined. Deteriorating conditions and declining opportunities for Blacks in Los Angeles have caused many Blacks to migrate out of L.A. in search of “greener pastures”. One of the most popular destinations for Black Los Angeles migrants, as some social scientists have noted, is Southern California’s Inland Empire.

Located approximately 50 miles east of Los Angeles, the Inland Empire is one of the fastest growing metropolises in America and its anchor cities are San Bernardino and Riverside. Like early Los Angeles, the Inland Empire is affording many Black Los Angeles migrants the ability to own newer, bigger, more affordable homes and enjoy a “perceived” better quality of life. In order to ensure that these opportunities persist, some Black Los Angeles migrants have made a decision to move into communities in the Inland Empire that they believe are less likely to “tip-over” racially; that is these Black Los Angeles migrants have decided to settle in communities where they believe “white flight” is less likely to occur. Yet, this migration trend
has resulted in the dilution of the Black population in Southern California. The population dilution has had real social, economic, and political consequences for the sustainability of the Black community in Southern California. My paper presentation will examine these consequences.
At the Threshold: Developing a Subconscious Response to Nanotechnology

Strugatsky brothers’ science-fiction novel *Roadside Picnic*\(^1\) revolves around the presence of the subconscious at the core of the human being. Andrei Tarkovsky, a famous Russian film director adapted the novel into his film *Stalker*, in which a stalker guides a Writer and Professor into the ZONE—a dangerous and unpredictable territory deserted after some fantastical event took place there—in search of the Room where wishes come true. On the way they learn of a man named Porcupine who came to the room to ask for his brother’s health but upon return suddenly became very rich and hung himself. At the threshold to the Room, the Writer and Professor realize the reason for Porcupine’s suicide. The Room grants only the most sacred desires: the unknown desires of man’s subconscious. Porcupine may have asked for his brother’s health but in his heart he wanted wealth and could not live with this knowledge. Before the entrance to the Room the Writer says, “It doesn’t matter what you are saying. Here that will come true which reflects your very essence of which you yourself are ignorant!”\(^2\) The

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Writer refuses to enter fearing what we can call his subconscious—that which he does not know about himself but which he recognizes has the power to affect his future.

The development of the nanotechnology program is reminiscent of the journey the Writer and Professor make in *Stalker*. Scientists behind nanotechnology are on their way to making their most sacred wishes come true. The dreams of nanotechnology include the desire to improve the quality of human life by eliminating disease and death, preventing further environmental destruction and facilitating faster communication. When these dreams are written down by scientists they often seem more like science fiction than objective scientific projections. Rather than discard them as mere unrealistic desires, we should listen to the dreams expressed in these writings with more attention. Porcupine’s story shows us that when such desires are realized, they can have unexpected consequences because of unknown to us subconscious undercurrents. Although the capabilities of today’s techniques are not yet at the point of achieving all of the applications envisioned for nanotechnology, with the current speed of technological development it is only a matter of time before nanotechnology stands at the threshold of realizing these dreams. These dreams, like mirrors, reflect their owners’ subconscious desires and can, unknowingly to the scientists, affect the outcome of nanotechnology developments. What thoughts will the scientists behind nanotechnology encounter at the threshold and will they stop or cross over?

The Writer and Professor recognize in Porcupine’s story a reflection of their own journey and stop at the threshold of the Room. They need a reflection in order to see their own situation, which was invisible to them previously. The simplest example of the need for reflection is the inability of man to see his physical body in its entirety. In order to see our physical selves we require a mirror. Similarly, we construct figurative mirrors (for example, in the form of film,
literature and art) to understand phenomena invisible to us. In *Stalker*, Porcupine’s most cherished desire—the to-him-unknown desire for wealth—is reflected in the form of a granted wish. As a result of the reflection he is able to see his subconscious. Film, literature and art commonly exhibit mirror-like qualities by reflecting the life they depict. Jorge Luis Borges, for example, uses mirrors in his stories to intercept the difference between perception and reality. Hergé’s famous *The Adventures of Tintin*, inspired the sciences of Tintinology (“study of Tintin”) and Tintinlatrie (“love of Tintin”), reflections through which the new generation is now trying to understand the original Tintin and its own modern society. Another interesting example is Velázquez’s famous oeuvre, *Las Meninas*, which is composed of many figurative mirrors. Pablo Picasso, painting three hundred years after Velázquez, completed forty-four variations on the grand master’s work. Each of Picasso’s forty-four renditions of *Las Meninas* in his distinctly cubist style are reflections of a reflection. Picasso’s multiple versions show that art has the ability to trigger an infinity of reflections, the subject of each one of which is ultimately ourselves. Reflections imply the existence of the subconscious by revealing something previously unknown but integral to us. The subconscious is made visible by reflection.

The main power of the mechanism of reflection is that it distances us from the object we are trying to apprehend. Philosopher Michel Foucault, analyzing Velázquez’s painting in his book, *The Order of Things*, describes the function of the mirror to reveal the invisible. He writes that the mirror draws from the “exterior” what is invisible in the painting and making it visible, “[cutting] the whole field of representation, ignoring all it might apprehend within that field, and [restoring] visibility to that which resides outside all view.”

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canvas. In order for the mirror to reveal anything or be of any use to us there must be a
distinction between what is on the “exterior” and on the “interior” or between what is visible and
invisible. The presence of the subconscious, whose influence is unknown to us but important in
shaping our view of the world, indicates that there is a difference between life and our
understanding of it. Sometimes the difference is expressed in a distance from the subject, as the
Russian poet and novelist Boris Pasternak says, “The big is seen at a distance.” To accurately
see our object in its entirety we might need to take a step back, as, for example, when we are
standing too close to a pointillist painting. At other times this difference takes the form of time,
like in the example of history in which we can see the entire event only retrospectively.
However that difference is measured, it exists because of the impossibility to see ourselves
directly.

Stalker leads the Writer and Professor on a long and indirect journey through the ZONE
to the Room. The time that they spend walking gives the Writer and the Professor enough
distance to reflect on Porcupine’s story and come to the decision to stop at the threshold to the
Room. Unlike the characters in Stalker, nanotechnology’s journey to the threshold of its dreams
coming true is taking a very short amount of time. With the overall speed of life increasing,
evident in the demand for faster and faster Internet services and information delivery, there may
be not enough time for the scientists and society to reflect on the impact of the new technologies
and stop in time before crossing an irreversible threshold. Nanotechnology is fast even by
today’s standards: the creation of a single molecule transistor was announced on August 30,
2006, just 15 years after the invention of the scanning tunneling microscope,4 and updates on
nanotechnology developments are published every day in news sources and blogs such as the

Emerging Technology Trends blog. In 1958, Hannah Arendt hypothesized in her book *The Human Condition* that it would take scientists, “no more than a hundred years” to produce a man “possessed by a rebellion against human existence as it has been given.” Today, less than 50 years from the date of Arendt’s writing, an organization of such individuals, who call themselves “transhumanists,” already exists. Raymond Kurzweil, an inventor and author very respected among the transhumanists, acknowledges the exponential growth of technological change. In his 2001 essay, “The Law of Accelerating Returns,” Kurzweil writes that, “the history of technology shows that technological change is exponential, contrary to the common-sense ‘intuitive linear’ view. So we won’t experience 100 years of progress in the 21st century—it will be more like 20,000 years of progress (at today’s rate).” The unprecedented speed with which nanotechnology is moving forward makes me wonder whether human intellect has enough time to see the true effect of the technology and adequately respond to it.

If there is not enough time to react with our reason, what can serve as an emergency break and help us stop in time? Usually, a subconscious sense can guide us when reason fails. Intuition, a nagging premonition or a seemingly unwarranted fear from nowhere can cause us to reconsider our mind’s reasoning and we (or it) change our course of action. The subconscious is often the central theme of both art and science. Fyodor Dostoevsky explores the influence of the subconscious in his novels, *Notes from the Underground*, *Idiot* and *Brothers Karamazov*, and the subconscious forms the basis of Sigmund Freud’s psychoanalysis. Freud’s study of the role of dreams in his work, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, relies on the idea that something repressed in

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man, unknown to his reason can significantly affect his life. These and many other prominent works support the existence of the subconscious and demonstrate its importance in influencing human existence. By recognizing the existence of the subconscious, we acknowledge that there may be something which we do not know; therefore the subconscious can function as a limit of our reason’s capabilities.

In this sense, the subconscious not only provides an intuitive feeling that can change our plans, but it also sets limits. In *Stalker* this limit is the threshold of the Room which the Writer, Professor and Stalker do not cross (although in one humorous instant the Professor accidentally trips and almost falls into the Room, but the Writer holds him back by the tails of his coat). The notion of the subconscious acknowledges the presence of mystery, a kind of cognitive limit. In contrast, scientists and dreamers of nanotechnology do not believe that there can be any limit to the mind’s knowledge. Without a belief in any limits to knowledge, man develops an insatiable appetite for more knowledge, driving today’s incredible speed of technological development. Scientists cannot be satisfied with anything less than with what professor and philosopher Jean-Pierre Dupuy calls “perfect knowledge,” at which point, by its very design, the power of their creation will lead to the escape of all knowledge and technology from their own hands. Through Porcupine’s story, the Writer and the Professor learn that breaching the threshold limit could lead them to their death. The warning message from *Stalker* is clear: the subconscious can keep us from taking an irreversible step.

If the subconscious helps guide us in critical situations, what can be done to develop it? As we have seen, film, literature and art point at the existence of the subconscious and have been trying to understand it for hundreds of years. They do so in the context of time-old culture and

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traditions, which leads to the argument that the subconscious is strengthened by culture, 
tradition, morals and faith. Also, these areas of human activity are relatively free of influence 
from human reason and logic—the two instruments historically used to expel the mysterious 
subconscious. It is necessary to actively pursue these disciplines in step with technological 
development. We need to develop the subconscious through these areas so that if we find 
ourselves with insufficient time to act with our reason our subconscious may guide us. The 
nanotechnology program has taken some preliminary steps in this direction.

The convergence of the Nano, Bio, Info and Cognitive sciences (NBIC convergence) is 
an attempt to create an interdisciplinary community around nanotechnology. Jean-Pierre Dupuy 
writes that the role of cognitive science, the least scientific of the four disciplines mentioned, as 
the “thinker” of the NBIC convergence is an important one. Nevertheless, it is subordinated to 
the goal of scientific progress, once again diverting attention from the philosophical to the 
scientific debate. Nanotechnology is also closely watched by groups with “ethics” in their name 
or mission statement, for example organizations such as the Institute for Ethics and Emerging 
Technologies (IEET) and the World Transhumanist Association (WTA) whose mission 
statement advocates “the ethical use of technology to expand human capacities.” Their effort 
to draw attention to ethics and ask ethical questions is commendable; however it is often 
questions of risk and safety that are passed off as ethics to which caution and regulation are 
proposed as solutions. One illustration of how a cost-benefit analysis is substituted for ethics is 
an interview with Nick Bostrom, the co-founder of the WTA and director of the Future of 
Humanity Institute at Oxford University. During the interview Bostrom discusses a procedure he

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calls, “technological marriage counseling,” 12 a new technology aimed at restoring romance to fading marriages by manipulating the levels of a few hormones which facilitate the formation of bonds between people. When asked about the ethical implications of this kind of cognitive enhancement, Bostrom resorted to a cost-benefit analysis: at first the procedure would be costly and therefore “unethical” since not everyone could afford it, but it would be ethically approved as it became cheaper. The real ethical question—that the manipulation of hormones would undermine love by guaranteeing it, and in effect would invalidate marriage—was not brought up. Such examples demonstrate that nanotechnology has not been very successful in strengthening the subconscious with the same intensity as it pursues the development of technology.

But it is not solely the responsibility of nanotechnology to develop society’s culture and morals. While it may be impossible to slow down the pace of the development of nanotechnology, a society with a fit collective subconscious nurtured by a strong culture, live traditions, healthy morals and faith will guide our decisions in critical times. If we are worried that rapid technological development is not allowing for the adequate distance to see the technology for what it really is and not leaving enough time to prepare a response, we must build up the cultural and moral fabric of society and rely on its intuition to pull the emergency break if necessary. For inspiration, I turn to Federico Fellini who indirectly touches upon the subconscious while examining the invisible mysteries of life such as love and beauty in his films. The subconscious emerges subtly as one watches the end scene of Fellini’s 8½. As all of the film’s characters and clowns hold hands and run around the circus ring to Nino Rota’s music, to my own surprise I find myself surrender to unity, kindness and hope in a world fraught with difficult relationships and the unsettling pursuit of endless fantasies.

title of the submission

From Mammy to Yemoja, Jezebel to Osun: The Spiritual & Social Reconstruction of Motherhood within the African Diaspora

topic area of the submission

Area Studies (Women’s Studies and African Diaspora Studies)

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Panel Session

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Research Abstract

From Mammy to Yemoja, Jezebel to Osun

The Spiritual & Social Reconstruction of Black Motherhood within the

African Diaspora

by

Alysia Logan
Objectives

My primary objective is to explore the connection between the West Coast of Africa to the West Coast of the United States and expose the link between the iconic figures of Mammy and Jezebel/Sapphire to the West African Deities Yemoja and Osun. My secondary and equally important objective is to empower mothers (single mothers, in particular) throughout the African Diaspora through the positive reconstruction of these She-roie images. Due to the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and the misrepresentation of West African culture throughout the African Diaspora, these icons have been methodically and tenaciously deconstructed over time, therefore affecting our respect for and treatment of Black women's sexuality and their roles as women and mothers in this society.

I am suggesting that Yemoja and Mammy are one in the same and so are Osun and Jezebel/Sapphire. By utilizing empowering myths such as those of Queen Califia and Nanny of the Maroons in comparison with movies like Claudine and Coffy, fairy tales and other literature and music, I will show how the various representations of these icons (and women like them) have affected Black American women's roles and identities. As I traveled to Europe, Puerto Rico, Ghana and Jamaica back to my home town in Compton, California I noticed women across the Diaspora have similar struggles and identities which are both self-perpetuated and placed upon them by their respective societies.

In the United States, as well as throughout the African Diaspora, a positive image of a Black single mother is hard to come by; Mammy and Jezebel
are all too prevalent. But, where are Yemoja and Osun? I want to help other women I see struggling to raise their children, deal with the system and still be a whole woman. Through the Center for the Study of Women, I will conduct research to help further the Black single mother's struggle for social justice and equanimity.

Methodology

I will perform a comparative analysis of the social status of Black women throughout the African Diaspora to Black women in the United States, comparing and contrasting how these women are viewed and how they view themselves through field work, interviews with local spiritual and cultural leaders and members of the community; gathering various statistical data about single mothers across the Diaspora and quality of life, religious ideology and systems of belief; asking questions like do they feel empowered to influence positive change in their lives and in lives of their children; what do they think of Mammy and Jezebel; how do they relate; and who/where are Yemoja and Osun?

Expected Outcome

The end product (as already discussed with several book editors) will result in a book on the subject matter which will be published first in the academic realm, then mainstream.
Title of Submission: The Bajaus Language: an overview

Topic area: Language

Presentation format: Paper session

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The Bajaus Language: an overview

by

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Abstract
The Sama-Bajau peoples are one of the maritime communities found in Malaysia, Philippines and Indonesia. Sama-Bajau has recently been suggested as a general term for the language spoken by the various Sama populations. The group as a whole is probably coordinated with Malay and the Philippine, and language as a member of the Hesperonesian branch of Austronesian. The Sama-Bajau peoples are noted for their close association with the sea and are even given the appellation of sea-gypsies. Nowadays, however, a large number of Bajaus have become house-dwellers through a small member still prefer to be boat-dwellers and lead a nomadic type of life. Most of them who have settle on land are strand-dwellers, perhaps because of their fishing activities which undoubtedly, require an easy access to the sea. Today, in Sabah, the Bajau people are enjoying an earned period of prosperity and importance, whereas in the past, here and elsewhere, they were treated usually as ‘odd man out’, ‘water gypsies’ and other condescending classifications. In general, the objective of this paper is to explore the language aspects of the Bajaus among three countries namely Malaysia, Philippines and Indonesia, in terms of the basic vocabularies used in both the Bajau language and the Proto Austronesian language.

Introduction
The Southeast Asia sea nomads are divided geographically, culturally and linguistically into three major groups, each the product of an apparently independent history of adaptation. The first of these groupings comprises the Moken and Moklen of the Mergui archipelago of Burma, with extensions southward into the islands of southwestern Thailand (Hogan 1972). The second is represented by a congeries of variously named groups, collectively referred to as orang laut (sea people), who inhabit the islands and estuaries of the Riau-Lingga archipelagos, the Bantam archipelago, and the coasts and offshore
islands of eastern Sumatra, Singapore and southern Johor (Andaya 1975; Sopher 1965). A northern subgroup of orang laut, the Urak Lawoi, occupies the offshore islands from Phuket to the Adang island group. Finally, the third, and largest grouping consists of the Sama-Bajau, most of them maritime or stand-oriented communities, but also includes small numbers of boat nomads, who together form what is probably the most widely-dispersed ethnolinguistic group indigenous to the islands of Southeast Asia, living over an area of some one-and-a-quarter million square miles, from south-central Philippines, eastern Borneo and Sulawesi, south and eastward to the island of eastern Indonesia to Flores and the southern Moluccas (Nimmo 1972 ; Sather 1993a).

In general, the objective of the study is to explore the language aspects of the Bajaus between three countries- Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines. The objective being to examine the descendant between the Bajau language and the Austronesian proto language.

The Sama-Bajau Peoples
In Malaysia and Indonesia, variants of the terms ‘Bajau’ and ‘Bajo’ (for example Badjaw, Badjao, Bajao, Bajo) are applied by outsiders to both nomadic and sedentary Sama speakers, including land-based agricultural communities, some of them, such as those of western Sabah, without an apparent history of past seafaring. In the southern Philippines, the term ‘Bajau’ (and its variants) is reserved exclusively for boat-nomadic and formerly nomadic groups, while more sedentary Sama speakers, particularly those living in the Sulu archipelago are generally known to outsiders as ‘Samal’, an ethnonym applied to them by the neighbouring Tausug, but also used widely by Christian Filipinos and others (Kiefer 1972 ; Sather 1993b). In eastern Indonesia, Sama speakers are called ‘Bajo’ by the Bugis, a term also widely used by others, and both ‘bayo’ and ‘Turijene’ (people of the water) by the Makassarese. In Borneo, they are termed ‘Bajau’ by the Brunei Malays and by other coastal Malay-speaking groups (Evans 1952). At present, the name Bajau has gained wide currency among all groups in Sabah including Sama speakers themselves.
Most Sama-Bajau speakers, with the principal exception of the Yakan and Jama Mapun refer to themselves as ‘Sama’ or particularly in central Sulu, as ‘Sinama’. The term ‘Sama’ (or a’ a Sama, Sama people) appears to be the most widely used antonym, employed in self-reference throughout the entire area of Sama-Bajau distribution. According to Pallesen (1985) the term is also reconstructable as the proto-form of the antonym by which Sama-Bajau speakers have referred to themselves since early in the present millennium.

When used as an ethnic label, in self-reference, the term ‘sama’ is normally coupled with a toponymic duster, or stretch of coastline. Use of these modifiers indicates the speaker’s geographical and/or dialect affiliation (Sather 1993b). For example, ‘sama Sibaut’ refer to the settled ‘sama’ speakers who inhabit or trace their origin to Sibaut island, near Siasi, in the Tapul island group of Sulu. In Sabah and southern Sulu, boat-dwelling groups and those with a recent history of boat-nomadism commonly identify themselves as ‘sama dilaut’ or ‘sama mandelaut’, names that mean literally, the ‘sea’ (laut) or ‘maritime Bajau’, or as the ‘sama to’ongan’, the ‘real’ or ‘true Bajau’ (Sather 1993a; Frake 1980). In Sulu and eastern Sabah, sea-nomadic and formerly nomadic groups are generally known to other ‘sama’ speakers as ‘sama Pala’au’ or ‘Pala’u’, or ‘Luwa’an’, and to the neighbouring Tausug as ‘samal Luwa’an’ (Kiefer 1972). Both names have pejorative connotations, reflecting the pariah status generally ascribed to the Bajau laut by those living ashore.

Curiously enough, the Bajau of Sabah never refer to themselves as ‘Bajau’. Neither do they have a word or a nomenclature for their own group, which bears a phonetic resemblance to the word ‘Bajau’. Rather, they call themselves ‘Sama’. Be it ‘Bajau’ or ‘Sama’, these people have a way of explaining the origin of these term through their oral traditions. According to their stories, when the Bajau met again after a long separation, they instantly recognised one another, and so the remark made between them was ‘sama’ (‘same), meaning that to the same group, fate had separated them across distant islands, and hence emerged the word ‘Bajau’, consisting of the verbal prefix ‘ber-’ in Malay and by Sabah Malay dialect (ba-) and the root-word ‘jau’ (‘far’), meaning ‘living far away from one another’. However, the origin of the words Sama and Bajau as
given above is just folklore. The linking of the Bajau of Sabah to the orang Badjo of Sulawesi and relating the name ‘Bajau’ to a place by the name of Badjoe near Bone (Nimmo 1972), seems more likely. This is due to the well-known fact that the people of the Malay archipelago acquire their group labels from the names of places (inclusive of rivers and hills) where they establish their dwelling.

The Sama-Bajau are coastal people. They are noted for their close association with the sea and are even given the appellation of ‘sea-gypsies’ or ‘water-gypsies’ (also sea-gypsies) of Singapore and Johor. The Bajau are known for being a seafaring people and are warlike in nature. Evans had described them ‘as Proto-Malayan people, who are essentially maritime’. Evans had also recorded earlier in the century that there were still Bajau sea-gypsies and wanderers, ‘who are born, live and die in their boats’. Nowadays, there are few of these wanderers left. However, the tradition of living in houses built in water with high stilts to support them lives on to this day.

In Malaysia (Sabah), the Bajau are present along both the eastern and western coastal plains, from Kuala Penyu to Tawau on the east. In eastern Indonesia the largest numbers are found on the islands and in coastal districts of Sulawesi. Here, widely scattered communities, most of them pile-houses settlements, are represented near Menado, Ambogaya and Kendari; in the Banggai, Sula and Togian island groups; along the straits of Tioro; in the gulf of Bone; and along the Makassar coast. Elsewhere settlements are present near Balikpapan in east Kalimantan, on Maratua, Pulau Laut and Kakaban and in the Balambangan islands off the eastern Borneo coast. Others are reported, widely scattered, from Halmahera through the southern Moluccas, along both sides of Sape straits dividing Flores and Sumbawa; on Lombok, Lembata, Pantar, Adonara, Sumba, Ndao and Roti; and near Sulamu in western Timor. In Sabah, boat-nomadic and formerly Bajau laut are present in the southeastern Semporna district, while Sulu-related groups are found in the Philippines in small numbers from Zamboanga through the Tapul, western Tawi-tawi, and Sibutu island groups, with major concentration in the Bilatan islands, near Bongao, Sanga-sanga and Sitangkai.
The Sama-Bajau Language

Language is more than just a tool for communication. It is often a key to understanding their relation to other cultures and other peoples. A person’s language is an integral part of his identity. The Bajau are a culturally and linguistically diverse people living in the southern Philippines, eastern Indonesia and Sabah, Malaysia. The Bajaus speak a Malayo-Polynesian language which they themselves call ‘Sama’. The ‘Sama’ language is spoken in the Philippines and Malaysia.

The Bajau language, as it is spoken in Sabah, is divided into a number of divergent, though mutually intelligible dialects. The strongest dialectic division separates the language spoken by the Bajau of the west coast from the host of dialects spoken on the east coast. West coast Sama, the language spoken from Papar to Kudat, is subdivided into regional varieties, each the product of years of local isolation. East coast Sama is divided much more sharply into dialects which, for the most part, were brought already formed by immigrants coming to Sabah. From various islands of the Sulu archipelago. Many, like Sama Ubian, Sama Simunul and Sama Sibutu, are named after the Philippine island from which they derive. A few, like Sama Kubung spoken by long-time these Sama dialects are divergent enough as practically to constitute separate languages in their own right.

The Bajau language as spoken along the west coast of Sabah belongs to the same general language group as does the Bajau language spoken on the eastern side of the state. The west coast Bajau, too, sometimes refer to themselves and their language as Sama. But the fact that their language is now quite different from that spoken on the east coast or in the southern Philippines indicates that they have been in Sabah for a much longer time.

Hence, the Bajau language spoken all along the east coast areas of Sabah are very closely related to the southern Samal dialects of the Sama language groups of the southern Philippines. Some have lived in Sabah for several generations, other for only a few months or years, but no great distinctions is found between the speech of these groups and that of the area’s in the Philippines from which
they came. Some of the names by which these east coast Bajau refer to themselves and their language are: Kagayan, Ubian, Laminusa, Bajau Banaran, Bajau Semporna, Bajau darat, Bajau laut, Simunul and Bajau Balangingi. All of these groups are considered to share a common language background, though differences exist between them.

In eastern Indonesia, the Bajau speak what appears to be a single language, characterised by only minor dialectal differences, known as Indonesian Bajau. In the eastern coastal districts spoken, known as central and southern Sama. In Sabah, the two are frequently classed together as east coast Bajau. Both are divided into a variety of local dialects with close links to allied dialects spoken by Samal groups in the neighbouring Sulu archipelago of the Philippines.

A separate language, known as west coast Bajau is spoken in the northern and western coastal districts from Kuala Penyu to Terusan, with some overlapping the east coast Bajau in northern Sabah. Recent linguistic studies show that the boat-nomadic Bajau laut are not a linguistically homogenous population, nor are they linguistically distinct as a group from the shore-based sama-speaking communities present around them. Those living in Semporna and southern Sulu speak southern Sama, while those in western Tawi-tawi and central and northern Sulu speak varieties of central Sama. Except for the division in Sabah between east and west coast Bajau, locally contiguous dialects, whether spoken ashore by settled land-based communities, are usually mutually intelligible, in most areas grading into one another without sharply defined language boundaries.

The list below illustrate the Bajau family resemblances.
i) **Numerals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Austronesian Language (APL)</th>
<th>Malay (ML)</th>
<th>Bajau Darat (BD)</th>
<th>Bajau Laut (BL)</th>
<th>Bajo Sangkuang (BBS)</th>
<th>Bajau Yakan (BY)</th>
<th>Bahasa Suluk (BS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>* isa?</td>
<td>satu</td>
<td>isa?</td>
<td>assa</td>
<td>dakau</td>
<td>dembua?</td>
<td>hambuk/isa?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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Sources:
1. Interviewed with Mohd Asri bin Haji Ispal.
2. Adapted from James T. Collins (1996).
3. Interviewed with Nasir bin Ajimin.
4. Interviewed with Bakri bin Bibi.

ii) **Colours**

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Sources:
1. Interviewed with Mohd Asri bin Haji Ispal.
2. Adapted from James T. Collins (1996).
3. Interviewed with Nasir bin Ajimin.
4. Interviewed with Bakri bin Bibi.
### iii) Anatomy

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The items in the table above illustrate the numerals, colours, anatomy and animals in Bajau language. It is showed Bajau, a clear descendent of the Austronesian Proto-Language.

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The items in the table above shows that all of the languages have similarities including the Fijian language which further clarifies that belong to the Austronesian Proto language family.

**Conclusion**

To conclude, today in Sabah the Bajau peoples are enjoying an earned period of prosperity and importance, whereas in the past, here and elsewhere, they were treated usually as ‘odd man out’, ‘water gypsies’ and other condescending classifications. Initially, the different coastal locations and ecologies seemed to have affected the Bajau to differentiate them into two distinct dialect groups but remained largely mutually intelligible.

We should realized that Bajau language not only been spoken in Sabah but most widely dispersed to Southeast Asia. Hopefully, this preliminary study will unearth some informations about this community. Especially when all this peoples are always referred as maritime community. The close association

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5 Sources: Adapted from Crowley (1987)
among these cognatic languages may lead to the fact that Bajau language is in the phylum of Malayo-Polynesia.
References


Title: Engagement, participation, and community efficacy: Insights into social organization

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James A. Martin (School of Social Work, Bryn Mawr College, jmartin@brynmawr.edu)
Engagement, participation, and community efficacy: Insights into social organization

Jay A. Mancini, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
Gary L. Bowen, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
William B. Ware, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
James A. Martin, Bryn Mawr College

Abstract

Social organization theory is emerging as an important conceptual framework for explaining connections between families and their communities. Primary elements of social organization of particular relevance are: social networks, social capital, and community capacity (Mancini, Bowen, & Martin, 2005). This empirical analysis examines three elements of social organization among community residents in the Commonwealth of Virginia. Analyses are based on 769 telephone interviews with a probability sample of adults. The primary measure of social organization is the Community Connections Index (Mancini, Bowen, Martin, & Ware, 2003), a 15-item measure. Based on conceptual grounds these items were organized around three primary social organization concepts: engagement, participation, and community efficacy. Engagement reflects interpersonal action with others, whereas participation reflects involvement with formal organizations; efficacy taps into taking responsibility for and acting in productive ways on behalf of the community. The primary analysis goal was to examine how engagement and participation predict community efficacy. These primary relationships were examined in the context of key moderators: gender, age, education, marital status, income, and location of residence. Six multiple regression analyses were conducted with the social organization measures, one for each moderator variable. On step one of each analysis community efficacy was defined as the criterion variable, with engagement and participation as independent. On the second step the moderator variables were entered, followed by the interactions between each moderator and the primary independent variables (third step). The bivariate relationships between community efficacy and engagement is .592 (p<.001), and between community efficacy and participation it is .655 (p<.001). Engagement and participation correlate .522 (p<.001). These independent variables explain 51.5% of the variance in efficacy. In no instance did the addition of the demographic moderators appreciably change the relationships among these social organization variables, thus indicating model invariance. Commonality analysis indicates that engagement contributes an increase in R Square of .086, above and beyond participation; participation contributes an increase in R Square of .165, above and beyond engagement. Either variable explains 26.4% of the variation in community efficacy. Based on our earlier empirical work, we anticipated that engagement and participation would be substantially related to efficacy, and that these relationships would be independent of a set of moderator variables (Bowen, Mancini, Martin, Ware, & Nelson, 2003). These expectations are supported by the analysis. These results support theoretical assumptions that aspects of involvement in both informal (engagement) and formal (participation) networks have an impact on
an important part of community membership, that is, the sentiment and actions necessary for building the capacity for stronger communities.

References


MALAYSIAN ETHNICITY: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS ON THE APPLICATION OF THE RATIONAL CHOICE MODEL IN MEASURING ETHNICITY.

Kntayya Mariappan

We may describe as ‘ethnically-salient’ choices, those taking place in situations of action where actors (i) make a choice and (ii) it is presumed that some form of ethnic identification or 'loyalty’ may be expected to guide the choice. Put rather differently, the statements which people make about their intentions or the intentions of others may be taken as indications of the importance they attach to ethnicity, especially when the situation of action poses a conflict between an ethnic and a non-ethnic orientation to action. Two pieces of research on ethnically salient choices are revisited in this paper. The first already published (Banton and Mansoor, 1992) and the second is a study which was designed as a comparison and replication of Banton-Mansoor (Mariappan, 1996).

This paper has three parts. In the first part we briefly recapitulate the argument of the Banton-Mansoor paper. In their paper the empirical data were statements (made in questionnaire responses) by Chinese and Malay Malaysians about how they judged "Husin Ali", a hypothetical actor, would be likely to act. Husin Ali is presented in the questionnaire as a 'typical Malay" and respondents are asked to indicate how he might act in a number of hypothetical situations (described below). In the second part we present the findings of a replication of this study in which Malay and Chinese Malaysians make judgements about how Tan Seng would be likely to act. In the second study Husin Ali the 'typical" Malay was replaced by Tan Seng as a 'typical Chinese Malaysian. Malays make judgements about how a typical Malay would act; so do Chinese (the first study). In the Mariappan’s replication study, Malays make judgements about how a typical Chinese would act; and so do Chinese. In the third part of the reflections on both studies, on the strengths and weaknesses of paper, the methodology of the rational choice model employed in these two studies, and on their implications for our understanding of ethnic relations in Malaysia is presented. Here in this paper a conceptualisation - of micro, meso and macro ethnicity based on levels of social structure in which ethnic salience is manifested - is formulated to clarify our understanding of the influence of ethnicity in multiethnic societies like Malaysia.

The Mansoor-Banton Study

The Mansoor-Banton paper has a number of features and makes a number of claims. Although later we will evaluate these claims, we must first make a brief restatement of them. Ethnic boundaries are maintained (or not) by the actions of individuals making choices which indicate the
strength of their ethnic alignment. This can be measured by comparing it with the strength of other alignments such as class or religion, or with individual motivations such as self-interest. Since self-interest may coincide with ethnic alignment the investigator must construct imaginary but plausible situations in which the actor will be seen as facing a choice which can only be resolved by showing favour to one form of alignment rather than another. These were constructed as situations of conflict; the respondents judge how Husin i.e. a representative Malay, would resolve the conflict.

Banton and Mansoor also argue that ‘It is possible that individuals may believe that, while they have a general interest in supporting – or an obligation to support - fellow ethnics, the situation about which they are being asked is an exception to this rule’ (pp. 601). This places a great onus on the task of constructing the imaginary situations. It is theoretically possible that the investigators could construct situations which were all or mainly ‘exceptions’. The evidence then may appear to tell us that actors are (judged) likely to make non-ethnic choices, disguising the generality of ethnic loyalty interests. However the authors tell us that respondents are being asked to judge how a representative Malay will act in situations in which new patterns of behaviour, alternative to ethnic loyalty, are appearing and in which values are changing. Significantly, no evidence is adduced to show that this is the case (i.e. that new patterns are emerging), but the assumption is crucial to the study. Although Husin Ali is frequently described as a representative Malay we are actually told later (Banton, Mansoor 1992 p. 604) that he is a clerk in a multinational engineering firm. This becomes important in judging how Husin Ali will judge status gains and losses in his behaviour. He is not simply representative Malay, he is clerical worker Malay. We are also reminded that respondents were residents of Petaling Jaya, a satellite town of Kuala Lumpur with its own socio-ethnic profile (i.e. urban, proportionally more Chinese than in other parts of the country), different, let us say, from Sabah to which the findings would not be applicable. However, another assumption is that more of Malaysia is becoming like Petaling Jaya i.e. urban with a certain fluidity in social relations.

The findings are presented by the authors as relevant to what, citing Allport, they call "pluralistic ignorance" (Allport, 1924; Banton, 1986). Malays and Chinese are judging how Husin Ali will act and it is entirely possible that their judgements will differ significantly. To the extent that they do differ, this illustrates a situation which may appear in many inter-ethnic social settings, that is a mis-judgement by group A members of how Group B members will act. It seems that the Malays judgements are taken as a kind of gold standard. The Malays are presumed to know their Husin Ali’s choice of action at any situations of inter-ethnic settings. Of course the gold standard judgement runs into difficulties if the Malays split something like 50/50. Which half are right? In
fact the authors acknowledge in discussion that group A members may be ignorant of how other group A members (their own group) will act, a significant free rider to the gold standard concept. Finally we should note that the whole conceptualisation of their study is couched within the framework of "rational choice theory" (Banton, 1987) applied to ethnic relations. Actors are assumed to make choices even if in some circumstances their choices are constrained. The actor will act to maximise his or her gain and the gains may be of different kinds - for example, of material self-interest or a gain in status. Acting out of ‘loyalty’ to ones ethnic group is a choice, a course that may be chosen in contrast to other gains. Presumably ethnic loyalty is chosen where the rewards of this outweigh the possible gains in self-interest of other kinds as cited. In the Banton-Mansoor paper the authors look at the responses of Malay males and females. The (male and female) respondents judge not only how Husin Ali will act but also how Husin Ali’s mother will act. This allows them to test whether men make different judgements (of Husin Ali) from women, and whether the respondents see an older female ‘representative Malay’ as acting differently. The imaginary situations purport to pit ethnic loyalty against material self-interest, status gain interest, and personal obligation. The actual findings were set against the intuitive expectations of the observers and in discussion they speculate about the reasons for the judgements made. Although other questions are alluded to, responses to only three are reported in detail. To simplify the comparison with the replication we shall confine ourselves to all respondents’ view of the key hypothetical actor, setting aside the male/female comparison and the judgements about the actor’s mother.

The hypothetical questions to which they responded are as follows:

(i) The shop situation
   *Husin Ali has been patronising Mr. Ah Kow's grocery shop, noted for its cheapness and nearest to his house. Husin Ali has been informed that in a week's time, Ahmad will be opening a second grocery shop in his neighbourhood. Where will Husin Ali go?*
   (a) Ahmad's shop  (b) Ah Kow's shop  (c) other

(ii) The trip to the zoo situation
   *Husin Ali is going to take his children to the zoo this coming Sunday. Husin Ali's son has been pestering his father to take along one of his friends on this trip. Whom will Husin Ali suggest to his son to take along on this trip?*
   (a) Ah Seng, a doctor's son  (b) whose mother works as a housemaid  (c) other

(iii) The boss at work situation
   *Mr. Tay, a mechanical engineer who graduated from Oxford, has been the head of Husin Ah's Mechanical department for the past three years. A Malay group within his department is trying to replace his boss with a Malay candidate. Will Husin Ali support his boss?*
   (a) yes  (b) no  (c) other
In a clash of self-interest and ethnic loyalty, of status gain and ethnic loyalty, and of personal obligation and ethnic loyalty, Malay and Chinese males judged Husin Ali as in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Percentages of respondents judging Husin Ali would act out of ‘ethnic loyalty’

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<td>As against material self interest (The shop situation)</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>under</td>
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<tr>
<td>As against status gain (The trip to the zoo situation)</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>under</td>
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<tr>
<td>As against personal obligation (The possible change of boss at work)</td>
<td>20</td>
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(N = 339)

Banton-Mansoor also report that in three other measures of ethnic loyalty versus material self-interest, a clear majority of Malays thought Husin Ali would act out of material self-interest. The evidence is therefore ‘mixed’. Of the three measures in the table above, one shows a clear majority of Malays judging in favour of ethnic loyalty (the trip to the zoo) and in another almost half (the choice of shop). Nonetheless the authors conclude that the findings ‘offer support for the view that economic development in Malaysia has been giving rise to situations in which Malay-Chinese interactions are governed in whole or in part by non-ethnic norms...’(pp. 612).

**The Second Study**

How would a representative Chinese, choose to act in situations of conflict of interest and loyalty? The second study reported here for the first time, was designed as a kind of replication of the Mansoor-Banton study. It was a replication in the sense that Malay and Chinese respondents were asked the same sort of questions as were asked in the first study. This was also in the expectation that judgements of likely action in imaginary situations, constructed as conflicts of interest, would provide a guide as to how Malaysian actors might resolve these conflicts. The choices were seen as being between an orientation to ethnic loyalty as against other alignments or motives. The 318 respondents were divided between Malays and Chinese, male and female. There were some small changes in wording but the principal difference in the questions was that respondents were asked to judge the likely behaviour of Tan Seng, a representative Chinese rather than Husin Ali, a representative Malay. And whereas Mansoor's sample was drawn from the general public in Petaling Jaya, Mariappan's sample was drawn from a list of off-campus students enrolled in University of Science, Malaysia (in Penang) in the year 1992. Using the stratified random sampling method, respondents representing both the Malays and Chinese groups were selected for the second
study. This sample of part-time working students was geographically spread and cannot be said to reflect the social characteristics of a single area (Petaling Jaya) as Mansoor's did. Of 500 questionnaires distributed, 318 were returned completed. Since Tan Seng was the hypothetical actor it would suggest that in the second study we should regard the Chinese responses as the gold standard. The Chinese, we assume, know their Tan Sengs as the Malays know their Husin Alis.

In Table 2 the findings of the second study is presented with respect to the same three questions as Mansoor-Banton present in their study. The following are the questions:\(^1\):

1. *About the low cost and convenience of a Malay owned shop as against ‘loyalty’ to Tan Seng’s co-ethnic, a Chinese shopkeeper (ethnic loyalty versus material self interest).*

2. *About the choice of a higher status Malay child to join a trip to the zoo, as against a co-ethnic Chinese) child (ethnic loyalty versus status gain).*

3. *About the choice to support a potential new boss who is a co-ethnic, as against a sense of obligation to an existing boss who is not (ethnic loyalty versus personal obligation).*

| Table 2: Percentages of respondents judging Tan Seng would act out of ‘ethnic loyalty’ |
|---------------------------------|----------------|----------------|
|                                 | Chinese | Malays |
| As against material self interest (shop) | 14 | 28 |
| As against status gain (zoo) | 66 | 57 |
| Against personal obligation (boss) | 25 | 32 |

(N= 318)

To simplify the discussion I have confined my selves to the male respondents and to the responses to how Tan Seng would act, rather than including Tan Seng’s mother. In two of the instances, status gain and personal obligation, the pattern of Chinese judgements about Tan Seng is similar to that shown in Malay judgements about Husin Ali. A clear majority of Chinese in the choice of friend in the trip to the zoo makes "ethnic loyalty" judgements about Tan Seng; they think he will want his child to invite the co-ethnic on the trip; as did the Malays about Husin Ali. Similarly where Tan Seng’s "ethnic loyalty" is tested against his personal obligation to the (Malay) boss whom he knows, only a small minority (one quarter) think Tan Seng will act out of "ethnic loyalty"; this is similar to the Malay pattern with respect to Husin Ali.
In the case of material self interest, as expressed by the material advantages of shopping with a non-Chinese merchant, very few Chinese think Tan Seng Will act out of ethnic loyalty (i.e. choose his co-ethnic shopkeeper); only 14% thought so compared with 47% of Malays who made the parallel judgement about Husin Ali.

The replication differs however in suggesting that Malays overestimate Chinese ethnic loyalty in two out of the three cases; the reverse was the case with Chinese who underestimate Malay ethnic loyalty in two out of three cases. Malays underestimate Chinese "ethnic loyalty" only in the case of the child and the trip to the zoo. Chinese underestimate Malay "ethnic loyalty" in the zoo trip case and in the case of the choice of shop to patronise when a co-ethnic moves into a shop nearby.

Let us deal first with the two cases where Husin Ali and Tan Seng are judged by their respective co-ethnics - to be likely to behave similarly. In the case of taking children to the zoo a majority (77%) of Malays believe that Husin Ali would encourage his child to take along the co-ethnic child - what Mansoor-Banton would designate as an "ethnic loyalty" choice. Since all the circumstances are specifically designed to present a kind of dilemma - a conflict of interests - we should also observe the opposite side of the same coin, that Husin Ali is expected, by most, to eschew the possibility of the status gain of taking the non-co-ethnic but high status Chinese doctor's son. Similarly, Tan Seng is expected by most (66%) to make the co-ethnic choice, portrayed as the choice in favour of "ethnic loyalty". He too eschews the alternative status gain of taking the high status Malay child. Both cases could be taken to indicate a kind of ethnic chauvinism in which the representative Malay/Chinese discourages his child from bringing along a non co-ethnic. Both may be seen as unwilling to encourage cross ethnic friendships in their children. On the other hand it is possible to argue that the alternative status gain is relatively weak how much is Husin Ali really likely to gain by taking the child of the (Chinese) doctor; or how much is Tan Seng really likely to gain by taking the child of the (Malay) doctor? If the term "community" in the phrase ethnic communities means what it commonly does, then it suggests that status gains will be largely calculated within the group which the individual sees as the relevant reference group. We could only see a "status-gain" choice as genuinely being so if we could be sure that Tan Seng or Husin Ali would see it as such, within a wider reference group. Of course if the hypothetical actor declines the offer of a status reward because he doesn't actually see it as a reward at all (i.e. because his status orientations are within his group) it would fit with the idea that this is an "ethnic" choice. But the reason would be NOT that the actor gives greater weight to ethnic loyalty than a status gain but that the status gain is no gain at all. Furthermore although sociological literature tells us that people are frequently motivated by status it also tells us of circumstances in which the search for
status gains are seen as unworthy. If the status gain is weak, or irrelevant, or uncertain or even unbecoming it may also be the case that Husin Ali and Tan Seng are seen as weighing this against the inconveniences likely to occur when coping with a possibly troublesome cross-ethnic relationship intrudes into a simple day out. Some of these alternative explanations could be viewed as adding up to something like ethnic loyalty. But our putative accounts certainly give the choices a different set of connotations from those evoked by the phrase "ethnic loyalty". The status gain, in our alternatives, is seen as weak, nonexistent or unworthy qua status gain, rather than simply in stark opposition to the loyalty choice; similarly what has been portrayed as ethnic loyalty is seen in our account as something much less grand - a matter of convenience chosen against a not very tempting alternative.

Turning to the second area where Tan Seng and Husin Ali behave similarly the display of personal obligation to the non co-ethnic work boss - there are equally alternative interpretations which may compete with the view that this choice is a rank eschewing of ethnic loyalty. The most likely account in both cases is that Malays/Chinese would view maneuvering in the workplace to oust a boss "simply" because he is not Malay/Chinese as dangerous or too crass a pursuit of pure ethnic chauvinism to attract a choice. Both Malay and Chinese respondents may well be aware of situations, known to them personally or by public accounts, where something similar to this has actually happened. Many of them would certainly be aware of government policy to designed to see a greater number of Malays in this kind of "boss" position. It seems likely that respondents would see it as highly controversial territory. Their inner sentiments may indeed be "chauvinistic" but they hesitate to make them implicit in this kind of circumstance. It is possible that, even in filling out an impersonal questionnaire, respondents are guided to some extent by an albeit weak form of public universalism which causes them to hesitate about expressing frankly chauvinistic attitudes. Again this is an explanation which differs significantly from the implication that workplace loyalties which cross ethnic fines are both becoming more common and are evidenced by the answers to this question.

This leaves the final case where the Malay and the Chinese actors appear to make different choices - at least the proportions in the loyalty direction are quite different. A possible explanation for this is that for Chinese the choice is simpler. For them it may be seen as a simple case of convenience and low cost. For the Malay the calculation has to include the preference for Muslim-appropriate food which weighs with them against mere convenience and (lower) cost. It certainly seems likely that a choice, for Malays, to shop at a Muslim-operated store where it becomes available, would be less controversial than an attempt to oust a workplace boss on ethnic grounds. The gains for
Chinese in choosing a Chinese operated store, against the advantages of a Malay store which they have to date patronised, might well be less.

There is certainly support in both studies for the expectation that the two ethnic groups may systematically miscalculate the judgements of the other, evidence that is for pluralistic ignorance. But taking the three questions upon which have focused, and setting aside for the moment the deviant cases, the 'Ignorance" is in different directions: the Chinese underestimate Malay ethnic loyalty, the Malays overestimate Chinese ethnic loyalty. The Mansoor-Banton interpretation, of the Chinese underestimate of Husin Ali's regard for ethnic loyalty, is that Chinese may project their commercial or universalistic attitudes on to the Malays. This seems implausible in a society where ethnic salience is high and in which groups characterise each other in systematic ways. It is hard to imagine that the Chinese would stand back and say surely they would be just like us". And to say that 'Just Eke us" would mean "as economically calculating as us" is simply to accept one stereotype of the Chinese themselves. It is no easier to interpret the Malay overestimation of Chinese ethnic loyalty. It would of course fit with a Malay perception of Chinese as "sticking together", a characterisation which majority groups quite frequently hold of minorities, especially "successful" minorities. We may at least observe that it is the majority group who overestimate the "ethnic loyalty" of the minority, and the minority group who do precisely the reverse. In a society where there is a high degree of ethnic salience (and, we may suggest, "everyone knows it") and at the same time a certain disapproval of ethnic chauvinism too blatantly pursued, it would be understandable if a majority attributed it to a minority whilst the minority hesitated to do the same about the majority. We will return at the end to the question of optimistic and pessimistic scenarios, but one point is worth noting here. The Mansoor-Banton conclusions are broadly optimistic. They also imply that uncovering pluralistic ignorance can be relevant to policy and practice when it can be shown that group A's fears about Group B are ill-founded. This hardly fits the "Husin Ali" case. Far from being able to reveal (to the Chinese) that Husin Ali is not such a "bad" (particularistic fellow after all the news for Chinese is that Husin Ali is more guided by ethnic particularism than they imagined - or were willing to admit.

Discussion.

Having presented some of the findings of the comparison/replication and contrasted them with the Mansoor-Banton evidence and interpretations we now turn to more general discussion of theory, method and the interpretation of ethnic relations in Malaysia.
The first and most general point is that a number of explanations of the patterns displayed in the responses of all respondents are possible and this for the overwhelming reason that, in the data themselves, there is no evidence for any of them. Put bluntly, we simply do not know why the respondents made the judgements they made about Husin Ali and Tan Seng, because we did not ask them. Even if we had we would have been subject to all the cautions necessary in interpreting the reasons people give for their "actions". In the absence of evidence the only criterion is one of plausibility. In this sense it is not true that "any" explanation is equally likely because some possible explanations would be utterly implausible - to anyone who knows anything generally about how people make judgements, or to anyone who knows anything about how Malays and Chinese are likely to make judgements. But our proffered accounts are at least as plausible as those of Mansoor-Banton. If this is so it is bound to cast doubt on the conclusions drawn about ethnic loyalty, its strength and weakness both absolutely and relative to other alignments and motives. This is also to raise doubts about whether the imaginary situations are really the tests which they are purported to be by Mansoor-Banton i.e. of "straight" choices between ethnic loyalty and other alignments or motivations.

The second point is not about the interpretation of the choices but about the attempt to make conclusions from them to the general state of ethnic relations in Malaysia. This is where the Mansoor-Banton assumption - that there is a growing number of situations of relative fluidity in which non-ethnic choices become more likely - is such a crucial one. There is no evidence presented from these data that this is the case - in the very nature of the hypothetical data there could not be such evidence. The only evidence of an increase in situations of fluidity as understood here must come from beyond the study (or from different data from the same study) and none is presented. To assess inter-ethnic situations of action would require evidence from a wide variety of social contexts in Malaysian life, among them educational institutions, neighbourhoods, work life and private social life. We would not only need to assess the extent to which inter-ethnic social transactions take place but also the quality of them and the context of them.

This suggests that the constructed evidence (based on hypothetical questions in a questionnaire) of the kind found in these two studies needs to be integrated with the evidence and analysis arising from observational studies. In the space of this article we can only do this on a small scale by way of illustration. We can take evidence from a study of trade unionism in Malaysia (Ackerman 1986). In this study it is suggested that trade union leaders frequently seek to persuade their members to follow a kind of co-worker solidarity, even a kind of class conscious strategy. This is not seen as a class strategy of a "revolutionary" kind - trade unionism in Malaysia is highly constrained to follow
a collaborative model - but at least a pursuit of the shared interests of workers in the shape of fair pay and conditions. The author of the article contends that even this modest attempt at class loyalty is continually subverted by pressures from "above" and "below". From below members commonly identify their interests in ethnic terms - a gain for an Indian worker comes via a gain for all Indian workers - both because of the general strength of ethnic identifications and because the circumstances of political and economic life in a macro-sense in Malaysia are highly structured by ethnicity. From "above" political and administrative decisions both within government and the political parties are profoundly shaped by ethnic blocs and the ethnic phrasing of interests. The pressures from above and below effectively subvert any attempts by union leaders to transcend ethnic lines. The implication is that even if workers wanted to escape the ethnic definition of their interests they and their leaders find it extremely difficult to do so.

The study of trade unions cited here was based on observation of actual trade union activities. Action is observed in its real and actual context, rather than in a hypothetical construction. It is our contention that we can only learn from the responses to 'imaginary" situations if two conditions are met: a. the imaginary situations are sufficiently realistic to provide a test of what they claim to test and b. the interpretation of them is constantly set against explanations rooted in observation of actual social structures and contexts of action. If our general sociology of ethnic relations in Malaysia tells us that action is highly structured by ethnicity, then responses which appear to show something contrary to this are bound to be met with great caution. 'Me doubts about the Mansoor-Banton interpretations are two in kind. First are the doubts about whether the imaginary situations really test what they claim to test. Out accounts show that it is just as plausible to interpret them in ways other than a stark opposition of something called "ethnic loyalty" with other alignments and motives. Second are the doubts about whether the imaginary situations are realistic and describe situations which occur with any frequency in everyday Malaysia of the 1990s. To give an extreme example it would be interesting but not so instructive to ask about Tan Seng's inclination to shop at a Malay shop if 99% of Tan Sengs lived nowhere near a Malay owned shop. A further difficulty with the Mansoor-Banton interpretation lies in the implication of changing patterns towards one in which non-ethnic choices become more likely. The difficulty is that in their presentation we have no way of comparing the Husin Ali choices with possible earlier ones. What, in other words, would have Husin Ali (or Tan Seng) done in 1940, 1950, 1957, 1969, 1980, or 1987? Again the conclusion must be that non-observational data (i.e. hypothetical questionnaire data) must be closely integrated with observational data deriving from the study of real structures and processes in Malaysian society over a period of time.
Optimism and cautious optimism and the reasons for them.

If it is possible to harbour these doubts about the Banton-Mansoor interpretations of the data, it becomes *ipso facto* possible to have doubts about any conclusions drawn from them about actual social and ethnic relations in Malaysia today. Their general conclusion is "optimistic", even if it is only expressed (see above) in a single sentence. (This optimistic stance is adopted more generally in Mansoor’s doctorate, 1992). A fuller statement of the optimistic scenario might go something like this. Urbanisation, modernisation and the emergence of Malaysia as a success story of capitalist expansion in South East Asia has transformed the social contexts in which people live. In particular Malays and Chinese have, to an increasing degree, found themselves cheek by jowl in the Petaling Jaya of Malaysian society, at very least in the peninsular regions. As they come into contact “pure” ethnic loyalties are bound to be compromised and personal contacts are established across ethnic boundaries. A kind of non-ethnic pragmatism grows in the interstices of Malaysian society and ever more occasions are met when Husin Ali sees no sense, little sense, or less sense in pursuing lines of action which correspond only with ethnic loyalty. . There is some plausibility in this projected account.

But there is another account, with which the above is not utterly irreconcilable, but which makes significantly different emphases. Just as contact can been as sociologically “healthy” it may also been seen as perilous. Colonial Malaya prevented general ethnic conflict in at least two ways. As long as the British remained as masters, neither of the two main ethnic groups, Malays and Chinese, wielded power over each other. Rather both were subject to British colonial power. Equally British colonial arrangements largely kept Malays and Chinese (and Indians) apart; the Malays as rice cultivators and in other agricultural pursuits in rural enclaves; the Chinese as tin-workers and in business and commerce; the Indians as rubber plantation workers. It was not so much a case of divide and rule, as of separate and rule. This was not a recipe for an integrated multi-ethnic society but it was a recipe for a kind of order, colonial style (breached of course on some notable occasions, including the interruption occasioned by Japanese rule). The coming of independence ended the first of these conditions and paved the way for the ending of the second. Increasingly Malays wielded power over other ethnic groups in Malaysian society which, for the Malays, was much predicated on the privileges of the Bumiputera, the "sons of the soil". The combination of modernisation, urban growth, and the intended results of the New Economic Policy brought all ethnic groups into greater contact with each other but by no means under circumstances guaranteed to make these contacts integrative and harmonious. Indeed a model quite contrary to the implicit Mansoor-Banton model is available to us, one in which antagonisms and ethnic 'loyalties' are very much sharpened under conditions of competition rather than under conditions of paternalistic rule
(Vann Woodward 1971, Van Den Berghe 1967). This is especially so if the preconditions of a new period of competition predispose competitors to see the struggle for power and scarce resources in group (ethnic) rather than individual terms - very much the case, one could argue, in Malaysia. The Bumiputera premise of the Malays predisposes them to see other groups’ advantages as illegitimate; the citizenship status and aspirations of the non-Malays predisposes them to see Malay privilege, entrenched in the Constitution and in the New Economic Policy, as unjust. Political party organisation, the macro-relevance of ethnic group membership in the state of Malaysia, and religious and cultural differences, conspire to make ethnicity an inescapable fact of Malaysian life. It is also a fact of Malaysian life which is frequently tinged (at very least) with bitterness, suspicion and resentment. Only the precarious compromises of the political structure and a tight system of control of both generalised political dissent and overt ethnic antagonism keep the potential for serious conflict in check. As Horowitz has so eloquently and cogently argued, it is a mixture of some key features of the political system and demography with some good luck and some good sense that has enabled Malaysia to avoid the kind of violence witnessed over two decades in Sri Lanka (Horowitz, 1989).

**Micro, meso and macro ethnicity.**

There has never been - and it is difficult to see how there could be - a satisfactory answer to the questions "what are good ethnic relations?" A number of models have been espoused from a liberal model of free and equal citizenship in a mobile and fluid society in which ethnic attachments matter less and less (both *de jure and de facto*) to a model of ethnic autonomies in a multi-ethnic state in which difference is acknowledged, respected and even concretised in a federal structure. (The Mansoor-Banton model tends towards the first of these). At least we could probably agree that most (but not any) systems which avoid the kind of entrenched violence of Sri Lanka are to be welcomed. If Horowitz is right in suggesting that the immediately pre-independence prognosis in Malaysia was more ominous than that in Sri Lanka, then the avoidance in Malaysia of the Sri Lankan scenario is a success story indeed. However the reasons adduced for this by Horowitz differ in major respects from the Mansoor-Banton account (i.e. Horowitz's emphasis on timing, luck, demography, and specific political arrangements rather than the soothing effects of social contacts and pragmatic attitudes).

Part of the difficulty lies in a tendency to neglect distinctions between the levels at which ethnic identities, loyalties and strategies are articulated. We may refer to these levels as the micro, the meso and macro. The terms are deployed here to signify the levels of social structure at which ethnic salience is expressed and organised. We are accustomed to the well-grounded argument that *individuals* have a sense of identity at different levels - as Auckland businessman, as New
Zealander, as a man or woman of the South Pacific, as Maori or as Ngati Porou. We should be equally conscious of the levels of social structure at which ethnic salience may be articulated. The concepts of levels of individual identity indicate a view which places the actor at the centre of things. The concept of levels of social structure places at the centre the very nature, shape and Organisation of the social contexts in which ethnicity takes on relevance. The micro level of social life is face to face life, lived out in the circle of family friends and acquaintances. The meso social life is the world of social institutions, in the modern and modernising society the world of work, primary secondary and higher education, and the world of associational memberships of all kinds - in the interstices of the meso social world, face to face micro social worlds of a rather different order are also found. The macro social world is the grand stage of state political structures and of economic Organisation within and beyond the boundaries of the nation state, frequently beyond the immediate purview of the individual - he or she knows of this world (more or less perfectly, more or less dimly) but does not live in it in the face to face sense, despite the fact that his or her life is profoundly shaped by the tendencies of this macro-world.

If there are micro, meso, and macro structures, there can be found, in societies with even a modicum of ethnic salience, micro, meso and macro ethnicity. If we apply the model briefly to Malaysia it would unfold something like this: Micro ethnicity is to be found and assessed in an analysis of the degree, nature and quality of ethnic salience in kinship arrangements, "private" social life and the daily interchanges often to be found in neighbourhoods. It is a face to face world in which people live out their family lives, meet and talk, make friendships and enemies, worry and relax. It is observed through an examination of the degree to which people of different ethnic groups - Malay, Chinese, Indian and others marry, attend each others weddings, eat and sleep together and walk hand in hand or side by side in the local parks and streets. Meso ethnicity is to be found and assessed in an analysis of occupational educational and associational structures, of the salience of ethnicity for Malay Chinese and Indian workers, students, teachers, bureaucrats and entrepreneurs, even worshippers, travellers and consumers. Macro ethnicity is to be found and assessed in the salience of ethnicity in citizenship, legal statuses and the grand structures of political and economic life in the nation-state of Malaysia beyond the control of everyday life.

If we are to assess ethnic salience we must assess it at all three levels and we must analyse the relationship between salience at each of the levels. Where micro ethnicity is weakened it may have profound effects; in Hawaii, it has been persuasively argued, the absence of a prohibition on intermarriage led to a complexity of ethnic identities and the disappearance of many which created a degree of peace not found in any other societies (Lind, 1974 Adams 1933).
weakening of micro-ethnic salience in 19th century Hawaii the overwhelmingly critical factor in creating the ethnic shape which 20th century Hawaii eventually assumed? Certainly it would probably be absurd to ask most modern Hawaiian islanders any equivalent of the Husin Ali or Tan Seng zoo visit question. Most would almost certainly laugh aloud. By contrast the breaching of micro ethnic exclusiveness in Yugoslavia through Serbian/Croatian intermarriage was not enough to prevent the present bloodshed. Where external political conditions are unfavourable the softening of ethnic boundaries in micro-social spheres may not be sufficient protection against severe ethnic conflict. And in Indianola Mississippi in 1938 it would have been almost inconceivable to even ask questions about inter-ethnic friends and neighbours and intermarriage. (Dollard, 1949) Where meso ethnicity remains highly salient we know that it may lead to bitter labour market competition and exclusion; a thoroughgoing ethnic division of labour in South Africa was only sustained by coercion, in the United States by terror, discrimination and the whole apparatus of white supremacy. In both those societies education has long been a segregated and, later, contested sphere. Macro-ethnicity is very much in the hands of the state in the determination of citizenship status, legal rights and in the power of the state to control access to all manner of social and economic goods. If these are organised ethnically they have the power to manage the form the balance of power in, and the tone of ethnic relations not only in the macro sphere itself, but also in the meso and micro spheres.

The sociological theoretical exploration of micro, meso and macro ethnicity may enable us to make new sense of extant accounts of many societies. But it may help in the more limited task at present - of assessing the interpretations of ethnic salience in Malaysia discussed in this paper. Many of the Mansoor-Banton and the replication Mariappan "choice" situations refer to micro ethnicity and the face to face manifestations of meso ethnicity. From these we should not - without due caution - be making inferences about macro ethnicity in Malaysia. If the findings are about one sphere only they can best tell us something about that sphere. A comprehensive sociology of ethnic relations in any given society requires an understanding of micro, meso and macro ethnicity and of the relationships between them. Put at its simplest Tan Seng may well shop at Jafaar's shop; it doesn't stop him from seeing Jafaar's ethnic group in its macro representation treating him, Tan Seng, with manifest unjustness. Sociologists cannot conceive a category "ethnicity" and measure it one sphere - the micro world or the face to face meso world - and draw conclusions from this for ethnicity in that society, in its totality.
Choice and structure; constructed responses and observation; micro meso and macro ethnicity.

An approach which emphasises individual calculations, a rational choice theory, is one-sided. Of course, individuals make choices. Even where constraints are considerable, choices are made within, or taking account of the constraints. And of course, individual behaviour can be viewed as a pursuit of net advantage. But how much further does this takes us? The real difficulty is not in understanding that choices are made but in understanding how they are made, and in understanding the social contexts in which they are made. Our difficulties are all the greater if we place too great a reliance not only on choices but on choices made in hypothetical situations in questionnaire responses. Sociology is concerned with understanding behaviour in its social contexts, and with charting and understanding the social contexts themselves. We gain little, if anything, by saying that individuals act to maximise their advantage. The difficult part is identifying how individuals view their advantage and how interests and rewards are structured in the society which the individuals inhabit. We need to guard against reading too much into an indication of where Husin Ali buys his rice.

Bibliography


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1 Hypothetical Questions

(i) **The shop situation**
Tan Seng has been patronising Jaafar's shop - noted for its cheapness and nearest to this house. Tan Seng has been informed that in a week's time, Cheng San will be opening a second grocery shop in his neighbourhood. Where will Tan Seng go?
(a) Cheng San's shop (b) Jaafar's shop (c) others

(ii) **The trip to the zoo situation**
Tan Seng is going to take his children to the zoo this coming Sunday. Tan Seng's son has been pestering his father to take along one of his friends on this trip. Whom would Tan Seng suggest to this son to take along on this trip?
(a) Nasir, a doctor's son (b) Ah Chuan whose mother works as a housemaid (c) others

(iii) **The boss at work situation**
Mr. Rashid, a mechanical engineer who graduated from Oxford, has been the head of Tan Seng's Mechanical department for the past three years. A Chinese group within his department is trying to replace his boss with a Chinese candidate. Will Tan Seng support his boss?
(a) yes (b) no (c) other
The Changing Faces of Female Inmates:  
Incarceration Trends and Co-Occurring Issues

Women's Studies

Paper Session

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The Changing Faces of Female Inmates: 
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Abstract

The literature on female prisoners suggests that the incarceration of females has increased drastically in the United States since the 1980s (Schmalleger, 2006). Further the literature notes that this increase is more dramatic than that of their male counterpart as the increase of female inmates has increased six times more since 1980. The basic profile of female inmates has been described in the literature as disproportionately minority, undereducated, usually a victim of substance use and abuse, violence and experiencing health issues (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2001). But, is the aforementioned profile accurate for rural incarcerated females? In a study of female offenders who were incarcerated in a medium secure correctional facility, it was discovered that the national profile was not applicable. This presentation will focus on the profile of these women and there will be discussion of factors that may have contributed to the changing faces of female prisoners in a rural southern correctional facility. Based on the findings, we offer recommendations for future research and policy considerations.
Rescuing Professionalism

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Abstract

What is “professionalism”? Today, it seems that our public discourse is filled with multiple usages of this word. Once, the term indicated social status. Now it is so ubiquitously applied, it is a mere synonym for ‘having some training’ or a ‘feel good’ word akin to ‘approval of’. Yet, ‘professionalism’ is more than an empty phatic utterance or euphemism. It is an important, even essential, normative construct. ‘Professionalism’ is deeply woven in a plethora of human behaviors and expectations that have profound consequences in the areas of public policy, law, ethics, management, organization theory and psychological concerns such as self-esteem and self-image. As such, it deserves a more empirically grounded definition.

This paper discusses a nine year effort by this research group to empirically define, even measure, ‘professionalism’. Essentially, we are concluding that the definition of professionalism is a multifaceted, multivariate and interdisciplinary construct based on environmental and behavioral factors. We also are looking at ways to demonstrate the utility of this concept to different career fields. The literature on professionalism is sparse but several key researchers made an attempt to define and measure it. We have attempted to re-visit these structures and perhaps develop new ones. A major question that arose during this process is: “Has the definition of Professionalism changed since the original research in the late 1960s? Have accepted ethics and human behaviors changed, thus effecting what is seen as ‘professional’?”
Introduction

What is professionalism? Our public discourse, both serious and silly, is filled with multiple usages of this word. Tools are advertised as “professional grade,” vehicles and many other products are “the choice of professionals,” and even drain openers are “professional strength.” Pest exterminators are “qualified professionals” as are administrative assistants, lawn service technicians, house cleaners, firefighters, accountants, lawyers, physicians, house painters, asbestos removers, sales personnel, and it seems, just about every occupation one can think of. Once the term may have indicated a measure of social status but now it seems to be so ubiquitously applied as to be a mere synonym for “having some training” or a “feel good” word akin to “approved of” or even “cool.” Everyone and everything seems to be “professional” in our pop and (dare we say?) “professional” culture.

However, “professionalism” is more than an empty phatic utterance or a marketing euphemism for “strong” or “quality” or “expensive.” It is an important, perhaps even essential, normative construct. As such, it is deeply interwoven with a variety of individual and collective behaviors and expectations. These behaviors and expectations have profound consequences in the areas of public policy, law, ethics, management, organization theory, not to mention for psychological concerns such as self-image and self-esteem. There are, of course, definitions of “professionalism” in a variety of books in a number of fields but these tend to range from the formal to the glib. It is unlikely that a final complete definition of “professionalism” will ever be possible. Nonetheless, we believe that a concept as important and central as this should be as empirically grounded as possible. An empirically grounded term opens the possibility for
substantive research across a large number of disciplines. This paper follows the lead of some earlier research and attempts to empirically refine and measure the concept of professionalism. In addition, it attempts to demonstrate the utility of this approach by applying it to a group of secondary and elementary teachers in order to describe and assess the congruence of their self understanding as professionals with their work environment.

Literature Review

At one time, professionalism was seen as a matter of degree. If members of a profession scored high on a scale, professionalism was said to exist. If they scored low, professionalism was said to be absent. Such was the gist of the conclusions from Hall's (1968) seminal paper, *Professionalization and Bureaucratization*. Drawing from the work of Wilensky (1964), Goode (1957), Gross, (1958), and Scott (1965), Hall defined professionalism as both structural bureaucracy and attitudinal The Structural aspects were: a) The work must be full-time; b) The profession must have a training school; c) There must be a professional association, and, d) The profession must have a published code of ethics. All of these can be measured by looking at the organization.

The attitudinal aspects of professionalism are: a) **Professional orientation** a belief that members may look to the organization for guidance, b) A belief in **service**; a belief that one is serving humanity, c) **Calling**, or the belief that one feels pulled to the profession, d) **Autonomy**, or the belief that one can make professional choices in one’s job, and e) **Self-regulation** or the belief that one controls one’s behaviors. These factors interconnect as the presence of professionals in an organization affects the structure and the structure can affect the professionalism process (Hall, 1968). Hall also concluded
that Autonomy has both structural and attitudinal aspects. Using these factors, Hall developed a Likert scaling procedure to measure the five-attitudinal components (Hall’s Professionalism Scale, 1968), and surveyed people from eleven occupations (N=328), including teachers (n=41). Bureaucratically, professions were categorized under three types of organization (Scott, 1965). The first is autonomous where work is subject to autonomy rather than external or administrative jurisdiction, e.g., medical clinics; the second is heteronomous were the employees are subordinated to an externally derived system, e.g., public schools; and third departmental or a larger department within an organization. Interestingly enough, Hall found that teachers scored high in bureaucracy and low in attitudinal factors. Bureaucratically, teaching is categorized as the second type or heteronomous. Attitudinal measures show teachers scored high on belief in service, and calling, and low on autonomy, self-regulation, and professional orientation. Since Hall assumes an inverse relationship between the degree of structural bureaucracy and professionalism, teaching did not score high on professionalism. Hall also addresses the fact that growing professions will not score well because they have not as yet developed all the necessary components. One can, however, assess the degree of professionalism present through out the growth process.

In 1972, Snizek worked to adapt Halls’ scale (n=50 items) to a shorter version. He used rotated factor matrices to assess the empirical “fit” of Hall’s items in relation to the five theoretical attitudinal components. The result was a shorter version of Hall’s scale and total scale reliability. No other substantial research can be found using Hall’s constructs until 1995. At that time, Kenney and Ramsey wanted to evaluate Hall’s scale in terms of its use in the present dynamic business environment. Using Snizek’s reduced
scale (1972), their factor analysis did not support Hall’s five dimensions. Kennedy and Ramsey conclude that perhaps the scale needs to be applied to an established profession in order to assess its validation. They also concur that perhaps differences in workforce and performance expectations may affect the view and requirements of professionalism. Hall may no longer be appropriate for today’s environment. To extend the literature, we chose the established profession of teaching for our work. Based on Hall’s theoretical views, we rewrote some questions and created others to adapt his categories to the measurement professionalism in teaching.

Our latest analysis was derived from the York College MHK Research Project Survey conducted at an annual orientation meeting for new teachers in all county public schools in York PA. This meeting included master and novice teachers (K-12), along with some administrators and counselors. Completed questionnaires were obtained from 357 individuals with an overall response rate of 90.24%. Ninety-five percent were teachers, 0.3% were administrators, and 2.0% were counselors. Of the teachers 56.6% were novice teachers with less than 5 years classroom experience and 40.9% were at the master level having five or more years classroom experience. Twenty-two and seven tenth % were male and 76% were female. Sixty and one half % hold a BA degree, 33% a MA degree and .6% a Doctorate. Sixty-two% were elementary teachers and 33% were teachers at the secondary level. The entire sample ranged in age from 21 years to 56 years.

Measures

In addition to several standard indicators of demographic attributes, questions included in the survey also provided data relevant to respondents’ work environment,
experiences and attitudes. Detailed information was also collected regarding professionalism, job satisfaction and life satisfaction.

**Professionalism.** The researchers modified Snizek’s (1972) reduced-item Professionalism Scale based on the original questionnaire developed by Hall (1968). Snizek’s 50-item scale was further reduced to 42 items and several of the items were reworded to match a sample represented by teachers.

It was decided that although the number of items was reduced, Hall’s (1968) original factors of professionalism should remain in the current study. Results from an earlier pilot study suggested a reorganization of Hall’s categories (Gaitley, Hooper & Kulbicki, 1999, 2000). Two of Hall’s (1968) categories were combined (calling and service) and the three other categories were measured separately using multiple items for each factor (autonomy, self-regulation, and professional orientation).

For each of the professionalism items, respondents used a Likert scale format from 1 to 4 with 1 being ‘strongly disagree’ to 4 ‘strongly agree’. Respondents also had the option of answering ‘no opinion’ for each of the items.

**Results**

Examination of these data indicate that individuals perceive themselves as professionally oriented (mean = 3.18, sd=.36) and consider themselves to have had a calling for teaching or sought out teaching as a service to humanity (mean=3.02, sd=.35). In other words, generally teachers agreed or strongly agreed that they exhibited professional behavior and that the teaching profession, for them and other teachers, is preferred due to a calling/service towards the field.
However, for self-regulation and autonomy, individuals reported lower means (mean = 2.84, sd = .35 and mean = 2.78, sd = .28, respectively). Individuals tended to answer in the disagree to agree range regarding their ability to be autonomous and self-regulated or be able to control one’s own behavior at work.

Further analyses were conducted to examine the relationships between the four professionalism factors. Interestingly, all four factors are significantly positively correlated with each other; additionally, the highest correlation is \( r = .43 \) (\( p < .01 \)). This implies that although the factors are somewhat related they do not overlap and should be conceptualized as separate factors (Hooper, Kulbicki & Martin, 2003; 2005).

Conclusion

Teachers in our sample were found to be high in behavioral factors, however, employees in schools are still subordinated to an externally derived system that has not changed much over time. This reflects the disconnect between teachers’ perceptions and their environment. Teacher’s perceptions of themselves as professionals are interwoven with these. In short, there remains much ambiguity within the profession, which may account for the degree of stress, cognitive dissonance, teacher burn-out, and other issues.

The results described here are based on samples from suburban Pennsylvania schools. Future research must verify these results on populations of teachers from other geographical regions of the U.S. and from urban and county school systems as well. Additionally, future research should identify whether professionalism differences exist across various career fields, especially those which claim to be professional by having such characteristics as a code of ethics. This type of assessment is advocated by those who believe that empirical research will help to better define what it means to be a
professional and also identify strategies in which educators or supervisors can facilitate the integration of professional norms (Forman & Taylor, 2004).

In thinking about professionalism based on our studies of teachers, and in reading literature and general information on professionalism, our view is that professionalism is most definitely a multifaceted, multidimensional construct. Additionally, professionalism is difficult, but not impossible to measure. Indeed, a “potential barrier to fresh construct validation is the apparent complexity of the [professionalism] construct” (Swailes, 2003). Lack of simplicity and lack of research on the topic of professionalism, however, does not mean that the construct is not important. Especially in today’s environment, professionalism has immediate implications in areas of business, law, medicine, education, and public policy. Furthermore, not only is professionalism an individual difference construct but also a construct that can be thought of as systemic. One could argue that a worker might find it difficult demonstrating professional behaviors or being perceived as a professional if, in fact, the organizational environment and culture is ‘unprofessional’ or the rewards structure ignores facets of professionalism. In law, the “aspirational goal of professionalism is looking more and more like a mandate” (Rizzardi, 2005). Empirical research would also allow for the possibility of identifying those characteristics in which organizations and individuals could be assessed for professionalism, and possibly trained to a level that is proficient. The authors of this paper are confident that almost a decade of work has made a healthy first step towards an empirical clarification of professionalism.
References


The teaching practice that demonstrates connectedness to the community: targeting teaching needs to the student group and the wider industry

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Abstract

In 2006 I was involved in two Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology University Tenders which required me to lecture to mature-age highly-ranked police personnel. The first Tender involved me delivering lectures on ‘Crime Prevention and Anti-Corruption’ to a Zambian Anti-Corruption Commission delegation, and the second Tender involved me developing, coordinating and teaching a thirteen-week course in Advanced Crime Prevention to Victoria Police Instructors at the Victoria Police Academy.

During the initial lecture I realized that the majority of the students in both cohorts had no tertiary education or if they did have it was completed many years ago, and as a result they generally felt apprehensive about their abilities to undertake Advanced Courses in Crime Prevention. Accordingly, I applied Brooksfield’s (1995) ‘critically reflective teacher approach’ which consisted of three essential aspects. At the outset I created a climate that enhances a positive learning environment in which I engaged with students at their level of understanding adapting to police culture and humor whilst learning from their street-level policing experience and motivating them extrinsically and intrinsically. As students became immersed in learning about crime prevention they were encouraged to take ownership of their learning by providing suggestions on the most applicable policing-related aspects of crime prevention that they would like to explore in subsequent lectures. Finally, at the conclusion of each lecture I evaluated my teaching practice by initially seeking feedback from the student cohort and then personally self-reflecting on how I can improve my delivery in the following lectures. The results of the course evaluation indicated that the needs and aspirations of the industry were clearly met by the provision of stimulating industry-relevant learning through a flexible delivery. The complimentary
feedback also played a vital role in me being awarded a Student Centered Teaching Award in 2006.
Abstract

Since the mid 1980s legislators throughout the Western world have enthusiastically sponsored legislation to implement home detention programs in order to alleviate the burgeoning overcrowding crisis in prisons as well as the prohibitive costs of building and sustaining prisons. While the United States has been at the forefront in implementing home detention programs as a means of confinement and control, other Western countries including Australia and United Kingdom have implemented modified versions of home detention programs. Comparative historical analysis of US, Australian and UK studies has found that the overarching goal of home detention programs in these countries has remained the diversion of prison-bound offenders from increasingly costly and hardly-rehabilitative incarceration into less expensive more humane community-based settings. This investigation has further revealed that despite the fact that each of the nation state's social and political climates occasionally change the rigorousness of restrictions and obligations that are imposed on home detainees, there is a considerable variation in the severity of restrictions and obligations that home detention imposes on detainees in the US compared with the UK and Australia. This disparity is predominantly existent in relation to the overall severity of conditions that are imposed on offenders, whether offenders are mandated to contribute to their own supervision fees, the extent that the technology is utilised to track and control offenders, and the maximum duration of the sanction. Diverse restrictions and obligations are imposed on home detainees depending on their geographic location resulting in a distinctively unique sanction experience.
Introduction

Ever since the establishment of communities, some form of social control aimed at curbing undesirable conduct has always existed, so, as Welch (2004:21) suggests, “punishment is as old as civilization itself”. It has also been said that the importance of how society punishes wrongdoers must not be underestimated:

The punishment of criminal offenders is barometer of culture. As it represses undesirable conduct, punishment simultaneously expresses civility. Punishment signifies a society's values, morality, sensibilities and reasoning (Ericson, 1992:xv cited in McMahon, 1992:xv).

Legal codes which have served as official guidelines of society were first established by the imposition of the Code of Hammurabi\(^1\) in 1750 B.C. Babylon. The penalties were usually severe in the form of whipping, mutilation and forced labour (Welch, 2004). Unlike in the past when law-breakers were punished with corporal punishment, today’s society imposes sentences of imprisonment and various community based sanctions. Since the 1950s incarceration has increasingly been found to be unsustainably expensive, decreasing chances of reintegration into society, supporting criminal socialisation, providing opportunities for learning more sophisticated criminal tactics, generating racial discord, and supporting gang violence and sexual assault (Enos, Holman & Carroll, 1999). In a nutshell, imprisonment has not been regarded by criminologists to be an appropriate response to most forms of crime.

In 1970s and 1980s, the overwhelming institutional crowding, the felony probationers’ recidivism rates, and the prohibitive cost of building new jails and prisons led to a ‘politically wise’ introduction of intermediate sanctions (Clear & Hardyman, 1990; Petersilia, 1987). A consensus emerged in the mid 1980s to develop mid-range punishments for offenders for whom imprisonment was unnecessarily severe and traditional probation was inappropriately light (Petersilia, 2000). Hence, ‘sentencing alternatives’ were born which were soon renamed ‘intermediate sanctions’ and, most recently, ‘intermediate punishments’ (Petersilia, 1998; Corbett & Marx, 1992). According to McCarthy (1987:1), intermediate punishments are “sanctions that lie somewhere between imprisonment and routine probation on the continuum of criminal penalties.” A number of programs represent intermediate punishments in the United States; these include intensive probation/parole supervision, home detention, boot camps, day reporting centres, community service, restitution, residential community corrections (or half way houses), and expanded use of traditional and day fines (Petersilia, 2000; Petersilia, Lurigio & Byrne, 1992; Byrne, 1990).

\(^1\) This is well known as ‘eye for an eye, and tooth for a tooth’ principle. The basis for punishment under this code was ‘lex talionis’ meaning the ‘law of retaliation’ which refers to vengeance (Welch, 2004).
During the 1980s these alternative punishments were presented as a panacea, and “state legislators were virtually falling over each other” in an effort to sponsor legislation to implement these programs (Clear & Hardyman, 1990:46-47).

The most prominent intermediate punishment, which pioneered as a stand-alone alternative to imprisonment, is home detention\(^2\) (Schmidt, 1998; Blomberg, Bales & Reed, 1993; Maxfield & Baumer, 1990). Home detention programs vary in terms of degrees of offender control, which can range from evening curfew to detention during all non-working hours to continuous incarceration at home (Rackmill, 1994). These programs principally operate as front-end or back-end alternatives to imprisonment (Tonry, 1998; Heggie, 1992). Offenders are placed onto front-end home detention programs by having their sentences of imprisonment fully suspended and being sentenced to instead serve their time in home detention (Smith, 2001; Heggie, 1999; Tonry, 1998). Alternatively only offenders who had been imprisoned are able to be released early and placed onto a back-end home detention program (Dodgson, Goodwin, Howard, Llewellyn-Thomas, Mortimer, Russell & Weiner, 2001; Heggie, 1999; Tonry, 1998; Church & Dunstan, 1997).

The core condition of home detention programs, which necessitates offenders to remain at home for at least some time during a 24 hour period, is monitored and enhanced by the electronic monitoring technology (Bonta, Rooney & Wallace-Capretta, 1999; Byrne, Lurigio & Baird, 1989). Electronic monitoring is therefore utilised as a tool in conjunction with home detention programs (Carlson, Hess & Orthmann, 1999; Renzema, 1992). At the most basic radio frequency (RF) level, the electronic monitoring technology informs the authorities whether the offender is present or absent at a specified place where he/she is supposed to be (Mair, 2006). The more sophisticated global positioning systems (GPS) electronic monitoring technology can be used to restrict the offender from certain individuals and locations by tracking his/her movements via satellite and pinpointing their actual location (Mair, 2006). Technology encompassing various types of electronic monitoring equipment is designed to increase the accountability of offenders in the community, by enhancing the officer’s ability to supervise offenders (Champion, 1996).

An abundance of research has focused on effectiveness-related issues of specific home detention programs such as its cost, potential net widening effect, and recidivism rate, but much less has specifically investigated how home detention as a sanction varies throughout the world. This paper aims to comparatively analyse the operation of home detention programs in the United States (US), Australia and the United Kingdom (UK). These three nation states were selected because they share a number of significant similarities including the fact that they are all highly developed economies with commonalities in their political and legal systems, a relatively high average standard of living, and, more

\(^2\) Home detention is also referred to as home confinement, house arrest and home incarceration.
importantly, they have all operated home detention programs for a substantial period of time (Crystal, 1997; Hayman, 17.11.06; Ryan, 17.11.06; Kaim-Caudle, 1973).

Through comparative historical analysis of US, Australian and the UK studies of home detention programs this paper will discuss each country’s program/s development; core conditions that are imposed on offenders; the types of offenders that are placed onto the program/s; and the overall trend of the program/s. For the purpose of this study, home detention programs were selected on the basis of the following criteria: those that target adult offenders rather than juveniles; those that are designed to supervise post-trial orders rather than pre-trial releases; those that are actual ‘front-end’ or ‘back-end’ alternatives to imprisonment; and those that apply electronic monitoring as well as human monitoring to the offenders.

The US home detention experience

The first time home detention was used in the US as a properly administered sanction was in St Louis in 1971. This program was small-scale, and it was initially limited to juvenile offenders (Ball, Huff & Lilly, 1988). Despite this initial trial, it was not until the enormous and costly rise in prison populations and technical advances in the early 1980s that this sanction became an actual sentence of the court that has been widely utilised (Whitfield, 2001; Whitfield, 1997).

Florida was the first state to implement a state-wide adult home detention program in 1983. It was developed as a front-end initiative aimed at diverting offenders from prison by imposing on them a variety of stringent order conditions coupled with around-the-clock surveillance. The program’s target population was non-violent felons who would not normally qualify for probation due to their criminal history and current offence (United States General Accounting Office, 1990). The length of the order was determined by court, with a maximum term of two years in the program (United States General Accounting Office, 1990; Blomberg, Waldo & Burcroft, 1987). The Florida home detention program subsequently became one of the best known and largest home detention programs in the US, and therefore, the model for other US states (United States General Accounting Office, 1990; Blomberg, Bales & Reed, 1993; Ball, Huff & Lilly, 1988).

Hailed as a modern solution to ongoing complex correctional problems, the utilisation of home detention programs has expanded rapidly across the US, increasing at rates parallel to the increase in prison populations (Payne & Gainey, 1999). The foremost important factor that contributed to home detention’s popularity was the widespread use of electronic monitoring via RF mechanisms which substantially enhanced offender control (Ball, Huff & Lilly,
In 1988, in the US only 95 offenders were subject to electronic monitoring (Friel, Vaughn & del Carmen, 1987), this number rose to 12,000 in 1990 (Baumer and Mendelsohn, 1992), and to a daily count of 30,000 to 50,000 in 1992 and 1993 (Lilly, 1993). By October 1990 home detention programs coupled with electronic monitoring existed in all fifty states in the US (Renzema, 1992). The largest state users continually include Florida and Texas (Whitfield, 2001). Nowadays, it is estimated that on any one day in the US there are about 100,000 offenders on electronically monitored home detention programs. Yet it must be remembered that this is only 1.7% of the ‘potential market’ and that most practitioners and legislators had believed that home detention would have been applied more widely (Whitfield, 2001).

The most sophisticated electronic monitoring technology GPS entered the American criminal justice in 1997 in Florida. It has predominantly been used to track dangerous sex offenders released early from prisons who are willing to have their movements in specified inclusion and exclusion zones tracked. Since its inception, about 20,000 offenders had been monitored throughout the US (Lilly, 2006; Nellis, 2005a).

“Petersilia noted in 2003 that Florida, New Jersey and Michigan were using this method, and that one of the most important benefits of satellite tracking is the increased protection it offers victims because its use permitted specifying and monitoring zones of exclusion, and it could also use pager or text messages to notify victims when offenders broke perimeter boundaries. RF technology cannot do this” (cited in Lilly, 2006:94).

The cost of GPS monitoring is about $8.50-$9.00 per offender per day compared with about $2.00 for RF monitoring per offender per day (Jannetta, 2006; Padgett, Bales & Blomberg, 2006).

Whilst there is no generic home detention program in the US, there are certain core conditions common to most programs (Rackmill, 1994). Most notably, offenders must reside in a suitable residence which is subject to being searched at any time and their co-residents must sign a contact allowing them to serve their order in that dwelling. Offenders are usually required to remain confined to their residence at all times except when they are performing pre-approved activities. Their compliance with this condition is enhanced by electronic monitoring using RF and more recently GPS technology (Carlson, Hess & Orthmann, 1999). It is also often compulsory for them to have to engage in employment, community work and treatment, and to remain drug and alcohol free (Ansay & Benveneste, 1999; Champion, 1996; Schulz, 1995; Rackmill, 1994; United States General Accounting Office, 1990). A further requirement exists in most jurisdictions of the US, unlike in most of its Western counterparts, that home detainees are required to financially contribute to being on the sanction; for example, they must pay part of their own supervision cost, and in some jurisdictions pay for urinanalysis, breathalyzer or blood specimen tests as
well as make specific victim restitution payments (Gainey, Payne & O'Toole, 2000; Whitfield, 1997; Blomberg, Bales & Reed, 1993; Fulton & Stone, 1992). Most home detention programs operate in a few phases meaning that the severity of control that is imposed on offenders declines gradually depending upon their satisfactory progress with the Order's conditions (Whitfield, 1997; Deschenes, Turner & Petersilia, 1995; Schulz, 1995; Fox, 1987). Offenders can be confined to their homes for periods of up to two years.

As home detention programs aim to ease prison crowding, they specify the 'prison bound offender population' as their target group (Renzema, 1992). These programs mostly focus on general offender populations, and are seldom limited to particular groups of offenders, such as drink-drivers (Schmidt, 1998). The review of research has generally indicated that, up until the introduction of GPS technology, most home detention programs were focused upon non-violent offenders (Payne, Gainey & O'Toole, 2000; Schulz, 1995; Rackmill, 1994; Lilly, Ball, Curry & Smith, 1992; Baumer & Mendelsohn, 1990; Maxfield & Baumer, 1990). For example, the Probation Department of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of New York (1985:2) defines the following general criteria for the selection of offenders for home detention:

House detention should be used very selectively. It should never be used for defendants involved in crimes of violence or crimes using firearms. It would not be suitable for defendants with a history of current heroin or cocaine usage. It would be inappropriate for drug sellers. In general, house detention should not be used with any defendant who could be considered a danger to the community, i.e., one offering a substantial risk of further criminal activity.

However, the introduction of GPS tracking technology in late 1990s has made the unimaginable possible – that is placing higher risk offenders such as sex offenders and perpetrators of domestic violence on home detention. This is because the main benefit of satellite tracking is that it increases victim protection as it enables offenders to be tracked 24 hours per day in real time, and if they break the perimeter boundaries by entering an exclusion zone, victims are immediately notified and corrections officers together with the local law enforcement follow up offender's movements (Nellis, 2005a).

Home detention which utilises GPS technology seems to increasingly be the sentence of choice and it is possible in the foreseeable future that it will exceed the use of home detention which utilises RF technology (Jannetta, 2006; Lilly, 2006). This is because GPS tracking technology is becoming cheaper per unit per day for tracking large offender cohorts, it is becoming more compact (now the size of the unit is a little larger than computer mouse), and it is enabling authorities to see where the offender is and where he/she has been making it possible for them to note unusual or suspicious patterns of movement (Jannetta, 2006). It seems probable that as home detention with electronic monitoring utilising RF technology rapidly increased the number of non-serious and non-violent offenders confined to this sanction in 1990s, so too will home detention
with electronic monitoring using GPS technology enhance the number of serious and violent offenders on the sanction (particularly in back-end programs) in 21st century.

**World-wide proliferation of home detention**

The rapid development of home detention coupled with electronic monitoring technology has not been limited to the US, with the proliferation extending throughout the Western world (Heggie 1999; Johnson 1995; Richards 1991). Similar to the US, other Western countries have also experienced burgeoning prison populations and prohibitive costs of building and sustaining prisons (O’Toole 2002; Bonta, Rooney & Wallace-Capretta 1999; Whitfield 1997; Joutsen & Zvekic 1994; Baumer & Mendelsohn 1990). The late 1980s and early 1990s witnessed a quick spread of pilot home detention programs around the world when numerous countries developed varied models of the sanction designed as responses to specific problems identified within the respective criminal justice systems (Whitfield, 2001).

The first countries that embarked on the utilisation of home detention in the late 1980s were Australia, England and Wales, and Canada. These were soon followed by New Zealand, the Netherlands, Sweden and Scotland in mid-1990s (Dodgson & Mortimer, 2000; Doherty, 1995; New Zealand Department of Corrections, 2000; Whitfield, 1997). Subsequently on the cusp of 21st century Switzerland, France, Germany and Spain joined the growing international trend of confining offenders to their homes as an alternative to incarceration (Lilly & Nellis, 2001). It is interesting to note that whilst many countries around the globe were swift to embrace and trial home detention programs, the number of offenders placed onto these programs has been relatively small as sentencers had been very cautious in applying the sanction (Whitfield, 2001). Nevertheless, a number of countries are still investigating the sanction and showing signs of interest; these include some countries of the Russian Federation, Italy, South Africa, Norway, Denmark, and Ireland (Scottish Executive 2002; Lilly & Nellis, 2001; Prison Reform Trust 1997).

**Australian home detention experience**

Australia was at the forefront in following the American suit in the implementation of home detention programs. The first wave of home detention programs was introduced between late 1980s to early 1990s. In 1987, the South Australian and Queensland governments designed home detention programs as back-end alternatives to incarceration aiming to reduce the spiraling costs of incarceration (South Australian Department of Correctional Services, 2002; Heggie, 1999; South Australian Department of Corrective Services, 1996; Dorey, 1988). The Northern Territory government soon followed in 1988 by specifically setting up home detention to divert the increasing number of predominantly Aboriginal persons serving relatively short periods of incarceration (Challinger, 1994). For
similar reasons, Western Australia launched a home detention program also as a post-prison sentence in 1991 (Community Based Services Directorate, 1999). Like in the other states, it is utilised as an option for release of prisoners who were sentenced to short-term periods of incarceration (Heggie, 1999; Community Based Services Directorate, 1999).

The second wave of the launch of home detention programs in Australia occurred between late 1990s and turn of the century. New South Wales started its own home detention scheme (which is not available on a state-wide basis) in 1997 and the Australian Capital Territory commenced its own program in 2001 (Australian Capital Territory Department of Justice and Community Safety, 2002; Heggie, 1999). In comparison to the other Australian programs, both of these programs are distinctively designed as front-end alternatives to incarceration aiming to divert offenders entirely from serving prison time (Keay, 2000; Whitfield, 1997). The final Australian state to embark on an introduction of a home detention program (which is also not available on a state-wide basis) was Victoria in 2004. Three key reasons for the delayed uptake of this program were that Victoria comparatively has enjoyed a relatively lower incarceration rate compared to its Australian counterparts, it has had other pre-existing alternatives to incarceration, and its civil rights movement had been particularly vocal for many years arguing against the introduction of home detention (Melbourne Centre for Criminological Research and Evaluation for the Corrections Victoria, 2006; Whitfield, 2001). The Victorian program operates both as a front-end and a back-end alternative to custody for non-serious offenders (Henderson, 2006). The offender target population for home detention programs throughout Australia has been non-violent and non-serious offenders; these offenders spend up to 18 months on home detention (Henderson, 2006).

In order to be placed onto a home detention program in Australia, offenders must reside in a suitable residence and their co-residents must formally consent to the imposition of the sanction within the confines of their living space. Once on the program, offenders are required to reside at a specific place of residence; allow visits to this place by a supervising officer at any time; engage in personal development, counseling or treatment; not to use prohibited drugs and alcohol; and not to associate with specific persons. In most cases, offenders are subjected to electronic monitoring that uses RF technology (Henderson, 2006). In addition, in Victoria and New South Wales, which appear to have comparatively more stringent conditions, offenders are also required to find or maintain employment; undertake community service work; and submit to searchers of places/things under their immediate control (Henderson, 2006). Victoria, moreover, applies an exclusive condition on its offenders – that is to comply with a restitution/compensation order. Similar to its US counterpart, home detention programs throughout Australia have stages, meaning that intensive control becomes progressively reduced over the time spent on the order providing that offenders are complying with order conditions (Henderson, 2006).
Whilst Australia was quick to embrace home detention and all of its mainland states had trialed it, there has been a very slow subsequent growth in the number of offenders sentenced to it (Whitfield, 2001). The daily average offender number on distinct home detention programs has been very small. For example, in 2004-2005, in the Northern Territory the average number of offenders on home detention was 56 offenders, in Queensland it was 69 offenders, in the New South Wales it was 192 offenders, and in the much smaller Australian Capital Territory it was 6 offenders (Henderson, 2006).

The key reason for the small growth in offender numbers has been the fact that most states have a strict legislative requirement which mandates that the offender pool be confined to non-serious low-risk offenders. Furthermore, the states have generally put in place specific ‘hurdles’ for judges and magistrates in order to avoid net-widening on front-end home detention programs, which in reality has meant that sentencers had been much less willing to apply the sanction. Finally, it has been reported that because sentencers regard this sanction as a ‘slap on the wrist’ punishment which does not really equal incarceration, they had not sentenced offenders to it (Melbourne Centre for Criminological Research and Evaluation for the Corrections Victoria, 2006; Whitfield, 2001).

Due to this slow up-take, home detention programs in many states including Western Australia, Australian Capital Territory and Queensland have eventually become unsustainable and were therefore abolished under legislative amendments (Henderson, 2006). Nevertheless, some Australian states are carefully following the US developments in relation to GPS tracking and are deliberating using GPS technology as part of an early release mechanism for serious sex offenders (ABC News, 26.05.05; Shiel, 02.02.05).

The UK home detention experience

The expansion of home detention in the US was monitored with anticipation in the UK. (The discussion about the UK is confined to England and Wales as Northern Ireland and Scotland do not operate a home detention program for adult offenders). In 1989, England conducted a trial in using electronic monitoring as a condition of bail in Nottingham, London and North Tyneside (Prison Reform Trust, 1997). Despite the fact that the outcome of this ‘experiment’ was a ‘fiasco’, in 1995 another trial was set up analysing a front-end curfew order with electronic monitoring (Prison Reform Trust, 1997). These pilot trials operated in three locations: the City of Manchester, the Borough of Reading and the County of Norfolk (Sugg, Moore & Howard, 2001; Walter, Sugg & Moore, 2001; Richardson, 1999). Following successful findings of the operation of these trials, a form of early release from prison called home detention curfew was introduced in January 1999 throughout England and Wales (Dodgson & Mortimer, 2000:1). Three key reasons have contributed to the marked British commitment to engage in the establishment of this sanction; these were to reduce escalating
expenditure on the rising number of people in prisons, to make community based sanctions more restraining, and finally to symbolically create “a 21st century EM service for a 21st century CJS” (Toon, 2003 cited in Nellis, 2005a:9).

In order for home detention curfew to attract a larger offender scope, the British parliament has made a number of changes to the legislation governing the sanction operation. Whilst initially only prisoners serving between three months and four years were eligible for the curfew subject to passing a risk assessment, the Act had subsequently been modified to state that all prisoners can now be released on the curfew providing that their sentence exceeds three months and the prison governor is satisfied that they do not pose a risk to the public (The House of Commons, 2006; Dodgson, et al., 2001). The length of time that offenders are able to spend on home detention curfew in lieu of prison has also been extended from between two weeks and two months to a new maximum of four and a half months (The House of Commons, 2006). Therefore, even though lower risk offenders are most likely to be released onto the home detention curfew, it is possible that more serious offenders are also released on it providing that it is determined that they possess minimal risk (The House of Commons, 2006).

Similar to home detention programs in the US and Australia, offenders in the UK are required to provide a suitable place of residence, to which they are going to be confined and which is checked by Probation Officers, and the householders of that residence have to agree to the offender serving the order at their home (The House of Commons, 2006). On the other hand, when compared with the US and Australian home detention programs, the UK home detention curfew imposes one very limited specific condition onto its offenders; that is, that offenders are merely required to wear a small transmitter (the tag) at all times which monitors whether they are at home during a pre-set curfew time. Curfew times are typically from early evening to early morning between 9 and 12 hours a day aiming to stop offenders from going out at night and committing crimes (Dodgson, et al., 2001). Therefore, unlike in the US and Australia, offenders in the UK are not subjected to the more stringent order conditions such as mandatory employment, community work and treatment.

Legislative amendments resulted in increased numbers of offenders being sentenced to home detention curfew across the UK. From 1999 to 2001 the average number of offenders on home detention curfew at any one time was about 2,000 offenders, yet in 2005 the average offender number skyrocketed to 10,000 across England and Wales (BBS News, 20.03.05; Dodgson, et al., 2001). The British parliament had reportedly said that it wanted to further double the number of offenders on the home detention curfew by 2008 (BBC News, 20.03.05). More generally, between 1999 and 2005, over 150,000 offenders had been confined to the curfew scheme (Nellis, 2005b). In 2004, England and Wales
followed the US practice by also piloting GPS tracking programs for serious sex offenders; an evaluation report of these pilot programs is currently being prepared (Nellis, 2005b).

**The comparative sanction experience**

Comparative analysis has found that home detention programs throughout the US, Australia and the UK share numerous similarities. The fundamental one is that all programs target a prison bound population (Henderson, 2006; Dodgson, et al., 2001; Renzema 1992). In addition, offenders in all three nation states must consent to being placed on home confinement, they must reside in a suitable residence, and their co-residents must agree for them to serve their order within the shared living space (Henderson, 2006; The House of Commons, 2006; Carlson, Hess & Orthmann, 1999). Furthermore, programs in all three states seem to principally concentrate on offender control and surveillance and not rehabilitative or specifically re-integrative measures. Finally, they essentially control offenders by the utilisation of human monitoring in combination with electronic monitoring that utilises RF technology (Henderson, 2006; Carlson, Hess & Orthmann, 1999; Dodgson, et al., 2001).

On the other hand, home detention programs in the US, Australia and the UK seem to vary significantly in overall procedural and operational terms. First, whilst the US and Australia have a combination of front-end and back-end home detention programs, the UK solely operates a back-end alternative to incarceration (Henderson, 2006; Dodgson, et al., 2001; Tonry, 1998). Second, the maximum length of time that offenders are placed on home detention differs depending on whether they live in the US, Australia or the UK. The maximum length of home detention programs throughout the US is 24 months, in Australia it is 18 months and in the UK it is only 4.5 months (Henderson, 2006; The House of Commons, 2006; United States General Accounting Office, 1990). Third, whilst home detention programs are available generally on a state-wide basis throughout the US and the UK, they are not available across Australia (Henderson, 2006; Dodgson, et al., 2001; Renzema, 1992); therefore offenders who reside in less populated, particularly rural and remote regions of Australia, that do not operate a home detention program, are discriminated against as they are not considered for the program and may be automatically sentenced to prison.

Most importantly, the literature has indicated that there is a considerable variation in the severity of conditions that home detention imposes on offenders in the US, Australia and the UK. The US and Australian home detention programs impose stringent order requirements on offenders by mandating them to remain confined to their residence at all times except when attending pre-approved activities, to engage in employment, community work and treatment, and to remain drug and alcohol free. The US home detention programs additionally require offenders to
financially contribute to being on the sanction (Henderson, 2006; Ansay & Benvenste, 1999; Rackmill, 1994). In contrast, the conditions that are applied onto offenders on home detention across the UK are least punitive as they are only required to remain confined to their residence during a night curfew (Dodgson, et al., 2001). Due to imposing substantially more onerous conditions onto their offenders and the fact that the timeframe that offenders can spend on their programs is substantially longer, the US and Australian home detention programs generally operate in a few phases gradually reducing the severity of control that is imposed on offenders (Henderson, 2006; Whitfield 1997; Schulz, 1995).

Similarly, home detention programs in the US and Australia generally subject offenders to stricter supervision mechanisms compared with the UK. The US and Australian home detention programs usually verify offender compliance through the following measures random face-to-face visits, phone calls and drive-by contacts at home and at pre-approved places, electronic monitoring at all times, and drug and alcohol testing (Henderson, 2006; Carlson, Hess & Orthmann, 1999). In contrast, whilst there is some human monitoring, the UK home detention curfew specifically monitors offenders’ presence at home electronically during a pre-determined night curfew (Dodgson, et al., 2001).

Home confinement programs in the US, Australia and the UK target various offender categories. In the US, home detention programs with RF had traditionally focused upon non-violent offenders but the introduction of GPS tracking has resulted in higher risk offenders also being placed onto these sanctions (Nellis, 2005a; Rackmill, 1994; Maxfield & Baumer, 1990). The offender target population for home detention programs utilizing RF technologies throughout Australia has remained constant in only targeting non-violent and non-serious offenders (Henderson, 2006). The UK model using RF electronic monitoring, on the other hand, does not specify the offender target population and, although it is less likely, it is possible for more serious offenders to be sentenced to a home detention curfew (The House of Commons, 2006).

**Conclusion**

The experience of home detention varies considerably depending on whether offenders reside in the US, Australia or the UK. The US, and to some extent Australian sanction experience, seem to be comparatively more penalizing on offenders than the UK home detention experience. This is because offenders in the US and Australia are overall subjected to more stringent order conditions, stricter mechanisms of surveillance, and their maximum order duration is substantially longer (Henderson, 2006; Ansay & Benvenste, 1999; Rackmill, 1994).

Sentencing initiatives that support prison diversion remain imperative throughout the US, Australia and the UK, and in the future further proliferation and up-take of
home detention programs seems likely. Up until recently, an ongoing concern with home detention programs had been the questionable reliability of the RF electronic monitoring technology for more serious offenders. However, it seems that the advent of the GPS technology had substantially improved the dependability and the steadfast reaction should an offender breach their order (Nellis, 2005a; Nellis, 2005b). Therefore, in the near future it seems likely that increasingly serious offenders will be sentenced to a ‘split-sentence’ comprising of a mandatory prison time coupled with home detention that utilises GPS tracking technology. Finally, it appears that the discrepancies in sanction experience will steadily decline across Western nations as home detention becomes utilised at a substantially higher rate. Increased sanction application will mean that the control mechanisms will become progressively cheaper, more precise, further reliable and less intrusive. It addition, whilst unlikely, these sanctions should incorporate an empirically proven balance of punitive and rehabilitative measures.
References


ABC News, (26.05.05). NSW to use GPS to track offenders. ABC News Online. Australia.


THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EMOTIONAL INTELLIGENCE, COMMUNICATION SKILLS AND INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY SKILLS AMONG STUDENTS

Psychology
(Paper Session)

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ABSTRACT

Emotional intelligence comprises of several important elements which enhance the ability of several key competencies. This study attempts to examine the relationship between emotional intelligence, communication skills and information technology skills among university students in Malaysia. A total of 3101 final year students from 10 public universities were randomly chosen as samples. The Bar-On Emotional Quotient: Short (EQ-i:S) by Bar-On (1997) has been utilized for the purpose of measuring emotional intelligence. An inventory by Moreale, Spitzberg and Barga (2001) was used to measure communication skills while the Computer Efficacy Scale by Murphy, Coover and Owen (1989) was used to measure skills in information technology. Results showed that there were positive significant relationship between emotional intelligence and both communication and information technology skills. This study implicates that students with high emotional intelligence will have better command in communication skills and information technology skills.
PROPOSAL (ID 695)

1. title of submission
IMAGES OF PLACE
   a historic pictography – Hawaii/Hollywood/Vienna*

o. topic area(s)
   most relevant: urban and regional planning, geography, history,
   sociology

   also of interest: psychology, anthropology, political science, (business, tourism,
   marketing)

   multi-disciplinary

p. presentation format
   paper, - plus DISPLAYS: photographic material sketches, and transparencies.
   (work continues in-progress)
   (maximum presentation time requested to provide opportunity for walk-thru,
   considering DISPLAYS)

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   *For practical and historic reasons ‘Vienna’ has replaced ‘Berlin’
   (as originally submitted), for purpose of this presentation.

2. Abstract

The study of imagery and phantasy cuts across a variety of social science disciplines
– sometimes involving stereotypy, distortion and paradox as such imagery/phantasy
I/P) constitutes a powerful perceptual phenomenon shaping a sense of ‘what the
place is like’ and what it represents, to people living within it and for others looking at
it from a distance viz. from the ‘outside’.

Thus Image of Place emerges as a complex concept in the social sciences. It is
particularly of interest in applied fields including real estate, urban and regional
and architecture studies (‘where do people want to live?’), tourism (‘where do people
want to travel?’), political science (the role of propaganda), and marketing (‘hype’; what
kinds of places invite sales, purchasing patterns, and shopping?). – Source
disciplines that enrich our knowledge in this area include int. al. psychology, sociology, anthropology (incl. mythology), political science, and history, as well as sub-fields of philosophy such as phenomenology.

Here we examine in historic perspective three geographic areas: the Islands of Hawaii, the site of Hollywood (California); and the city of Vienna. Regarding Hawaii we go back to its (re-)discovery by Capt. Cook or by early travelers, and its American era. For Hollywood we recall its ‘founding’ in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, its contrasting positions as residential and as ‘movie’ venue (tourist views included), and its present (not very successful) community renaissance. For Vienna, we note its beginnings in archeologic time, its existence and symbolism in the period of Hitler and the Third Reich, its post WWII situation, and its current cultural and urban revitalization.

In each case DISPLAYS: photographs, sketches and transparencies illustrate content as noted.

In conclusion we formulate a systematic framework IMAGES OF PLACE for I/P study, identifying specific contributions by source disciplines proposing interactive templates for inquiry, and elaborating opportunities for use and understanding in several fields of application as indicated in the second paragraph of this abstract. – Do we need a new discipline ‘Placeology’?

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PROPOSAL (ID 696)

1.

a. title of submission

b. EVALUATING TEACHING AND LEARNING IN SOCIAL SCIENCE: toward deeper methods and new perspectives

c. topic area
   cross-disciplinary
   applicable to wide range of social sciences

d. presentation format
   workshop
   including research/work-in-progress, and case studies

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2. Abstract

This workshop re-examines ‘from the ground up’ the nature, goals and process of teaching evaluation, and learning in the social sciences. With a generic and systematic overview, in a give-and-take format, presenting KEY CONCEPTS (per coordinator) as starting points for discussion, the session will consider issues such as the following:

a. the values and goals underlying teaching evaluation; (TE):
   what is “teaching” (in participants’ own views) really trying to accomplish?
   how does this set of objectives – expressed or implicit – differ among topics
   and specific fields in the social sciences? Among individual instructors? Or
   are there generic integration values and goals?

b. the several stakeholders (publics) involved in/or impacted by TE: students,
   instructors as individuals, faculties as a whole, academic administrators (deans,
   chancellors, et. al.), the academic institution (and its image), alumni, the
   community, who and what matters in how TE is positioned – teaching ‘versus’
   research, consulting, service rendered to institution and community?
c. the nature of methods used ‘conventionally’ in implementing TE... e.g. end-of-
course questionnaires (made out by whom and just when?), faculty opinion
looking at performance of a particular instructor? – the problem of response
rates, biases, ‘politics,’ relevance/irrelevance of particular questions included?
Modes of tabulation and analysis?
d. the nature of more deeply-probing methods: intensive interviews, open-end
questions in writing, reflective essays, ethnographic methods, students’
introspection.
e. the nature of index construction in TE and adaptation of factor (or cluster)
analysis: multiple-question requirement as basis for factor analysis. index
development: accomplishment ‘vs.’ expectations, instructor charisma ‘vs.’
information source, inspiration/epiphany ‘vs.’ knowledge accumulation.
f. short-term follow-up (“before they get away”): key questions and brief interview –
just when, where, how, and by whom?
g. long-term follow-up and longitudinal studies: some examples represented by
research in counseling, psychotherapy, social work and organization
development; the problems and realities of life flow and complexity affecting long-
term TE.
h. case inquiry into the inner experience of students and instructors in teaching and
TE; the deeper nature of the dyad ‘student/instructor’; guru? expert? info source?
mutual learning and discovery?
i. case studies of “the truly effective teacher”: participant reports, descriptions and
demonstrations.
j. case studies of “the truly effective student”: participant reports, descriptions and
demonstrations.
k. the socio-political environment of TE.
l. the institutional and community culture affecting TE.
m. global perspectives in TE: are there global consistencies and/or culture-specific
differences?

we will conclude by
(I) formulating our view of the current state of T.E. in our
department/institution;
(II) suggesting prototypes – the nature of “truly effective T.E.”;
(III) proposing new perspectives for strengthening T.E.

to be adopted and developed in timeframe 2007-2010.

The workshop may establish basis for preparation of a monograph, co-authored by
participants: EVALUATING TEACHING AND LEARNING IN SOCIAL SCIENCE, 21st
Century Perspectives.
Title:

Meeting of the Minds: Challenges and Rewards of Integrating Community-Based Research Projects into a Graduate Social Work Curriculum

Topic Area:

Social Work
Reports on Issues Related to Teaching

Presentation Format:

Paper Session

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Meeting of the Minds: Challenges and Rewards of Integrating Community-Based Research Projects into a Graduate Social Work Curriculum

Keywords:

Community-based Research, Graduate Research Projects, Project-based Research

Abstract:

In most graduate programs in the social and behavioral sciences, students are required to learn material about experimental research methodologies. Traditionally, this content has been delivered in one of two instructional modes: a lecture-only approach or a lecture and workshop format. However, an innovative model has recently begun to emerge but has not yet been widely implemented. This model uses applied research projects with a community focus to approach teaching research methods and strategies for data analysis.

We will describe the Applied Project Model (APM) used in our curriculum, as well as describe its strengths, limitations, and theoretical foundations. At the heart of this approach is meaningful involvement with agency/community stakeholders, and a move from a traditional, “pure” research model to an applied, “action” model of teaching about and conducting research. Use of the APM involves a shift in moving from a rigid, fixed view of what constitutes research to an open and dynamic approach that has been quite transformative for our students.

We will present detailed case descriptions of community-based, action research projects that have helped shape the delivery of social services in our geographic area. Additionally, practical recommendations for educators and researchers in the social and behavioral sciences will be discussed.
Title of submission
Utilising a mixed-methods design to gauge Irish cancer patients’ perception of psychoeducational intervention.

Topic area of the submission (chooses from above list)
Psychology

Presentation format
Student Paper/Paper sessions

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Abstract

Utilising a mixed-methods design to gauge Irish cancer patients’ perception of psychoeducational intervention.

Mc Kiernan, A., Steggles, S., & Carr, A.

The aim of the presentation is to report methodology and results of a mixed-methods study in the area of Psycho-Oncology. The goal of the research was to evaluate a group cognitive behaviour intervention, known as the Time to Adjust Programme, for early-stage breast cancer patients in the Republic of Ireland. Previous evaluation research in the area indicates that standardised measures lack the sensitivity required for a comprehensive assessment of therapeutic processes and psychosocial gains in structured intervention for people with cancer. In addition to responding to a battery of quantitative measures, qualitative thematic content analysis was carried out on patients’ responses to open-ended post-session and post-programme questionnaires in order to highlight the strengths and limitations of the programme. Qualitative analysis was also conducted on participants’ responses to a problems and goals measure to identify patients’ primary concerns and their expectations surrounding their participation in the Time to Adjust Programme. Results indicate that participating in a structured psychoeducational programme is beneficial in helping patients adjust to their illness.

Acknowledgements -

The financial support of Saint Luke’s Institute of Cancer Research, the Irish Research Council for the Human and Social Sciences and UCD Seed Funding Scheme, is gratefully acknowledged.
TYPES AND MODELS OF COLLABORATION
USED BY COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS
By Jean A. McRae, MSW

ABSTRACT
Collaborative action and coalition formation are of current interest in today’s world. This paper discusses five types of “drivers” for successful collaboration between organizations, and five types of collaboration models. This typology results from qualitative interviews with fifteen local organizations, and a further review of the literature. Efforts such as these are the start of more serious investigation of how organizations work together.

COLLABORATIVE ACTION AND COALITIONS
Coalitions are the result of agreed-upon collaborative action. Collaboration is commonly interchanged with terms such as cooperation and coordination. Cooperation is characterized by informal relationships, and coordination has more formal agreements on what is to be coordinated, as well as a possible minimal structure which is usually temporary in nature. Task forces are examples of coordinated efforts. Collaboration requires a more durable relationship, with effort put into relationship-building, intense goal-setting, and even more intense action con common agreed-upon goals. On a continuum scale from cooperation to collaboration, the action increases as follows:

| COOPERATION: Limited beneficial action on one or more common goals, which may be short-term or ongoing. Regular exchanges of information, meeting spaces, and joint conference participation are examples. |
| COORDINATION: More intense action on one or more common goals, which is usually short-term but may re-occur on a cycle basis. Short-term or long-term task forces are examples. |
| COLLABORATION: Very intense beneficial joint action that requires mutual relationships, mutual goal agreement, and planned achievement steps. |

Figure 1

The term “coalition” comes from the French word coalesce, which means “to come together.” A coalition is an alliance between two or more entities, for the purpose of joint action on common goals. The alliance is assumed by all parties to be beneficial to each individual organization, as well as to the total group. Many examples of beneficial collaborations come from warfare, politics, medicine, economics, and business. In popular culture, the television show Survivor is noted for short-term collaborations for long-term individual survival. This paper will discuss
collaborative action as it is relevant to nonprofit, community, and public sector organizations. It will also discuss collaborative action as it occurs in forming and implementing successful coalitions.

**REVIEW OF THEORY DEVELOPMENT**

Coalition Theory is closely allied to Game Theory. Coalitions have been studied as they arise in the political arena between nations (i.e., environmental collaborative action), or in military terms in studies of inter-nation cooperative war strategy. In computer science, *agents* or *daemons* are entities that can form coalitions. In economics, a coalition refers to a group of companies that develop mutual trust and agreement between each other in order to share space and agreed-upon resources for maximum profit. Examples would be Kentucky Fried Chicken and Taco Bell, or Dunkin Donuts and Baskin-Robbins. Game Theory generally uses a mathematical approach in devising and implementing games which show how players behave individually and as members of coalitions. For instance, in the classic *Prisoner's Dilemma* game, there are two players, each of which have two choices: cooperate or defect. Defection will always yield a higher payoff than cooperation, no matter what the other does. The dilemma arises from the fact that if both defect, they are both left *worse off* than if they had cooperated. Konishi & Ray (2001) investigated coalition behavior as an ongoing, dynamic process with mathematical equations to illustrate the payoffs generated as coalitions form, disintegrate, or regroup. Bloch & Rottier (2000) devised a coalition game wherein players took turns setting the agenda and attempting to form a coalition. They found that coalition formation depended upon the order in which coalition offers were made, with “desirability” and individual assets being important but lesser factors. They used their findings to theorize about political coalition formation. Social Identity Theory was first developed to explain the development of prejudice (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), but it has been used by some researchers to study how people develop group identity in coalitions.

Social Exchange Theory seems to be particularly appropriate in examining coalitions. This theory was initiated by Thibaut & Kelley (1959), consolidated by Homans (1961), and further expanded by Blau (1964), and Cook & Molm (1995). In summary, the theory states that collaborative behavior is based on value exchange, which in turn causes reciprocal behavior. Reciprocity between people and groups depends upon what each person/group feels they are getting from the exchange, considering the costs and resources used in maintaining the exchange (money, time, effort, etc.) and the rewards received. Over time, a beneficial exchange tends to even out between parties, and stability results. People and groups will end the exchange if they feel it is no longer beneficial. A major criticism is that the theory reduces human interaction to a purely rational process that arises from economic theory and is not suitable across society. However, in the context of collaboration between organizations, Social Exchange Theory seems to work well. Changes and
expansion are on the horizon for this theory. In discussing needed amendments to Social Exchange Theory, Zafirovski (2003) argues for a greater multilevel and multivariate theory, which includes non-economic, behavioral and cultural, individual and structural variables alike. As we continue to study coalition formation and collaborative action, an expanded multivariate approach seems to be most appropriate, particularly as we examine public, nonprofit, and community groups.

**REASONS FOR COALITIONS AND COLLABORATIVE ACTION**

According to Reilly (2001), research on collaborations has suggested that there must be several essential components for the successful internal effectiveness of a coalition. Reilly identified five dimensions of collaborations: *purpose, membership, structure, process, and resources*. In more detail, there must be a central purpose with a shared vision, a membership willing to cooperate, a structure that has clear roles with clearly-understood procedures, an open and effective process, and access to the necessary resources to accomplish at least one or more goals. Being successful in implementing these five dimensions can be very difficult. Such collaborative action can be tedious, time consuming, frustrating, and has the possibility of being unsuccessful in not meeting major goals. Therefore, why do people form coalitions and engage in collaborative action? The major reason is that the presumed benefits outweigh the possible negatives, and collaborative members assume that perceived positive action is superior to taking no action. Here are some of the most common functions of coalitions and collaborations:

- They are useful for accomplishing a broad range of goals that reach beyond the capacity of any individual member organization.
- They help to establish a power base around the issue(s) in question.
- They help to stretch limited resources.
- They are useful for helping to close gaps in any individual organization’s knowledge, effort, or outreach.
- The greater collaborative mass helps to focus attention on the issue(s) that a single organization could not.
- Coalitions can articulate a single voice on an issue while preserving the uniqueness of member groups. They offer unity without uniformity.
- Coalitions offer great learning and teaching opportunities. Collaborative activity provides a superior opportunity for action learning, because member organizations are exposed to ideas, tactics, strategies, cultures, and styles from other organizations that nevertheless have a similar vision.
- Coalitions promote innovation. Particularly on the grassroots nonprofit level, many organizations have the task of “doing more with less,” and cooperative action lends itself to on-the-spot or planned creativity.
In considering grassroots collaborations, it has been noted that collaborative action has been very important for communities, organizations, and stakeholders that need to build and multiply their social capital.

**SOME TYPES OF COLLABORATION BETWEEN ORGANIZATIONS**

Particularly in the public sector, it is important for organizations to learn to work together, for the reasons given above and others. However, what motivates organizations to work together above and beyond the basic reasons given. In interviews with community and nonprofit organizations, five *drivers* of collaborative action and coalition-building have been identified. In Figure 3, these drivers are targeted and described as the major reasons for coalition formation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>DURATION</th>
<th>BEHAVIOR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Issue-Driven</td>
<td>One or more immediate crucial issues are the unifying factor</td>
<td>Usually short-term, but may be long-term</td>
<td>-Passionate appeal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Scenario planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Joint marketing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Idea exchanges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Affinity-Driven</td>
<td>One or more long-term interests are the unifying factor</td>
<td>Usually long-term, but may be short-term</td>
<td>-Relationship formation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Joint strategic planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Idea exchanges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Exchange-Driven</td>
<td>Relationship is based on need for beneficial exchange</td>
<td>Usually long-term, may be short term depending upon resources available</td>
<td>-Relationship formation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Joint scenario planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Segmented strategic planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Segmented Service-Driven</td>
<td>Relationship is based on need to coordinate various service components</td>
<td>Usually long-term</td>
<td>-Relationship formation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Joint scenario planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Segmented strategic planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Expansion-Driven</td>
<td>Need to expand in a particular area of service causes one or more organizations to join together and try to “leap forward”</td>
<td>Short-term or long-term</td>
<td>-Passionate appeal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Joint scenario planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Idea exchanges</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Table showing types of collaboration](image)  

The *Issue-Driven* collaboration seems to be the most common and the most powerful. Issues that people feel strongly about stir the most passion and activism. Issues make recruitment of participants easier, and they help to reinforce common goals and speed agreement on any structure and process needed. Issue drivers may
be long-term or short-term. Usually, coalitions formed around one or more issues will disintegrate once the desired successful outcome is produced. However, some coalitions grow stronger and expand depending on the continuous needs that the issue presents.

The **Affinity-Driven** collaboration depends upon a basic interest that covers several issues. These organizations may be in the same profession, may be providing the same types of services (i.e., health care), or may feel the need to collaborate because of a need to bring the particular interest to the forefront. If the collaboration starts to focus on one over-riding issue, then the same passion may develop as in the Issue Driven coalition. Affinity-Driven collaborations are usually long-term. The participating organizations usually feel that it is in their individual interests to work together in the interest area, because each participating organization will grow stronger and enlarge its own base of stakeholders, ideas, and innovative methods. These tend to be participants that are open to learning from each other and trying new and different things.

The **Exchange-Driven** collaboration is based on sharing resources, methods, and ideas. The organizations are open to bargaining, learning from each other, and open sharing without fear that one organization will “steal” from another. Each organization has to provide transparency about the agreed-upon tangible or intangible products for exchange. This means that a high level of trust must exist or be developed among the collaborators. If Agency A, B, and C share meeting space and purchase paper supplies together, then their mutual working relationship must operate in constant agreement. If the collaboration extends to group action, the three (or more) must remain “in sync” on what to share and what actions to take. The continuation of this collaboration depends upon mutual needs, mutual respect, and mutual commitment for each organization to play an agreed-upon role. This collaboration type can be quite beneficial to small grassroots organizations that have few resources but much energy. If individual organizations can put aside their differences and suspicions, and develop real trust, the Exchange-Driven collaboration can develop into a powerhouse.

The **Segmented-Service-Driven** collaboration is not as common, but it does exist effectively. It is usually found in a broad field serving one particular type of client or customer, where one organization cannot fulfill all needs. For instance, in child welfare, one organization or agency may be strong in foster care recruitment and placement, while another is noted for mental health services. Previously, all child-related services may have been concentrated in one large city or county agency, but with the contracting-out of services, organizations feel the need to collaborate with others that are strong in diverse areas. Sometimes a city, county, or funding organization will mandate or organize collaboration between segmented services. In other instances, the organizations themselves will see the need for collaboration and hold meetings. Voluntary non-contracted organizations in a particular interest area
may also see the need for greater collaboration clustered around unique strengths, services, or products. In this type of collaboration, organizations see themselves as collaborators more than competitors. If Company A does child-oriented educational video games, Company B has a chain of child care centers, and Company C furnishes mental health services, then the three have a basis for Segmented Service collaboration. All three make a profit, enlarge their bases, and don't cross turf across their expertise areas. This seems to work best with small-to-medium sized organizations that are not threatened by others and that hold on to their unique offerings. An organization that no longer needs the segmented services will drop out, and if too many leave, the coalition falls apart.

The *Expansion-Driven* collaboration is led by forward looking organizations who want to grow and exceed existing boundaries, but cannot do it alone. As a group they can gain the necessary power and extend influence and service together. Most of these groups are literally called *collaboratives*, although there are a number of other names. These are secure organizations who have similar visions, are innovative, and who trust each other enough to move forward together.

**SOME BASIC COLLABORATION MODELS**

*Strategic collaboration* offers the greatest likelihood of success for the organizations involved. In interviews with community and nonprofit organizations, five basic collaboration models have been identified. These models are illustrated in Figure 3, following.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MODEL</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>DURATION &amp; LINKAGE</th>
<th>BEHAVIOR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Equal Partners</td>
<td>All organizations are equal</td>
<td>Long-term or short-term; Usually tightly-linked; Motivation can be any one of the 5 drivers, or combinations</td>
<td>Equal sharing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Leader-Team</td>
<td>One organization leads &amp; forms a team of the others</td>
<td>Long-term or short-term; Tight or loosely linked, depending on lead organization; More likely to be motivated by drivers 1, 2, 4</td>
<td>Strong lead organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Team-Leader</td>
<td>The team forms first &amp; selects or appoints lead organization</td>
<td>Long-term or short-term; Usually more loosely-linked; More likely to be motivated by drivers 1, 2, 5</td>
<td>Lead organization follows team wishes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Leader-Wheel</td>
<td>One organization leads &amp; relates to the other organizations on a “wheel” basis – they rotate in &amp; out as necessary</td>
<td>Usually short-term, but may be long-term; Usually more loosely linked; Usually motivated by driver 3</td>
<td>Strong lead organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Exchange Coalition</td>
<td>Organizations exchange with each other as necessary, based on Exchange Theory</td>
<td>Usually long-term exchanges over time; Usually tightly-linked; Driver 3 is the motivation</td>
<td>Beneficial sharing and reciprocal actions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 3**

In *Equal Partners*, all organizations are equal, and are able to come together without prior insecurities, jockeying for position, or turf fights. Usually, these are larger well-established organizations that have secure funding and have enjoyed positive public support. They feel that they can only grow stronger by coming together, and they build on the strengths that they already have. Motivation can be any one of the five drivers, or combinations. The Equal Partners operate from a strengths perspective, and expect to learn from one another and grow together. They are also secure in the knowledge that if the coalition does not serve their needs, they can drop out without blame or hand-wringing, and can “go it alone.” Equal Partners is usually the strongest, most secure, and most enduring of the collaboration models.
In the *Leader-Team* model, one strong organization with a decisive take-charge leader sees the need for collaborative action, and calls the others together. The lead organization shepherds the others through coalition formation, helping to establish mutual goals, set up structure, and plan action. If the lead organization remains strong, this coalition has the possibility of increasing the strength and vision of all participants. Issues, Affinity, and Segmented Service are the usual drivers. The participant organizations have to be willing to “follow the leader,” and they will if they feel that they stand to gain from the association. In this model, some organizations have even thanked the leader for taking the initiative. Those who are dissatisfied, or feel that the lead organization has too much power, will drop out.

In the *Team-Leader* model, several organizations come to a mutual decision that they need to collaborate, and that a need a lead organization because they are not equal partners. They choose a leader, and support that organization in being “out front.” They are more likely to be driven by issues, affinity, and/or need/desire for expansion. Trust in the lead organization is high, and basic agreement is relatively easy. The coalition may break apart when the participants no longer feel that they need a lead organization, or if the lead organization withdraws, feeling that the coalition is too time-consuming or that it wants to follow other pursuits.

In the *Leader-Wheel* model, organizations are loosely linked and relate to each other on a beneficial exchange basis, coordinated by the lead organization. This model is based upon maximizing resources, and is not usually an intense coalition of activism. This model offers convenience and moderate cooperation without awakening turf battles or insecurities over “who has what?”, or who might be taking over. This loose collaboration will not survive if participant organizations feel that they are being “used.”

An *Exchange Coalition* operates on a mutual basis without a lead organization. In contrast to the leader-wheel, these organizations are more tightly linked. They understand each other and can call upon each other for beneficial exchange as needed. There is usually a monthly, bi-monthly, or quarterly meeting, where needs and sharing are reviewed. Organizations may lend support to each other’s issues, without joining in all-out action. This is a way to extend contacts without threat, and a way to ensure friendship and aid in case of emergencies and crises. This is usually practiced by medium-sized organizations with strong and long-lasting community ties. The exchange coalition is the most likely to last a long time because it provides benefits and makes each organization stronger and more secure, without making strenuous demands. If one participant organization feels that it no longer needs the exchange, it simply drops out. If too many leave, the exchange coalition breaks apart.
CONCLUSION

Organizations must be willing to risk experiencing new dimensions in order to work together and enrich themselves. They must be willing to develop high trust and commit to serious consensus-building. The organizations who are able to do this, and to participate successfully using one or more of the above models are to be commended for their positive and dynamic contributions to society as well as to each other. It can be concluded that there are other models of coalition formation and collaborative action. This is still an open field for study. The process of cooperation is ongoing, and new innovations are always arising. A look at drivers and models is a step toward understand the complexity of our collective actions.

REFERENCE LIST


Jean A. McRae, MSW, is a professor and program director at the Howard University School of Social Work, Washington, DC. She teaches Nonprofit Management, Organizational Systems Analysis, and Resource Development.
Topic Areas for this paper are:

Urban Areas
Diversity
Leadership Styles
Facilitating Communication and Action
The Public and Nonprofit Sectors
Management Strategies
Title of Submission: An Action Plan to Improve Undergraduate Learning Experiences: A Qualitative Study to Increase Enrollment and Retention of African-American Students

Topic Area of Submission: Race/Ethnicity Issues in Education; Communication and Information Sciences (Cross Disciplinary Area)

Presentation Format: Paper Session

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ABSTRACT

Based on a qualitative analysis of the undergraduate experiences of 8 African-American graduate students, the paper identifies methods to improve the existing learning experiences for minority students studying at the University of Tennessee (UT) (Knoxville campus). Qualitative data-collecting methods of narrative interviews with participants about their undergraduate experiences reveal strategies to increase enrollment and retention of undergraduate minority students on campus. The research elicits participant feedback in order to:

1) Document student’s undergraduate experiences to reveal focused areas of improvement;

2) Identify student suggested recruiting strategies to increase undergraduate minority student enrollment and retention in higher education; and

3) Document student feedback about methods to improve the existing learning experiences for minority students via developing a better teaching and learning environment, enhanced campus services and facilities, and an altogether supportive climate.

Gathered data provides significant information based on graduate African-American students’ undergraduate experiences and expertise about their barriers and challenges faced in their learning process, kinds of efforts needed to improve

∗ corresponding author
existing learning experiences, and potential agencies and partners that can help increase enrollment and retention of undergraduate minority students in the academy.

The following select questions were used during narrative interviews (lasting 1.0-2.0 hours each) with research participants:

1. **[INTRODUCTION]** Let us begin with general introductions- tell us a little about yourself (department, year), your interests, and your prior experiences as an African-American undergraduate student.

2. **[UNDERGRADUATE EDUCATION]** Tell us about your experiences during your undergraduate studies. What were some key experiences and challenges? What specific areas could have been improved?

3. **[RECRUITMENT, RETENTION, MINORITY LEADERSHIP]** (Based on your undergraduate education) Identify some recruiting strategies to increase undergraduate minority student enrollment and retention in higher education on the UTK campus.

4. Identify methods to improve the existing learning experiences for minority students via developing a better teaching and learning environment, enhanced campus services and facilities, and an altogether supportive climate.

Grounded theory principles were applied to generate themes and patterns from participant responses via open, axial, and selective coding. Qualitative data analysis accounted for concepts, relationships between categories and subcategories, and integration with interview questions, and to the broader perspectives of participants. We also developed scenarios or personal stories that capture typical experiences of participants that are threaded together as a mode of data analysis and representation in this paper.

This research forms part of a larger study that is currently examining strategies to improve the learning environment and the information support services for both undergraduate and graduate minority students; the paper presents focused research findings to make the UT environment more inclusive and diverse in its undergraduate student body via suggested improvements in students’ learning experiences. Findings identified in this research are presented as an action plan to improve undergraduate learning experiences of African-American students and provide key directions for UT to strategize and increase its undergraduate minority student enrollment and retention in order to reflect diversity in the 21st century.
Title of the submission
Prevalence and psychological factors associated with levels of overweight & obesity among Irish adolescents.

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Abstract
This paper reports the findings of a study examining the prevalence of overweight and obesity among a sample of Irish adolescents, between the ages of 12-19 years. The sample (n=775), had a mean age of 14.6 with 432 male participants. Psychological aspects of overweight and obesity were assessed using a variety of measures investigating levels of self-esteem, depression and disordered eating behaviours. Age- and gender-adjusted BMI was evaluated, and general lifestyle activities and exercise levels were also assessed. 48.4% of participants had a normal age adjusted BMI, and 28% were classified as being Overweight/Obese while within that 4.8% were classified as clinically obese. Overweight/obese participants reported significantly more episodes of Objective Bulimic Episodes, compared to their normal weight and underweight peers. Total EDEQ scores were negatively related to both overall levels of self-esteem and the Physical Appearance (SPPA-R) domain of self-esteem (r = -.572). Overweight/obese participants were more preoccupied with their weight than normal weight participants, but did not differ significantly with their underweight peers. Compared to normal weight participants, overweight/obese participants engaged in significantly more overeating in response to overall emotional states, and clearly labelled emotional states (e.g. anger, sadness), but did not differ from their underweight peers. This research indicates that overweight and obese adolescents demonstrate disordered eating behaviour, and appear to engage in more disordered eating compared to their normal weight and underweight peers. These results have significant clinical implications in terms of the way in which adolescent obesity is treated in Ireland.

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Abstract

The Harvard School of Public Health reported in 2006 that 42 percent of Americans say they are “somewhat concerned” about the H5N1 strain of avian influenza spreading to the United States. As a result, how the American media are framing their coverage of bird flu is important. Using qualitative methods, this study analyzes how The New York Times has framed the disease since 1997, and if and how those frames have changed over time.
Introduction

News coverage of the H5N1 strain of avian influenza and its potential to develop into a worldwide pandemic proliferated after an August 2005 speech by President George W. Bush in which he called on the healthcare community to prepare for a possible outbreak. For many, Bush’s speech represented the introduction of a new risk to public health. Moreover, medical experts and journalists already had been tracking bird flu for several years. In nearly a decade of coverage, news media have shaped public perceptions of the disease by presenting it in a myriad of ways. The purpose of this study is to examine how American news media, specifically The New York Times, have framed the disease and if and how these frames have changed over time.

A recent poll shows the American public is aware of bird flu and is moderately concerned about a possible pandemic, defined by the Centers for Disease Control as a “global outbreak.” The Harvard School of Public Health reports 42 percent of those surveyed describing themselves as “somewhat concerned” about the disease’s spread in the United States and the same percentage concerned about a worldwide pandemic. Effects of heightened public awareness are already evidenced in the reaction of the poultry industry, which points to bird flu as a possible cause of lagging profits in 2006. Moreover, several fast food chains have initiated marketing campaigns to alleviate consumers’ fears of the H5N1 virus. Emergency officials at the federal, state and local levels have spent large amounts of time and money on bird flu preparation, even though experts say the virus has not mutated to a point where it could cause a pandemic. According to the World Health Organization, approximately 230 people had been
infected with the disease worldwide as of July 2006, and at least 132 had died. So far, avian influenza has not spread through human transmission.

**Theoretical Perspective**

Media researchers contend that frames provide the construct in which news can be interpreted and understood. In simple terms, news framing refers to selecting and emphasizing certain aspects of issues.\(^7\) Gamson and Modigliani define a media frame as “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events … The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue.”\(^8\) Media frames organize the world for the journalists who report it and for those who rely on their reports.\(^9\)

Devices such as keywords, metaphors, catch phrases, discussion of the root of a problem or issue, concepts, discussion of the consequences of a problem or issue, and moral appeals all combine to build frames.\(^10\) In general, these devices are brought into an article through the use of sources: who is interviewed, what is quoted directly, how often an individual is quoted, fairness of sides represented, etc. Entman suggests that frames are used to define problems, diagnose causes of problems, make moral evaluations of the agent causing the problems, and to suggest remedies.\(^11\) Entman also notes that “by providing, repeating, and thereby reinforcing words and visual images that reference some ideas but not others, frames work to make some ideas more salient in the text, others less so – and others entirely invisible.”\(^12\)

As several researchers have pointed out, what is left out of the frame is often as important as what is included.\(^13\) The omissions of potential problem definitions, explanations, evaluations and recommendations may be as critical as the inclusions in
guiding the audience.\textsuperscript{14} The omission of certain arguments or points of view makes them less salient for readers.

**Health Framing**

Since its media salience is a relatively recent phenomenon, little academic research specific to bird flu coverage has been published. However, literature on framing of other health-related issues offers insights into patterns that might have emerged in the media’s reporting of the disease.

Lawrence, Winett and Sillars\textsuperscript{15} studied New York Times coverage of the post-9/11 anthrax scare. They used both quantitative coding and qualitative analysis to test hypotheses that a great majority of the stories would rely on official sources and would be influenced by journalistic conventions that distort or oversimplify scientific coverage. They also predicted that the stories would inadequately report on the risks of exposure to anthrax and would fit the information into established frames such as “winners and losers” or the CDC’s “bungling” of the crisis. They found that these predictions based on established framing literature were incorrect, although they said their expectation of “politicized” coverage came the closest to being confirmed.

Blakely\textsuperscript{16} compared coverage of the 1918 Spanish flu pandemic, the 1957 Asian flu pandemic and the 1968 Hong Kong flu pandemic in The New York Times. The study analyzed 835 articles and found the 1918 pandemic incited panic and increased public anxiety, whereas later pandemics had less impact. War metaphors were used in all three pandemics, though more often for the 1918 Spanish flu. Blakely also found that coverage of the 1918 pandemic changed over time. It was initially reported as a foreign disease that the general American population would not have to worry about. However, as death tolls
rose, coverage became more reflective of the panic felt by the public and its perceived notions that healthcare professionals were inept. This pattern was repeated in the 1957 and 1968 pandemics, according to Blakely. In all three cases, health officials became the focus of negative coverage. Thus the “inept bureaucrat” frame appears to be a recurring theme. However, in some cases it is eventually replaced by a new frame emphasizing the individual’s responsibility for his or her own care.

A study analyzing bird flu stories in The New York Times, the Washington Post, the Atlanta Journal-Constitution and the Los Angeles Times found that newspaper stories provided little information on personal protection from bird flu. Information on how an individual can protect himself or herself from bird flu appeared in just nine percent of the stories analyzed. After October 2005, when coverage of bird flu spiked, news stories focused mainly on human infections and the potential for the disease’s spreading.

Part of the job for media researchers at the Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta, Georgia, is sifting through each day’s news stories to see what the media are saying about public health topics. These stories are analyzed according to their frames. The CDC began paying much more attention to news reports after the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and the anthrax attacks that followed. Through those attacks, the CDC was reminded that public health news stories are the primary avenue through which the public gains knowledge about disease.

News media framing of the bird flu is worthy of study because it plays a key role in establishing public opinion on the disease and in shaping public policy. If people fear an outbreak of pandemic flu, they are likely to expect action from government officials, regardless of whether fears of the disease are actually justified. So the notion underlying
this study was to find out what impressions are being formed in the public sphere through media coverage of avian influenza. Toward this end, the following research question was formulated:

RQ: How has the New York Times framed avian influenza since 1997?

Methods

Sampling population

The population of articles from which the sample was drawn was created through a keyword search of The New York Times file in the Lexis-Nexis academic database. The researchers chose The New York Times because of its status as a newspaper of record in the United States, having a strong influence on national news coverage across the country. The paper has a national circulation, is often the source of wire stories that are picked up by local papers, has an influence on national television and radio news coverage, and is often studied as a barometer of how American journalists address specific issues.

Included in the final sample were non-opinion stories of 500 words or more published between December 1997 – the time of the first bird flu outbreak to affect humans – and July of 2006, containing within the headline or the lead the keywords of “bird flu,” “avian flu,” “avian influenza,” and “bird influenza.” Stories with fewer than 500 words were eliminated as they were viewed as too short to allow for an in-depth qualitative analysis.

Coding of the Frame Analysis Sample

After the stories were selected and briefly reviewed to determine that the story was indeed concerning one of the keywords noted above, a sample population of 200 articles was analyzed in this framing study. Three coders examined the articles using a qualitative,
holistic approach aimed at discerning the frames or themes conveyed by the text of each article as a whole.\textsuperscript{21}

After all the articles were read, the coders discussed their findings, using a technique similar to the constant comparative method,\textsuperscript{22} which specifies that the coders first conduct an individual line-by-line analysis of each story, first noting metaphors, narratives and other thematic devices, and then integrating incidents as larger themes took shape. Each of the coders looked for commonalities and differences, constantly noting emerging themes or categories of interest. Then they discussed their findings and determined which themes and categories spanned the entire sample. The coders fine-tuned the themes or categories until they reached a consensus regarding the primary patterns and themes found and a coherent set of frames emerged.

Following in the tenets of the constant comparative method, specific counts of incidents were not taken. However, in keeping with the rigor required of qualitative methodology, great care and time was taken to thoroughly examine each text. Most specifically, the use of multiple coders was used to assure that the categories and themes that developed were accurate interpretations.\textsuperscript{23} The examples shown in the findings that follow are culled from many articles and have been selected as being typical of the kinds of incidents found throughout the data.

**Results**

We analyzed 200 New York Times articles written between 1997 and 2006. More than half (51.5 percent) of the articles originated at the New York Times’ foreign desk; the national desk contributed 15 percent of the articles, while the business and financial desk contributed 11.5 percent of the articles. Another 11 desks (science, health,
metropolitan, Connecticut weekly, travel, Long Island weekly, magazine, cultural, week in review, New Jersey Weekly, and leisure and weekend) accounted for less than a quarter (24.5 percent) of the articles. The frequency of articles concerning the disease increased considerably in 2004, 2005 and 2006. The newspaper contained fewer than 10 articles about bird flu each year from 1997 to 2003, but in 2004 that number jumped to 49. There were 65 articles each in 2005 and 2006.

While reading the texts we noticed The New York Times reporters consistently approached their avian flu stories from a limited set of angles. In our interpretation, these approaches can be summarized in five broad themes.

**Alarming the public**

From the identified themes, The New York Times reporters seemed especially focused on grabbing public attention through sets of warnings and alarming predictions in order to introduce the virus’ threat. We found five specific subcategories that illustrate how The New York Times used this broad theme of alarming the public to frame the bird flu virus.

In the first subcategory, reporters warned the public and promoted fear. For example, in 2005 Gardiner Harris and Lawrence K. Altman cite the Bush administration’s plan of action against bird flu: “If such an outbreak occurred, hospitals would become overwhelmed, riots would engulf vaccination clinics, and even power and food would be in short supply.”24 By presenting this grim situation without offering any solutions, the writers leave the impression that no positive alternatives exist.

Elisabeth Rosenthal and Keith Bradsher provide another example of this subcategory in 2006: “A pandemic flu outbreak in any part of the world would
potentially cripple supply chains, dramatically reduce available labor pools,’ the [American Chamber of Commerce] report said.” 25

Another way The New York Times alarmed the public was reporting the scientific, medical and political communities’ lack of understanding of the bird flu virus. For example, Rosenthal reports in a 2005 article: “But no one knows how well it will work, or if it will work, if and when the animal virus mutates into a strain that can be spread by human transmission.”26 In addition, The New York Times used scientific research and statistics to promote fear. In 2003, Keith Bradsher reported, “According to official Guangdong provincial statistics, the current outbreak of pneumonia has killed six people and sickened 300. But there has been widespread concern here about whether the statistics really reflect the extent of the problem.”27

The idea of using the virus as a threat to prompt action from authorities was also present in the texts. In their 2005 article Harris and Altman report, “The United States is woefully unprepared for what could become the worst disaster in the nation’s history.”28

Finally, some New York Times reporters advanced the idea that the spreading of the flu was inevitable: “Michael Leavitt, secretary of the department of Health and Human Services, declared that it was ‘just a matter of time’ before birds infected with the virus found their way to the United States.”29

**Conflicting actions and opinions**

Another broad theme we identified in The New York Times articles was the reporting of conflict among governments, the scientific community and the World Health Organization concerning avian flu, the extent of its threat and appropriate measures to control it. Specifically, we found five subcategories that support this frame: criticizing
authorities who were responsible for taking action against avian influenza; politicizing
the virus; debating the price\textsuperscript{30} of the bird flu virus; assigning blame; and demanding
action from those responsible for controlling avian influenza.

In the first category, we read several New York Times reporters who criticized
authorities for their efforts in taking action against avian influenza. For example, in 1998,
Altman quoted Peter A. Patriarca, a food and drug administration official, about the
United States’ and the World Health Organization’s draft plans for a pandemic.

\begin{quote}
\textit{``We have been spinning our wheels for two or three weeks because [Dr. Roland
A. Levandowski, the food and drug agency’s top influenza virologist] did not have
the right facilities to work in,’’ Dr. Patriarca said. The problem is still unsolved
because the agency has yet to arrange for him to work at such sites elsewhere in
the Government.''}
\end{quote}

In addition to criticizing, The New York Times also politicized bird flu by
reporting on issues such as what governmental bodies should be responsible for taking
action against the virus. Diane Cardwell writes in a 2006 article:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg and the city’s health commissioner, Thomas R.
Frieden, offered a blueprint for identifying an outbreak, containing its spread and
distributing scarce resources like ventilators and antiviral medications. They also
sounded a frequent refrain that the city must rely on itself, and not Washington, to
plan for and react to potential disasters.''}
\end{quote}

Another approach The New York Times used to frame its coverage was
highlighting the discussions about the price tag that officials had placed on preparing for
and researching avian influenza. For example, Robert Pear writes in 2006:

\begin{quote}
\textit{President Bush wants to spend more on bird flu and physical sciences next year,
but would freeze the budget of the National Institutes of Health and would slightly
cut federal support for research on cancer and heart disease, two of the leading
killers of Americans, budget documents show.''}
\end{quote}

Furthermore, we found many examples of New York Times reporters playing the
blame game – accusing governments, agencies, scientific and medical officials, etc. for
the lack of preparedness against the virus. Again, Altman illustrates this subcategory in a
2006 article: “The World Health Organization says that despite agreements made earlier,
many countries are still not promptly sharing information on avian influenza with the
scientific community, potentially harming efforts to learn how the virus is evolving.”

Finally, the fifth subcategory we found under the conflicting actions and opinions
theme was The New York Times’ coverage of the demand for those responsible to take
appropriate action against bird flu. Rosenthal illustrates this subcategory when she quotes
a veterinarian concerning the monitoring of avian flu around the world.

“We encouraged the countries to increase surveillance,” said Dr. Juan Lubroth,
a senior veterinarian at the (United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization).
“But I am not a policeman. What I can do is to ask governments to be more
vigilant.”

Reinforcing positive outcomes

The third broad category we identified – “reinforcing positive outcomes” – shows
the actions of authorities (governments, scientists, World Health Organization) to placate
panic and despair among the public. Although it used this frame infrequently in its
overall coverage, The New York Times portrayed these attempts from three specific
angles. The first one presented a series of statistics and scientific evidence to show the
public the flu was not so powerful and unstoppable as their counterparts, the alarmists,
were depicting.

Good examples of the use of this angle by The New York Times reporters is the
citing of medical authorities like Dr. Saw Thian-aun, deputy director of Hong Kong’s
health department, in 1997: “There is no cause for panic, as available evidence does not
suggest that the disease is widespread.” Thian-aun continues in the article: “Transmission
appears to have occurred only from birds to humans.”
Some reporters used specific words to downplay the official numbers:

The human toll has been slight. Only 108 people have been infected, of whom 54 have died, and alarmingly high mortality rate but one that seems to be diminishing. It is reassuring that millions of people have lived and worked in close proximity to infected birds without harm and even more reassuring that the flu strain has not yet developed the ability to spread easily from one person to another.37

As seen before, the same numbers that were used to inflict terror are now used to calm the public.

A second subcategory also found under this theme was directly downplaying the threat of the virus, as the following example from a 1998 article shows: “Many countries are not particularly worried about influenza. Even in the United States, interest in the subject lags. Influenza is not commonly discussed at most conferences.”38

With this candid example of the authorities’ lack of interest in the flu, the impression left by the reporters is that the readers should not worry because the authorities did not regard it as a great threat.

Finally, reporters placated general fear of the flu by highlighting the preparedness of competent authorities:

Dr. DeHaven added that any surveillance in avian influenza is a good thing. “The chicken industry’s program is stricter than his department’s voluntary one,” he said. Robert Lobb, a chicken council spokesman, said, “We’re not waiting for sign to show up.” In other words, they are taking action now.39

Thinking analogically

Not so easily found, but yet very distinct, is the fourth category used by The New York Times to relate bird flu to other known facts about history, culture, geography and other disasters. When the situation is presented with this frame, the public gets a feeling
that the flu is not something new and mysterious, but something that can be understood through those aforementioned correlations – a feeling of familiarity.

One example of how The New York Times used analogies to familiarize the public with the virus’ potential threat was when it compared bird flu to other diseases.

*The cause [of SARS] has not been identified, and scientists do not know whether it is a virus or even an infectious agent. Although health officials have suspected avian influenza, which has infected a small number of people sporadically in Hong Kong since 1997, laboratory tests have not detected the rare strain, known as influenza A(H5N1).*

Along these same lines, the New York Times compared bird flu to other types of disasters and calamities.

*In the wake of the government’s poor response to Hurricane Katrina, the Bush administration has been at pains to reassure the country that it is taking seriously the threat of a pandemic flu, which some experts see as the next calamity that could befall the United States.*

Another way The New York Times helped the public become familiar with the subject was to historicize the evolution of pandemics, as seen in the following example:

*The worst death rate was suffered in the 1918 pandemic of Spanish flu. That killed 2.6 percent of those who got sick, or about 40 million people. The two other pandemics were less severe. The 1957 one killed two million and the most recent, in 1968, killed one million.*

A clever way The New York Times presented the proximity value of avian influenza was through the use of anecdotes that illustrated geographic and cultural analogies. The following examples emphasize the cultural importance of poultry to specific populations:

*The rooster has been the national emblem since ancient Gallic times... “The fowl is part of our national heritage,” said Pierre Rolland, the mayor of Loue, a poultry-producing town southwest of Paris.*
Cheap and easy to raise and prepare, chicken and other poultry have long been an important staple among Kurds...\textsuperscript{44}

**Emphasizing personal responsibilities**

Finally, the theme we found less prevalent was “emphasizing personal responsibility.” This frame included two subcategories: (1) empowering and educating, and (2) surviving and coping. In the first subcategory, New York Times reporters frequently highlighted situations where individuals could take precautionary action against the disease without having to wait for official aid.

For example, Bradsher indirectly quoted Dr. Yeoh Eng Kiong, Hong Kong’s secretary for health and welfare in a 2003 article.

\textit{The virus was likely contracted from direct contact with chicken feces, and that person-to-person spread was less likely. He urged residents to wash their hands regularly with soap and warned that the disease was probably carried by migratory birds.}\textsuperscript{45}

This information not only educated the public about avian influenza, it empowered individuals to take personal action and preventive measures.

Articles continued to empower and educate throughout the 10-year period we analyzed. For instance, as late as 2006, reporters were attempting to spread knowledge of avian influenza while encouraging personal responsibility. Diane Cardwell quoted Dr. Thomas R. Frieden, New York City’s health commissioner:

\textit{“It’s a low technology, but it works: covering your mouth when you cough or sneeze; not going out if you have fever and cough,” Dr. Frieden said. “These are very important things people can do to reduce the spread of infection, and if there were a pandemic, they would be our first line of defense.”}\textsuperscript{46}

In the second subcategory, New York Times’ reporters offered hope by sharing personal stories of people who were coping with and surviving the threat of bird flu. In 2006, Richard A. Oppel Jr and Yerevan Adham wrote about a Kurdish family:
“It was very good food for us, but now we’ve lost it [all of their chickens],” Mr. Ramadan said. “When our children would come back from school and were hungry, their mother would cook eggs for them.” Instead, he says, the children will get yogurt from sheep’s milk.47

Discussion

After a thorough analysis of The New York Times’ bird flu coverage, we found the newspaper essentially has used the same frames for the past 10 years. Although we noticed changes over time in the number of stories that used a specific frame – for instance, the politicizing frame was used overwhelmingly after 2005 – The New York Times has utilized the same five frames since 1997. In our opinion, this shows little creativity in the ways the publication approached its bird flu coverage.

As mentioned earlier, overall coverage of avian influenza increased sharply beginning in 2004. (In 2003, we found only six articles meeting our Lexis-Nexis search parameters; in 2004, we found 49.) One possible reason for this increase is the 2004 tsunami, which shifted reporters’ attention to Asia and the issues facing its people. Also, the disease itself became more prevalent after 2004.

Of the 200 New York Times articles evaluated, only 23 were published in the publication’s science and health sections. The majority of bird flu stories – a total of 103 – came from the newspaper’s foreign desk. Clearly, The New York Times views bird flu as more of a political issue than a health issue. This is important because when media politicize a health issue, they cause confusion and disproportional fear. For example, after Laos eliminated bird flu in its population, the international community put pressure on the Laotian government to spend millions of dollars to prevent another outbreak of the virus.48 However, the country faced greater threats from other diseases – such as tetanus and rabies – that were killing many more people than bird flu did.
Conversely, when science or health journalists report on health issues, the coverage is usually more educational, and therefore, more helpful to the public. We found that stories that originated from The New York Times’ health or science desks predominately used the “emphasizing personal responsibility” and/or the “reinforcing positive outcomes” frames. For example, in its March 28, 2006, issue, The New York Times dedicated much of its science section to the coverage of avian influenza. For more than a month after this special health feature, we found no stories that used the “alarming the public” frame. This could mean that because of the special coverage in the science section, even the newspaper’s reporters became more educated about – and less fearful of – the virus.

In 2005 and 2006, more articles about the conflicting attitudes and opinions surrounding bird flu were published. One possible explanation for this is the increased amount of money and grants involved in researching avian flu. For example, in 2006 the World Bank created a fund for bird flu, and the United States devised a budget plan for dealing with the disease. Other possible reasons for this increase in the conflict frame include the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks and the government’s response to 2005’s Hurricane Katrina. After these disasters, the American people may have become more skeptical of their government’s plans to protect the public.

**Conclusion**

This study is limited by the fact that no human bird flu cases have been reported in the United States or any nearby countries. Framing of the potential for a pandemic is likely to be different from the framing of an actual human outbreak should one occur. Secondly, this study is limited because it focuses only on the coverage of one newspaper.
While The New York Times plays a key role in determining the national news agenda in the United States, there remain many news sources not examined in this study. Furthermore, the constant comparative method of qualitative text analysis is limited in terms of reliability. As with all qualitative research, this study’s results are the product of its coders’ interpretations and represent reality as determined by the coders at the specific time the research was carried out. These results would not necessarily be the same if gleaned by other researchers at a different time.

This research area could be expanded in the future with framing studies using other newspapers and news magazines. Coverage of avian flu in print media also could be compared and contrasted with television, Internet and radio coverage. In addition, it would be worthwhile to compare coverage of bird flu in American media with coverage in foreign media, especially in countries where human bird flu cases have already occurred. Furthermore, studies of the effects of bird flu coverage would shed greater light on the subject. Survey instruments assessing people’s knowledge about the disease and fears of a pandemic could be paired with assessments of which media outlets are their most trusted sources of information. From this knowledge base, future framing studies could establish more precisely the impressions being conveyed through news media coverage of the disease.


4 Ibid

5 Based on interviews with Knox County, Tennessee Health Officer Stephanie Hall and Knox County Deputy Director of Emergency Management Colin Ickes, April 2006, conducted by Glenn T. Hubbard.


17 Reporting on a Potential Pandemic: A Content Analysis of Avian Influenza Newspaper Coverage.


20 The sample included only news and feature stories that met the criterion of running 500 words or more. The word “stories” is used throughout the article to describe coded items, but it should be understood that only news and feature articles were included.

21 Coders were instructed to work for no more than three hours straight before taking a substantial (two- to three-hour) break from coding, to reduce the amount of error introduced through coder fatigue.


30 By price we mean the cost of researching and combating avian influenza, the marketing of medicines and vaccines, and the disputes concerning what groups should receive United Nations or other governmental grants.


Looking at Research On Bt Cotton in Southern India

Sustainable Development/International Studies
Paper Session

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Abstract

In 1998, the Indian Government approved Bt cotton to be grown in trials. Since then, a wide body of literature has been published looking at the economic viability of transgenic cotton in India. Alongside this is the issue of effectiveness. After a spike in farmer suicide helped stimulate debate over the topic, both GM proponents and opponents have looked intensely at Bt cotton’s viability. This paper looks at several studies on Bt cotton in India with a special focus on farmers in Warangal, Andhra Pradesh. After comparing the data, this paper suggests that India remain precautionary and push for more research. Central to this assertion is the fact that Bt cotton’s long-term effectiveness is questionable and that it is subject to significant variations that compromise utility. Eco-friendly alternatives such as organic farming and agricultural development are therefore proposed.
Introduction

No issue in India is ever monological. In one of the most ethnically diverse and pluralist societies in the world, India offers as many exceptions as it does rules. The issue of genetically modified (GM) crops has been shown to be divisive, often pitting green activists against biotech advocates and in the process further blurring the lines between fact and fiction. The fact is we don’t have a large, established and reliable body of research regarding GM crops; the science is in its embryonic phases. The recent advance of biotechnologies into the developing world has posed some very serious concerns over the safety and viability of GM crops. How are GM crop technologies affecting the prospects of Indian farmers?

In this paper I will look at Bt cotton and its implementation by farmers in the Warangal district of Andhra Pradesh, India. This paper will argue that transgenic crops are a novitiate in the slowly established practice of agriculture and therefore that current research is insufficient and poses many unanswered questions.

Biotechnology Policy in India

The advent of India’s expanding biotechnology sector is contingent upon the nation’s movement towards a liberalized market economy. As a net effect, the India of just ten years ago is dramatically different than the India of today. Exponential gains
have been made in virtually every sector of the economy, from industry to information technology. Presently India shows no sign of slowing down and its economic growth rate plays second fiddle only to China. In January 2000, Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee included the biotechnology sector under the larger umbrella of knowledge-component industries charged with the task of accelerating India’s economy in the twenty first century (Paarlberg 95). Indeed, India’s savvy and innovation in service-related sectors requiring a high quality knowledge-component stands superb, and has distinguished the nation as a fierce global competitor as well as the preeminent leader of such services in the developing world. Delhi has promoted biotechnology as a potentially aggressive sector for generating investment and growth, “capitalizing on India’s scientific knowledge capital (Herring 10)”.

Paarlberg’s assertion that India assumes a precautionary/preventative position on transgenic crops misconstrues the fact that India has had somewhat of an open-door policy on GMO’s coinciding with its liberalized economic policies and subsequently greater acceptance of private sector contributions. The proliferation of biotechnology in India has been aided in large part by the 1988 National Seed Development Policy, which allowed Indian firms to collaborate with foreign firms and import seeds, and the 1989 Plants, Fruits and Seeds Order, which freed seed importation from government controls (Newell 2). This legislative pattern helped lay down a foundation which promoted a stronger private sector seed industry in India during the 1990’s (Dhar 12).

Today, over twelve major biotechnology corporations do their business in India. Monsanto is of course the leading player and the one which has garnered the most limelight, or rather infamy. Other multinationals include Cargill, which has been active
in India for sometime, Dupont, Aventis and Syngenta. Additional policy reforms which proved critical to multinational consolidation of growth include the National Seed Policy of 2001, which set out to provide farmers with access to a range of superior seed varieties (Newell 3).

The problem with Paarlberg’s study is that he looks at four criteria: IPR, Biosafety, Trade, Food Safety and Public Research Investment in order to extrapolate his conclusion. But the issues within the scope of this paper, such as the response of farmers to Bt Cotton as well as the efficacy of Bt Cotton in rural India, are relatively excluded from his equation. At the same time, his thesis pays close attention to the effect of civil society advocacy on GMOs, in particular the ability of NGOs to successfully inhibit the ability of biotech multinationals to penetrate markets. After Monsanto purchased a 26 percent share of India’s Maharashtra Hybrid Seed Company Ltd. (Mahyco), and the Indian Government approved limited field trials of Mahyco’s Bt cotton, activists began directly challenging Monsanto’s GM crop technologies, especially its so-called ‘terminator gene’ patent (Paarlberg 99).

Due to the perpetually changing dynamic of GMO issues, it can be hard for researchers and scholars to stay ahead of the current debate and make inferences that remain accurate. Paarlberg’s book was written in 2000, therefore the section on India that pertains to Bt cotton effectiveness makes assumptions that today could be strongly refuted by government, activists, farmers and even scientists. He writes “Although India’s Bt cotton trials went forward under protest and criticism, they did manage to generate important evidence of this GM plant’s effectiveness against bollworm infestations (Paarlberg 107).” As I will show, research produced right in Southern India
confirms the ephemeral security of this belief. Thus Paarlberg was wise to note that the 1998 trials demonstrated short-term success only: “field trials of Bt cotton in India had seemed to confirm, meantime, that Bt varieties could provide at least a short-term solution (ibid)”. Bt cotton sold in Andhra Pradesh as “Bollgard” was marketed by Mahyco-Monsanto, a joint venture of Jalna-based Indian Seed Company Mahyco and Monsanto, a multinational seed and agrochemical company.

Bt cotton, India’s first GM crop, got approval for its commercial cultivation in South India, in March 2002 (Qayum and Sakkhari 31). When the GEAC (Genetic Engineering Approval Committee) of the Government of India permitted the commercial release of Bt cotton hybrids, it opened a new pathway for Indian agriculturists. The state’s new interest in transgenic materials and technology transfers prompted Mahyco Monsanto Biotech Ltd. to get the approval for release of genetically engineered Bt cotton hybrids MECH Bt-12, MECH Bt-162 and MECH Bt-184 from the GEAC (Ministry of Environment and Forest, Government of India), for 3 years, i.e., from April 2002 to March 2005. Monsanto developed these cotton hybrids by inserting genes responsible for the production of Delta-endotoxin from a soil bacterium Bacillus thuringiensis (ibid, 27 and 35).

Part of the reason why India has become an ideal template for GMO opposition is elucidated by Newell, Seshia and Scoones: “Compared with the green revolution, where trust in public sector scientists was high and the negative environmental impacts of the technologies became apparent only slowly, the gene revolution has started on a more cautious footing (Seshia and Scoones 2003).” Newell continues, saying that “In India, high levels of civil society engagement and skepticism towards scientists, government
and industry combine with both highly uncertain and disputed risks and benefits associated with biotechnology (Newell 4)”. 

Interfacing with this is the scar of colonialism, in which Indians engaged in a highly organized and systematic deconstruction of British rule. The Union Carbide Disaster in Bhopal in the 1970’s proved that Indian Government could not always be trusted and gave greater salience to activist claims that private interests, in particular those that originate from foreign multinationals, often put the health and safety of citizens below the interests of the state and the private sector. Despite India’s horrendous income and wealth inequality, its democracy continues to be exemplary of pluralist perspectives, a point adumbrated by the willingness of actors to organize, advocate and demand political and social change.

With respects to biotechnology, Indian activists were fresh on the heels of the government’s policy reforms and quick to oppose the forward movement of biotech corporations. Well before the issue of Bt cotton had mushroomed, activists were bringing it to the public’s attention. In November 1998, a political leader in Karnataka staged an attack for the media on Bt cotton trial plots. Previously he had made headlines after attacking the Cargill seed company and a Kentucky Fried Chicken restaurant (Paarlberg 100). But by March 2002, “India became the 16th nation in the world to approve a genetically engineered crop for commercialization, albeit provisionally and in the face of continuing opposition (Bharathan 2000, Bunsha 2001 in Herring 9).” Opposition persisted in the context of Bt cotton through charges of market fixing, though this time initiated by activists in Brazil, Chad and other African developing nations. In March
2005 a World Trade Organization appeals panel found that the international cotton market is rigged “to the detriment of poor farmers in poor nations (Herring 4).”

**The Importance and Challenge of Cotton in India**

Add to the complexity of markets and biotechnology policy the challenges of growing cotton in India and the reasons why Bt cotton has become such a prominent issue become clearer. As I showed above, India’s treatment of transgenic crops was not a cut and dry precautionary or permissive approach. Rather, India adopted policies in accordance with the international transformation of economy; as globalization had a greater impact on developing economies by encouraging liberalized market models and preferring private investment over public sector control, policies on GMOs also became more liberal. But India’s powerful democratic voice articulated the dissatisfaction of activists who were opposed to genetically engineered crops. At this time I will look carefully at just what cotton means for India. What factors accounted for farmer suicides in districts like Warangal and did Bt cotton exacerbate the tradition of debt-suicide? Furthermore, how difficult a crop is cotton to grow and how necessary is it to Indian agriculture and the economy?

Simply put, the answer is that cotton is enormously difficult to grow and vital to Indian agriculture and the economy. Cotton is a “pesticide treadmill” crop that farmers spend heavily on in order to combat an abundance of predacious insects (Stone 3). Cotton (*Gossypium Hirsutum*) which belongs to the Mallow (Malvaceae) family, requires substantial inputs to produce good yields. Costly fertilizer and scarce water is needed in large amounts to ensure healthy and productive growth. Cotton farmers in India, many
already teetering on the edge of bankruptcy, are forced to purchase these inputs should they wish to make any profit. And of course, many market variables affect the profitability of cotton harvests.

Invariant of Bt cotton or non-Bt cotton varieties, it is a very involved and expensive crop. India accounts for twenty five percent of all world cotton production. Currently it has more land under cotton cultivation than any other nation and five percent of India’s total cultivatable land is used for cotton farming (Herring 2-3). Cotton is grown in over 87 million hectares in India and ranks third in world’s cotton production (Siddaramaiah, B.S. and Srinivas, B.V. 2). Successful cultivation of cotton requires a long growing season, plenty of sunshine and water during the period of growth, and dry weather for harvest. It can take more than 20,000 litres of water to produce 1 kg of cotton; equivalent of a T-shirt and pair of jeans. Seventy three percent of global cotton harvest comes from irrigated land (WWF). Cotton producing areas in India are spread throughout the country. Panjab, Hariyana, Rajasthan, Maharastra, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Andra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka are the major cotton producing states (ibid). Farmers in these areas are forced to engage in more aggressive methods to sustain profitable harvests, with a heavy reliance on various inputs, especially environmentally harsh pesticides.

Rajendran’s examination of organic cotton viability states that “Cotton productivity in India is quite low as compared to world standards. The modern cotton production technology relies heavily on the use of fertilizers and on chemicals to control insect pests, diseases, weeds and growth regulators. Cotton cultivated on 5% cultivable land consumes 54% of total pesticides used in Indian agriculture, and in some pockets,
the rates are higher than this (Rajendran et. al)”. New strategies to organically grow cotton have attempted to offer an opportunity for cotton farmers to break the cycle of costs and debt.

Multinationals like Shell have also aligned themselves with nonprofit organizations that promote sustained organic cotton farming. These initiatives serve as alternative methods for cotton production, ones that seek to reduce chemically and transgenically dominant cotton cultivation in India. The Shell Foundation, an independent grant making charity, warns that cotton’s heavy use of inputs subjects farmers to ‘cotton treadmill’ behavior. The Foundation insists that “Farmers are enslaved by a cycle of having to invest in more and more quantities of expensive chemicals, but with less output and ever lower earnings. There comes a point when conventional cotton production becomes unviable. If a cotton crop fails, there will be serious social consequences, not least of which is a distressing increase in suicide rates (Kumar).”

Other nonprofits like Christian Aid have also come out strong against GMO’s, approbating farm methods that encourage sustainability through organic alternatives while maintaining the position that GM crops concentrate too much power in the hands of too few (Simms).

Suicide amongst Indian farmers has become a divisive issue. Both biotechnology industry and anti-GMO activists claim that the increase in suicide rates within areas affected by Bt cotton reifies each other’s claims. Representatives at Monsanto insist that suicides in Warangal support the assertion that GM cotton is a way out of the debt cycle while activists like the vociferous Vananda Shiva see suicides as evidence that Bt cotton
has made conditions much worse. One thing is for certain, farmer suicide has been a way of life for some time on the Indian subcontinent and the rise of Bt cotton does not change this. The greater question to ask here is if suicide rates have increased in areas where Bt cotton has been especially prolific and if so, has it been caused directly by the advance of transgenic options.

At this point in time, the latter question appears to be open to speculation as data on suicides is inconclusive. There is a growing body of literature on the internet concerning GMOs and farmer suicides in India and the majority of it appears to reflect negatively on the biotechnology industry. Despite this, even Shiva and other activists have not been able to unambiguously link the increase in suicide rates with the failure of Bt cotton. A study done within Andhra Pradesh that looked at farmer suicides concluded that rates of death were especially concentrated in cotton-producing areas but attributed a number of non-GM factors to the cause including improper land redistribution and adverse weather conditions (Reddy and Rao). However, the association is tempting to make. In 1998, right when India was first tinkering with Bt cotton trials, five hundred farmers took their own lives and the next year that number increased to six hundred (Stone 1).

The epicenter of the suicides was Warangal. The big enemy in cotton production, as all cotton farmers know well, is the bollworm, an insect in the lepidopteran family that feeds on and destroys cotton. Bt cotton has been shown to be effective against American bollworm, reducing the overall cost of pesticide inputs. But in Warangal, there are predacious insects in the Spodoptera family as well which Bollgard, Monsanto’s patented
Bt cotton variety, is not effective against. In Warangal, the main cotton destruction in 1997-98 was caused by resistant insects in this order (Stone 3).

**Looking at the Data**

In the above section I showed that cotton farmer suicides in Warangal have not yet been connected to any indisputable cause. While a wide range of factors seem to have contributed to deleterious outcomes for farmers, they vary from political reasons, such as land redistribution, to the disadvantageous conditions of patron-client schematics, which force poor farmers into exploitative contracts with middle-men and benefactors who finance inputs at exorbitant interest rates. Nonetheless, the spate of suicides by cotton farmers and the subsequent timing of GM trials in India raise concerns. Evidence indeed indicates that regardless of Bt cotton’s declared effectiveness against American Bollworm, it is not an effective control over other predacious insects. It also casts doubts on the economic viability of Bt cotton and its long-term resolve.

In the next section I will look at four studies that examine Bt cotton in India. The first is the ACNielsen study which was sponsored by Monsanto and which predictably concludes that Bt cotton successfully reduces farmer dependency on pesticide inputs and henceforth decreases overhead, thus increasing farmer income. The second study, conducted by the University of Reading, looks at cotton farming in Maharashtra, India and comes forth with the belief that since 2002, Bt cotton has had a positive impact on average yields and the economic performance of cotton growers, though it also states that in some areas farmers have been adversely affected. The third study, conducted by the Deccan Development Society in Hyderabad, the capital of Andhra Pradesh, refutes
ACNielsen’s findings. The fourth study has been produced by two scientists, one at the Central Institute for Cotton Research in Nagpur and the other at Nexgen Technologies of Hyderabad. Their focus is on the adaptability of cotton bollworm to Bt cotton. In other words, they are looking to see whether or not the bollworm insect gained resistance to Bt and if so, is this resistance level outweighed by the potential reduction in pesticide use.

In 2003, a nationwide survey was conducted by ACNielsen and ORG-MARG, claiming to reconfirm the benefits Bollgard cotton provided for Indian farmers (Seedquest). The survey covers five of the six states in India where Bollgard is grown: Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat and Karnataka. The survey estimates that that there has been about a thirty percent increase in Bollgard fields, which equates to around 1.7 quintals per acre, when compared to conventional cotton. Farmer profits according to the survey rose by eighty percent, equivalent to Rs. 3126 per acre and the resultant decrease in pesticide sprays translated to savings of Rs. 1294 per acre (ibid). The survey referred to an “interesting revelation” in the data which noted that Bollgard cotton lint fetched a higher market price. Seed cotton from Bollgard crops garnered an eight percent higher premium over conventional cotton (ibid). ACNielsen’s data showed for Andhra Pradesh a bollworm reduction of fifty eight percent and a reduction in pesticide expenditure of Rs. 1856. Yield increases were reported at twenty four percent, equivalent to 1.98 quintals more per acre. The study also boasted that net farmer profit increased to ninety two percent or Rs. 5138 (Seedquest).

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1 Rs. Stands for Rupees. In 2002, Forty Seven rupees was equivalent to about one USD.
A study that compared 9,000 Bt cotton and non Bt farm plots in Maharashtra, India’s largest cotton growing state, resulted in data that colluded with the findings of the ACNielsen survey. The study was conducted over the 2002 and 2003 growing seasons and was based on a questionnaire survey carried out by extension workers with Mayhco. The data was independently monitored by scientists from the Genetic Engineering Approval Committee and the Central Institute for Cotton Research. The survey indicates that GM cotton had a positive effect on farmers by yielding greater quantities, reducing the dependency on insecticides and ultimately generating greater farmer profit.

At the same time, though the survey is decidedly pro-GM, it makes the reader aware of variations, a reoccurring theme throughout the scientific literature on Bt cotton in India. Variation accounts for why some district farmers in India succeed unanimously and why some fail. If anything, the diverging opinions on Bt cotton do lead to one general consensus: that India agriculture is too heterogeneous to make Bt cotton guaranteed effective across the nation. I will show later that other studies confirm this notion. The survey acknowledges that variation was realized in terms of insecticide applications. Bt cotton does not respond as readily to conventional insecticide treatment and at the same time, some spraying is necessary since the Bt gene does not offer one hundred percent protection from bollworm (Bennett 62).

The survey warns that field data may not be representative of growing conditions in the wider farming community. Moreover, Bennett et al. caution that “this analysis found lower average yield increases of 45% and 63% for Bt plots across the season compared to non Bt. After allowing for differences in pesticide use etc., production
function model estimates were 33% and 48%, respectively (66). Variation was also
realized in terms of yields of Bt and non Bt plots by district. In general, Bt plots
continued to produce greater yields though in 2002, “3 out of 16 districts showed little
difference between the average yields from Bt and non Bt plots (ibid 62).” The survey
does not include data by district in the published paper. The Maharashtra survey also
identifies spatial and temporal variation in the benefit to farmers as “much can depend on
where production occurs and the season (70).”

The Deccan Development Society (DDS) study was conducted utilizing three
different patterns. Farmers that grew Bt cotton were followed over the course of a
season. Two villages were selected from the twenty-two monitored in the study. From
each of the selected villages, two farmers were selected at random. Their monthly
interviews contributed to the formation of data regarding their progress over the season.
A midseason report involving twenty one farmers in eleven villages assessed the status of
crop development over the season. Lastly, the DDS study looked comprehensively at
crop development by interviewing over two hundred farmers selected at random from
over twelve hundred participants, at the end of the season, in April 2002.

The DDS study highlights two key findings derived from their results:
performance and economic results. When comparing the performance of Bt and Non Bt
varieties, the DDS found that overall quality of harvests were notably different. Bt
flowered earlier than non-Bt, grew to be shorter plants and had less branch density. Bt
cotton also produced smaller bolls which tended to shed faster than non Bt cotton bolls.
Bt cotton yielded a lower number of cotton pickings and had twice the number of seeds,
reducing lint quality (Qayum and Sakkhari 33). Though Bt was effective in reducing American bollworm infestations (non Bt cotton experienced ten percent higher infestation rates), Bt cotton was ten percent more susceptible to chlorophyll-sucking insects like aphids. Insects that feed on chlorophyll reduce the ability of plants to photosynthesize and produce growth. During the first thirty days after germination, plants were absent of any sucking insects. After ninety days, when the crop was maturing, moderate to heavy infestations of aphids and whiteflies were reported on both categories of cotton, with a higher rate of infestation occurring on Bt cotton varieties (ibid).

Economically speaking, DDS discovered that farmers were consistently short-changed when they grew Bt cotton. Cultivation cost, average yield, market price and profit were all lower when compared to non Bt results. Cultivation cost came to more than Rs. 1092 more than that of Non Bt cotton. Bt cotton farmers spent slightly less than non Bt farmers did on plant control inputs, amounting to an expenditure of about Rs. 70 per acre. Non Bt growers achieved seven quintal yields per acre while Bt growers reaped only 4.5 quintals per acre, a difference of over thirty percent. Non Bt hybrids commanded prices of nearly Rs. 2,200 a quintal at market, which was roughly Rs. 100 more than the market price of Bt varieties. Taken together this resulted in a net return by Bt cotton farmers that was Rs. 6663 less than that of non Bt farmers. As a consequence of these agronomic factors, twenty nine percent of Bt farmers reported profits compared to eighty two percent of non Bt farmers (34).

The DDS also raised concerns over biosafety, stressing that there were no regulatory checks that prevented contamination of non-Bt cotton strains. In many
instances, farmers trying to make up for the reduced selling price of Bt varieties would mix types before marketing (34-35). Also, according to the study “Small boll size, and short staple length which appeared to be the genetic character of MECH Bt 162, affected the market preference as well as the price of seed cotton (41).” The DDS went on to refute Monsanto’s claim that Bt would eliminate Bollworm attacks in the first ninety days. The data shows how pesticide application is higher on bollworms after ninety days and concludes that Monsanto does not offer any protection for this phenomenon. An attempt to reverse this phenomenon increases the chance that insects will develop a resistance early on (47). The study team reiterated in its observations that “The quest for developing plants, which have greater and greater resistance against dreaded insect pests, may prove to be unsustainable in the long run with the pest developing resistance. This is a dangerous trend fraught with dreadful environmental consequences (52).”

Insect resistance is therefore one of the most persuasive issues regarding Bt effectiveness. The Central Institute for Cotton Research and Nexgen Technologies published their 2004 examination of bollworm adaptability, which suggests that resistance to Bt cotton is an inevitability. The study warns that resistance can develop should growers and governments be careless in using transgenic crops but ultimately refers to properly used Bt cotton as an eco-friendly technology (Kranthi and Kranthi 1106). Scientists consider resistance to Bt as an evolutionary eventuality since Bt cotton imposes intense selection pressure on the target insect over the course of the growing season. The study states that “A progressive increase in the concentration of resistance-conferring alleles in pest populations due to sustained selection pressure, results in a concomitant decrease in the pest control efficacy of the transgenic crop (1096).” Thus
the study promotes careful management of the technology to ensure at least a decade of effective use. On this note, the study admits “Preservation of susceptible alleles indefinitely would mean enforcing severe restrictions on the use of the technology that may curtail the benefits significantly (1096).”

Though Kranthi and Kranthi’s paper ultimately rules in favor of Bt cotton, the reoccurring message is one of precaution and a need for governmental and agricultural management over Bt cotton. The paper strongly suggests that Bt cotton crops be grown along side non Bt intercrops to increase the probability that susceptible alleles will be conserved (1103). The importance of cropping systems, especially in South India, where bollworm has a different seasonal biology, is given special consideration as a technique that may reduce resistance during the peak infestation period (ibid). In order to further delay resistance, the practice of refuge is implemented in the cropping process. Refuge is a preferred management option globally and ensures that a certain area of non Bt cotton is grown in close proximity to Bt crops so that survival of susceptible insect genotypes is more probable (1104). As the DDS study confirms, refuge strategies are only as beneficial as the commitment by farmers and officials to enact them. In the Warangal district, Mahyco-Monsanto did supply farmers with audiocassettes and product-literature on how to plant border rows of non Bt hybrids as refuge. But farmers claimed to be ill-informed as to its purpose. Additionally, there were no proper mechanisms that monitored whether or not refuge was planted in farmers’ fields (Qayum and Sakkhari 49).

The study’s main finding is that the higher percentage of Bt cotton in a given area versus non Bt hybrids significantly increases the level of resistance bollworm acquires. If
an area under cultivation is under twenty percent Bt cotton, it would take 25 years for the frequency of resistant allele to reach 0.5 percent. The study says that “a complete control failure is expected when the frequency of resistant alleles in the pest population reaches 0.5 (Kranthi and Kranthi 1096).” But the study acknowledges that with India’s forty percent Bt cotton level, it would take about eleven years for bollworm to become resistant to Cry1Ac, the most common Bt strain. Furthermore, the research indicates that overall conventional insecticide applications could also affect resistance: “Use of effective insecticides in Bt cotton fields will reduce insect populations that survive Cry1Ac toxin and thus represent resistant genotypes (1105).”

Kranthi and Kranthi admit that scientists do not yet understand the link between alleles conferring resistance and conventional insecticides used for bollworm resistance, though the study states that “Any such association could confer cross-resistance and can be detrimental for the long-term sustainability of the Cry1Ac-based Bt cotton technology as well as for the insecticide (ibid).” As a look at the Warangal district demonstrates, biotechnology has yet to guarantee that integrated resistance management methods can be enforced or that farmers and rural authorities have the know-how and materials to facilitate such a program. Refuge development in Warangal proved to be primitive if at all an effective means to control cross-resistance or resistance.

This said, the study intimates several key concerns; that total Bt cotton effectiveness can be at best offered as a short-term solution, that Bt cotton and other transgenic crops expressing insecticidal properties realize reduced effectiveness when complimented by conventional insecticide applications and that the relationship between
these two is not fully understood, that resistance to Cry1Ac becomes greater as crop maturity gets closer (after ninety days), and that eco-friendly methods need to be employed such as hand-picking of surviving bollworms and cultural control.

**A Look at the Data Raises Concerns**

The four studies I examined take us at times in different directions. No two studies infer the exact same conclusions and each study approaches transgenic technologies with specific precautionary afterthoughts. A comparative look does produce a common ground of sorts that centers on several concerns: first, the cost of Bt seeds compared to non Bt hybrids. Second, the noted variability between districts due to India’s large heterogeneity. Third, the eventuality of insect resistance to Bt genes. Fourth, the fact that poor farmers run the risk of being negatively not positively affected by transgenic technologies.

Two of the four studies report that despite Bt cotton’s proposed benefits to farmer profits, the cost of seed itself can inhibit consumer choice. Bt seeds are patented technologies that make biotechnology giants big profits. Though the initial cost to develop the seed is probably soon offset by the volume of sales, the biotech corporations maintain a high mark-up on the product. In the Warangal District, Mayhco-Monsanto distributed 1550 packets of Bt MECH-162 and twenty eight packets of Bt MECH-12 to farmers. The seeds cost Rs. 1600 per packet which was enough to sow one acre. The DDS writes that “ Seeds of Bt cotton were nearly Rs. 1100 more expensive than Non Bt” varieties (Qayum and Sakkhari 34). According to Bennett, the higher cost of Bt cotton may lead some farmers to give it better treatment, hence resulting in greater yields.
compared to non Bt (70). Also, if a poor farmer’s crop does not produce as expected, and he has paid three times more for his seed, this may increase his propensity to consider suicide as a final solution. It will definitely increase his debt and thus his obligation to creditors.

The data shows that there are differences in yields, pesticide use and market prices across India’s many districts. Variations account for these differences. Maharashtra’s success with Bt cotton contrasts with Andhra Pradesh’s failures. Cropping patterns in India need to be better understood, especially with variation between regions, so as to understand the way refuge impacts insect resistance to Bt toxins. Bollworm has a different seasonal biology in Andhra Pradesh compared to other states. Understanding this difference could lead to new findings regarding bollworm adaptability and pesticide use. Bt cotton has also not been proven to adapt to environmental conditions invariantly. Qaim et al. establish that “The average impacts of Bt cotton technology across states mask the high degree of heterogeneity among farmers (Qaim et al. 52).” This includes what the authors label agroecological conditions. Andhra Pradesh’s severe drought conditions in 2002 and 2003 counteracted the positive Bt effect with a “negative germplasm effect (ibid).” Though water stress should not alter the Bt genes effect on cotton, it was not sufficiently adapted to extreme drought.

Though Bt cotton has been proven to destroy bollworm, it has minimal to no effect on chlorophyll-sucking insects. Bt cotton also has a ninety percent effectiveness rate on certain bollworm species. Therefore Bt cotton must be used in conjunction with conventional controls, including insecticides. The fact that bollworm eventually builds a
resistance to Bt toxins is compounded by several factors that can significantly accelerate this process. If Bt cotton becomes a dominant crop, and the non Bt refuge crops can not conserve the alleles that express susceptibility, then it is likely that Bt cotton could become ineffective within a decade after being used. Good ‘eco-friendly’ alternatives include organic cotton farming as well as improved rural agricultural, providing a tested and stable form of agricultural sustainability.

Finally, these factors influence the effectiveness of transgenic crops and can work against farmers in India. Bt cotton is not necessarily right for all farmers. Strong regulatory policy should be considered to ensure that farmers are not subject to agricultural choices that are outside their best interest. Farmers are also exposed to black markets that peddle spurious seeds, ones that were never approved by the Indian government and have never undergone any trial tests. Furthermore, the market place has been shown to be fixed against poor farmers. Transgenic crops remove the sovereignty of farmers by making them bound to laws under intellectual property rights, which means farmers lose control of their own seed stock. Should Bt cotton prove to be ineffective and uneconomical in the long-term or if a specific district proves disadvantageous towards Bt cotton adaptability, then biotech could push farmers deeper into debt. Agronomic and environmental consequences could be catastrophic to poor farmers and the nation as a whole.

**Conclusion**

Multiple perspectives on GMOs have diffused into the debate via research and public perception. The above studies demonstrate that the lines have not been
definitively drawn and that the issue demands further inquiry. This paper looks especially at Bt cotton’s impact on poor farmers in Warangal. Though I definitely do not see a reason to explicitly prohibit transgenic crops, the research does suggest that the technology promotes many unknown variables and unanswered questions. Additionally, the tendency of international markets to favor private capital and wealthier nations implies a globalization element that produces consequences on the world agronomic order which is outside the scope of this paper.

Yet transgenic crops are intertwined with multinational corporations and private ventures. From the perspective of a poor Warangal farmer, the implications advanced by studies on Bt cotton are ambiguous and paint an uncertain future. Challenges to the benign interpretation of Bt cotton cast doubts on the technology’s ability to provide nation-wide protection. A high level of heterogeneity and variability in Indian agriculture exacerbates this effect. Bt cotton’s ‘shelf-life’ has also been open to scrutiny, revealing that its window of effectiveness could be greatly reduced by a number of variables. In turn, the relationship between transgenic crops and these variables needs to be researched further by scientists.

India’s powerful democracy can be a tool in moving this study forward. NGO’s, activists, scientists, government officials and biotech representatives need to push their interests aside so that unbiased and transparent research into GMOs can be conducted. Better research instead of impassioned debate seems to be a good strategy. Until then, India should take a very precautionary position at the least. Bt cotton has not been
proven to disadvantage farmers. At the same time, it has not been proven to have any lasting effect nor has it been shown to benefit all farmers in India equally.

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Title: The Relationship Between a White Researcher and Participants of Color: The Impact of Race on the Research Process: Narrative Interviews and Racial Identity Development

Topic area: Psychology and Ethnic Studies
Presentation Format: Paper Sessions

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ABSTRACT

Why is more psychological research not inclusive of participants of color? There are several factors that contribute to this phenomenon, including the research institution, the publishing community, and the researcher. The history of racism in psychological research and the aversive power dynamic created between the participant and researcher play a key role in the lack of cultural research. In this paper, we will highlight the findings that seek to explain the lack of research being done on race, problems in current cultural research, and suggestions for future studies. Finally, we will outline methodology for a narrative study of the relation between the White researcher and participants of color that examines the impact of race on the research process. Adding to the research on race and ethnicity is vital to improving: racial identity theory, culturally sensitive clinical training, psychodiagnosis, and clinical treatment. We will argue that ensuring that research and clinical services become representative of populations of color is essential not only to the foundation and future of psychology but also the central American value of equality.
“The education of the second generation as the challenge.
Based on field research among the Chinese Diaspora in Milan (Italy)¹.”

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Abstract:
The identity of the immigrant children, or better said so called second generation, is obviously influenced by the fact of living in a foreign country. Both, on the field of American and European literature, we have a wide spectrum of theories that focus on the different reasons of the successful adaptation or failed integration of the immigrants and their children. The theory that seems very interesting and also most suitable in the Italian context is the one elaborated on the base of Chinese alphabetization and potential profile of identity that can be shaped. The life trajectories of the young Chinese living in Milan can be treated as the good example of such dependence between their language skills and the sense of identity they have.

Key words
immigration, identity, Chinese, Milan, education, second generation, adaptation.

Introduction
The intensification of human migration can be easily observed nowadays. The migration movements is most easily seen effect of globalization. Every year millions of people change their country of residence with hope for better life. The mass migration waves cause serious problems with the integration of the newcomers within the host countries. The current migration movements force every society to face the problem of living in a multicultural and heterogeneous reality. The American society had experienced such conditions for years and the public and academic debate devoted to the second generation has a long tradition. Also the presence of the second generation members at school has been reality in the American schools for years. However, most of the European countries faced this problem very recently and very little is known about the education of the second generation on the European ground.

The problems of the immigrants’ children presence at school and their proper education need to be resolved urgently. Italy as one of the European state is a good example to analyze this phenomenon. With almost 4% of the foreigner pupils in schools, Italy is not the leading European state in the total number of the immigrants, but certainly is among the countries where

¹ The research project was financed by the EU, and was developed in frame of the Research Training Network ‘Urban-Europe’ at Universita degli Studi di Milano-Bicocca.
the immigrants’ issues are unstable and where the number of foreign pupils in the school classrooms is growing rapidly.

This article describes the current situation of the second generation in the Italian primary and secondary schools. The outcomes of the field research presented in this article focus on the education as one of the important factors of the identity shaping process. I argue that the education of the second generation in the Italian schools may be seen as a challenge for the pupils, their parents, teachers and policy makers. The field research had been conducted by using the qualitative approach and was mainly dedicated to the Chinese Diaspora in Milan. Although the Chinese immigrants’ group has particular status in Italy it can be treated as a good example of wide range minority groups presented in Italy (Chinese in Italy are third immigrant group, after the Albanians and immigrants from Morocco).

**The second generation in the American literature**

Using the term created in the United States may appear as unjustified in the European or specific Italian case, but I still argue that such a choice is reasonable. By using the definition of one of the most famous American authors Alejandro Portes I argue that the second generation consists of: ‘three distinct categories: immigrant children, children of immigrants, and native-born children of native parentage’. (1996: ix). Immigrant children category means children who were born in the receiving country or abroad but arrived in the host society after early infancy, before the age of 12. In this situation the crucial factor seems to be the education and socialization that took place in the receiving country. The children of the immigrants are those native-born from immigrant parents but also include those who arrived in the host country at an early age.

But this simple and clear distinction meets a few methodological problems. Firstly, there are some difficulties with the distinction between native-born and foreign-born children. Practically the child born in Italy from the immigrant parents and the child who arrived at the age of 12 are indistinguishable, but in reality the difference is huge enough to use another category. “This is of some pertinence for the Italian case, as migrants’ children assume their parents’ nationality until they reach the majority” (Andall, 2002). For that reason we need to be aware of the extreme heterogeneity within the so called second generation.

Secondly, in Canadian research, scholars (Berry, Phinney, Sam, Vedder, 2006) also talk about the problems of distinction between the first and the second generation. This is because children born in another country, and arriving by the age of 1 year are technically first generation, although they will live virtually all their lives in the new society. In contrast children born a few months after the parents arrive in the new country are technically second generation, but are
virtually indistinguishable from children in the above situation. Thus, the Canadian scholars use ‘proportion of life in the new society’, or ‘length of residence’ in their research, rather than the simple classification into first or second generation. In the Italian case to receive citizenship the child or adult person has to reside in Italy for at least five years but the very recent law on immigration (1992) was increased this period to ten years (Andall, 2002). Based on this law constitute that the children of the foreign parents if remain continually resident in Italy can request Italian citizenship within one year of turning eighteen.

Thirdly, research argue about the detailed determinant of the second generation in general. So, we have researchers who qualify the second generation as “native-born children with at least one foreign-born parent-born parent or children born abroad who came to the United States before age 12 ” (Portes, Zhou, 1993:75). To be more precise Rumbaut (1997) “promoted more detailed definition of second generation by introducing the terms 1.25, 1.5 and 1.75 generation- referring to foreign-born children arriving before the ages of 6 and 12 and after 12, respectively” (as cited in Andall, 2002:391).

Points to such a detailed distinction within category of the second generation shows the complexity of the phenomenon and also difficulties with proper categorization. Despite these methodological problems when we concentrate on the identity problems we can contest that the whole second generation’s members meet some general difficulties with their proper identity definition. These problems will be described in the further part of the article.

Apart from the methodological discussion the second generation category is something more than a just a numeric separation between parents and children. It consists the typical problems that children must struggle with, it possesses some characteristic conditions of identity shaping and dilemmas that need to be resolved. Being member of the second generation results in the sense of similarity with the child who lives in another, quite often far country, then with the schoolmates. Paradoxically, the life trajectories of children who reside in different countries have some sharp similarities even if the conditions and atmosphere in receiving country matters a lot. The sense of belonging to such wide category as the second generation emerge from the consciousness of the individual’s duality. On one hand growing up in a particular society makes one similar to the wider category of nationals but on the other hand there exists the consciousness of being different. Some second generation members are able to resolve such dilemmas. But quite large part of such children meets specific difficulties and some others will never completely resolve their identity issues.
The second generation in the European literature

Even if the conditions in Europe are quite different from the American ones the European literature is based on the leading American studies in this subject.

I would like to present one example of the adaptation of the American theory called segmented assimilation in the Italian case, which, in my opinion, is not very relevant to the current social and political situation.

Basing on the dependence between economic integration and cultural assimilation Ambrosini (Ambrosini, et all. 2003) defined four basic categories within the second generation (see Table 1).

Table 1: The dependence between cultural assimilation and economic integration

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<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>Downward assimilation: the young inserted in the marginal community, which develop the contrary toward the host society’s rules attitudes (like the deviant type of assimilation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>Segmented assimilation: the school and economic success favor from the maintenance of the local community networks and distinctive cultural codes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>Anomic or illusory assimilation: acquisition of the occidental life styles accompanied by lack of the tools and means needed for achieving the proper consumer standard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>Classical linear assimilation: abandonment of the ancestral identity and the local community networks accompanied by economical advancement</td>
</tr>
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</table>

The ‘downward assimilation’ is strictly connected with the parents’ material and social status and with the place of residence. When the immigrant family arrives to the host country and chose to stay inside the ethnic community they’ll probably meet more difficulties in the adaptation process then the others, more dispersed throughout the city. Now, there are two opposite directions in the literature: some of the researches argue that the inner city ghettos promote the downward assimilation while the others argue that nevertheless the parents’ low status the child may achieve success in the new host society (Alba and Nee, 2003; Farley and Alba, 2002). “The children of peasant and working-class immigrants are at risk of “downward assimilation.”” (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001:59), In this “alternative path,” immigrant offspring face the prospect of dropping from their “parents’ modest starting position (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001:59)” into “a new rainbow underclass…at the bottom of society” (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001:45) (as cited in Waldinger, Feliciano, 2003:3).

The ‘segmented assimilation’, as result of the high economic integration and low cultural assimilation, concern the situation of economic success achieved with proportionally big ethnic community help. The immigrants using all the resources connected with their ethnicity have worst chances to acculturate with the wider society. Residing inside the ethnic zones and running
some sort of ethnic business they maintain their cultural heritage but at the same time the opportunity to the successful adaptation is rather weak. Geographic proximity to the underclass matters because it leaves “second generation” kids hanging around with the wrong crowd, not a good thing since immigrant offspring then pick up the wrong attitudes of their native-born peers” (Waldinger, Feliciano, 2003:6). Although, in the most recent American literature the ethnic communities appears as the advantage and good opportunity for the immigrant for successful insertion in the host society. The observation made by Zhou in the 90. that the ethnic enclave can play important role in the difficult process of becoming American by facilitating the adaptation process (1992). The Chinatown in New York is seen right as the ‘buffering zone’, spearing the ‘cultural shock’ after arrival. What’s problematic with using this kind of approach is specificity of the Italian case, where classical ethnic communities does not exist in such mode as in the U.S. Even if in Milan we have a Chinese zone it cannot be treated as a typical Chinatown nor ethnic enclave. The zone is more multicultural then just Chinese and it has no strict boundaries. Nowadays lot of other nationalities are residence in the neighborhood and the Chinese who just arrived also reside in other part of the city.

Continuing the discuss on Table 1 content let’s analyze the illusory assimilation. Such phenomenon takes place when the immigrant achieved quite high level of cultural assimilation but for variety of reasons he/she wasn’t able to integrate on the economic area. These immigrants adapted the typical for the occidentals consumers behavior, habits or even opinions, they try to live like the other Italians. Their aspiration and dreams are like the Italians but they meet visible problems with realizing all they’re dreaming about because of low economic status. They also may experience the social ostracism, discrimination on the labor market and prejudice.

Classical line assimilation is like typical assimilation in general and is equal to the American ‘melting pot’. The immigrant who thanks to their work who achieved the economic success are considered as the perfect immigrants and becoming very similar to the natives. Although they leave behind their cultural heritage, sometimes mother tongue, traditions and religion. All their effort are concentrated on the creation of similarities with the natives. I have some doubts if any Chinese may become equal to the native Italians even if he/she possess similar income. What’s important that the children of the immigrants who are seeking of becoming like the Italians are being pushed in this direction. The young Chinese brought up in such family are more Italians then Chinese in their behavior, opinions, habits or identity but, as I wrote before, there are still serious doubts with the totally acceptance from the native Italians.

I think that Ambrosini theory has no strong connections with local context, what’s the reason of its discrete value in the Italian Chinese and any other community case. The specificity
of the Italian context arose serious doubts with the value of this theoretical model of immigrant’s insertion into Italian society. The four basic models of immigrant’s adaptation presented by Ambrosini appear as underestimating the role of the national and local context.

**Education in Italy: new difficulties, new challenges**

The increase of the foreign pupils in Italian schools cannot be denied. Every year Italian teachers meet in their classes hundreds of recently arrived children. The main duty of all of the teachers is to transmit the basic knowledge to every child in the same classroom, with the same resources. Italy, as all of the other European Union countries, is obliged to provide education for each child, in a certain age, who lives in Italy, also these children with irregular formal situation and lack of papers and permission. It is not the aim of this article to present the Italian educational system thus it will focus only on the main educational paradigm. Browsing the Italian literature it seems quite clear that the main idea on education in present situation is *intercultural education*. The theoretical framework of this idea is based on the equal rights for everybody, respect to all cultures and languages and the mutual knowledge of each pupil’s heritage (Favaro, et al, 2004). Although the problem of the presence of the immigrants at schools is a very recent phenomenon there is quite rich literature dedicated to this subject.

Apart from this solid effort of the researches the typical everyday school life seems to be a tough task for the teachers and school in general. The main reason of this difficulty is enormous heterogeneity of the immigrant children, whose origins, in the Italian case, are form more than 170 different countries. Teachers from primary school situated in the “Chinese zone” of the city say about the elevate presence of the Chinese children as a facilitation of the educational process. Although, it can be also seen as the negative aspect of the language acquisition. In this investigated school there was a teacher who had been working with Chinese children for over 20 years and during this time a teacher learned Chinese language and, thanks to her engagement, she became a very efficient facilitator between family and new host society.

Another difficulty might be the different level in the Italian language proficiency. In the Italian school we can meet children who does not know even a word in Italian and those who can speak more or less fluently, but have problems with scientific vocabulary. The teacher describe these children as those with good knowledge of the common aspect of the Italian language, what makes their every day life in Italy quite unproblematic but the difficulties appears during lessons and demand additional effort from these children. That is the reason of necessity of the presence in the classroom of the support teacher or cultural mediator also in secondary school.

The family background may be seen as a very important factor of the child’s development and his/her school progress. Some families care seriously about the child’s Italian language
proficiency because they need help in translation and bureaucratic procedures, when running the family business. But there are also some families who agree for the child’s school attendance only because it is obligatory and just the day after children come an age they stop to frequent lessons and, as a consequence, drop school in general. Even if the school make an effort to facilitate the child’s education, as in one of the visited secondary school, the final decision depends on the family will. The school can propose some advanced solutions, like partial attendance etc., but together with an age the school obligation is finished and the child cannot be forced to continue his/her education.

The atmosphere and attitude of the natives toward foreigners matters because the main part of the intercultural education lay down on the mutuality, thus prejudice and ethnic biases disturb the correct process of mutual adaptation.

The teachers as one of the main “actors” of this reality say about many difficulties and also their own modest knowledge and skills in resolving these problems. The linguistic obstacle appears as the crucial one in the teacher’s opinion. The teachers meet difficulties in communication with pupils and their parents thus local authorities decided to provide linguistic support via email or cultural mediators’ presence at school. According to the teachers it is very useful and they use it always when they need to get the parent’s permission or to inform about the meeting. The cultural mediators in Italian schools are seen as a very good and efficient solution for everybody, but the problem appeared if it is about the salary for these experts who should be paid by the school individually. After the active local pro-immigrant policy in the late 90., then, at the beginning of the new century, the intercultural education paradigm with great external support, schools experienced some difficulties. However, to respond for this new demands there are some social initiatives, like Cooperativa Sociale DEDO\(^2\), Regione di Lombardia. This social association employ translators, cultural mediators, speech-therapists and psychologists who visit schools regularly but also provide support for local society (elderly home assistance, family support etc.). Although such local initiatives exist the general problem of the mediators and their presence at school is highly problematic.

**Education of the second generation in Italy as a challenge**

I would argue that the education, it such difficult conditions as described above, should be treated as one of the most important factor of the positive adaptation.

In the Italian literature exists a very interesting theoretical approach that combine the crucial aspect of the child’s development and social environment. Basing on the general second

\(^2\) http://www.dedo.coop
generation review and short description of the current national condition in Italy, I would like to present the theoretical approach elaborated by Sara Roncaglia and Daniele Cologna, published in 2003. The core of this approach based on the Chinese language knowledge and its influence for the identity building. Language acquisition is treated as a main factor of creation the positive identity and potentially successful life in the Italian society. What’s important we need to remember that the Chinese language knowledge is not the separate skill but it is accompanied by guanxi competence and socialization in general. If the Chinese language supposed to be learn properly it need to be allocate in a wider context of history and culture. So, if we talk about the grade of Chinese language knowledge in fact we mean the integrity of the education experienced in China before arrival. In the case of children who were born in Italy this knowledge is none but sometimes they posses basic knowledge of spoken dialect Chinese learnt at home. However, such skills are not sufficient to read newspapers, books or to continue studies on their own. The Chinese language knowledge refers to the official mandarin language taught in Chinese schools and used in mass media and not to the dialect knowledge used within the family to communicate. Some of the children who were born in Italy are able to communicate properly but using the dialect which is not useful in communications with other Chinese and in official situations.

The first group of Chinese children are these who started attend to school in China but did not completed it before arrival to Italy (1st column in Table 2), and who has generally Chinese identity. Such identity is mostly based on the early memories from China and even if their Chinese language knowledge is weak they are able to understand guanxi. Their identity as the Chinese is primary and rather unchangeable. They have potentially big variety of life trajectories: they can use both, being Chinese and being Italian, as the rich reservoir of social and individual behavior. Also the process of identity building seems to be not very problematic and progresses in rather smooth manner. However, the result of such process may not be as successful as the second group that will be discussed in follow part of the article. The main problem seems to be not very solid knowledge of Chinese (far less then 2000 characters) that is not enough to develop language skills on their own. Apart from the Chinese official language skills they do posses the knowledge of guanxi network even if the knowledge of Chinese is poor. At the same time they can be rather fluent in the spoken dialect of the region that they come from but the poor knowledge of the mandarin official language may be a cause of alienation within the Chinese community. They’re not able to read books or newspapers in mandarin nor official papers. Simultaneously their young age in the moment of arrival can be great advantageous: they have the opportunity to learn Italian language and culture relatively fast. In this case they’re able to create the cosmopolitan model of the identity. Their behavior, style of dress and relations created have
more global character than the typical Italian one. These children treat themselves as the global teenagers immersed in the large global culture of consumption with consciousness of their Chinese roots.

The 2nd column (in Table 2) in the table describe the most difficult situation for the children from the perspective of a process of self creation but also the most fruitful if we mean the possible results. Children who have rather solid knowledge of Chinese before arrival to Italy (at least 2000 characters) may become very successful members of the Italian society but before that they have to get through complicated and demanding process of self definition. Their Chinese allows them to expand the knowledge about Chinese culture on their own. They can read newspapers and watch Chinese movies in original language version. The very important factor in achieving success is the linguistic support. As I've already mentioned their Chinese is quite solid but they need a support to become fluent in Italian, both language and culture. Without such support they become rebellious and as a consequence alienated from Italian society. If they became well adapted or rejected depends on the professional help of educators As a process it's very fatiguing because, first of all they need to study Italian in the adolescent age and secondly they live in permanent impact of two different realities. Perhaps in most cases such conflict will never be resolved but indeed it demand the full consciousness of connection the different models of life and behavior.

It is also such problematic because in big part it depend on the external support that is sometimes very professional and supportive and sometimes there’s nobody who tries to help. Their being Chinese is very deep rooted so they might experience the cultural shock after arrival. Majority of them are in the adolescent or preadolescent age when are coming to Italy, mainly because of the Italian law where it is established that children before the age of 18 have a right to join their families here without any additional formalities. Consequently we have a group of Chinese who grew up in China, who finished their partly education there and are familiar with Chinese rules of behavior. After arrival when their parents decide to send them to school the new reality is far different from the well known Chinese one. One of the possible outcomes might be the alienation and self exclusion. The most serious problem is lack of Italian language fluency but even if they acquire Italian quite fast they sometimes meets serious difficulties in the integration with their Italian friends at school. The very strong faith in the ethos of hard working and studies made them quite different from the school mates who treat studies as a kind of play or game. The Italian school is not so demanding if it’s about discipline and level of knowledge. If the Chinese pupils study as hard as in China and the language acquisition is fast, they can sometimes overleap few levels. But even then, their integration with the school and neighborhood society is not
certain. Some of these children reject the occidental style of life and does not implement any of the Italian element into their behavior at all. The consciousness of being Chinese is much more important for them than possibility of integration with the Italian society. The primary Chinese instruction at school has a crucial influence into their life and opinions. Even if they see some potential problems with functioning of China as a country they value Chinese culture as very close one and actually as their own. They also posses a fully consciousness of guanxi network and they can use it also here in Italy. So this vast group of the children develop within the most complicated conditions and at the same time they have the widest repertoire of choice if it’s about their identity profile. They can achieve a very high level of adaptation and insertion into the Italian reality but before they do it’s needed to posses a consciousness of their roots and also potential possibilities.

The last column, 3rd one (Table 2), describe children very receptive on assimilation. The fact of being born in Italy, fluency in Italian, very often Italian citizenship and prevalence of Italian friends entail to creation Italian identity. The problem is their semblance that always rests Chinese and that means different then the native Italians. Because of their childhood in Italy they don’t posses the practical knowledge of using guanxi. It can be very negative in family perception when they don’t feel Chinese at all. Again we have huge variety of possible outcomes. The first one is self alienation from both groups. Even if child is able to understand perfectly the Italians he/she will never be fully understood by any of them. Such child may feel as a stranger in both groups. They often hear from the Italians that they’re Chinese and from the Chinese that they behave like the Italians. Some of them experience deep conflict of not belonging to any of these two groups. Sometimes they make a decision of being Chinese so they make additional effort to learn mandarin language, they take part in language courses organized in China, they study Chinese culture and sometimes became cultural mediators.

The very interesting remark is their sense of being understood: they feel fully understood and accepted by other Chinese who were born abroad even if in different country then Italy. When they meet during language courses in China they can share the similar experiences with other non native Chinese and they attain a fully affiliation. My field researches shows that when they think about their potential partner they’re dreaming about a person with similar experiences: with Chinese background but ‘international’ instruction. The second possible outcome is full assimilation with the Italian society but from one side there’s always problem of diverse appearance existing and, from the other hand, family may reject such child and treat her/him as a very distant. The instruction and school career may the full adaptation possible. Such adaptation proceed at many different levels: from the Italian language skills till the most important values
and life goals. Even if their appearance if different then the Italians they experience deep similarity to the occidental life style, they have similar passions and desires and have no problems with understanding behavior codes, jokes or hidden intentions of the speaker. The third possible solution, and the very beautiful one, is rediscovering their own roots and being proud of it. So they can be socialized according to the Italian model but in the adolescent age they’re interested in their origin, family ancestry and Chinese heritage in general. That may have a positive influence on the relations with their parents and may create the solidarity between them but also made their identity complete and very rich.

Table 2: The dependence between proficiency in Chinese and identity shaping

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The sphere of belonging:</th>
<th>Possible Chinese identity based on very early child memories and emotions</th>
<th>Prevalence of the Chinese Identity</th>
<th>Prevalence of the Italian identity with strong consciousness of being “different”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- the primary belonging,</td>
<td>- adjusting to the immigration context,</td>
<td>With the linguistic support:</td>
<td>- alienation, eradication,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- cosmopolitism,</td>
<td>- adjusting to the immigration</td>
<td>- full assimilation,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- alienation, eradication</td>
<td>context,</td>
<td>- nostalgia, proud of ethnic background,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- cosmopolitism</td>
<td>rediscover of ethnicity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- possible solutions</td>
<td></td>
<td>Without the linguistic support:</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- self exclusion</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>- rebellion</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- communication</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alphabetization not</td>
<td>Elementary alphabetization (knowledge at least 2000 Chinese characters),</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>completed, (below the</td>
<td>In Italy: inclusion in the elementary school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3rd elementary school),</td>
<td></td>
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<td>In Italy: inclusion in</td>
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<tr>
<td>the elementary school</td>
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<tr>
<td>The proficiency in</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>No Chinese language knowledge</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Chinese language before</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>both, written and spoken or very</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>arrival</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>weak knowledge of spoken language,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>III</td>
<td>Born in Italy or arrived before</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>the beginning of elementary school</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>III</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tendency in acculturation</td>
<td>Balanced acculturation/ Assimilation</td>
<td>Balanced acculturation/ Negotiation of the identity</td>
<td>Cultural assimilation/ Consciousness of diversity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
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<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Chinese primary identity not negotiable, possible deep trauma, hypothetic variety of solutions: from adjustment to alienation</td>
<td>The process of adjustment is very fatiguing and long lasting, sometimes finishes with the successful fusion of the elements from different cultures,</td>
<td>Variety of solutions: from full assimilation, through consciousness of being different to nostalgia and ethnic proud. 'Dilemma of identity' and as a result negation and alienation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Conclusions

Talking about migration is never simple because of its permanent changing and dynamics. As a phenomenon it’s always in the move, every time different, fluent and elastic. I believe that talking about migration in general is even impossible because of its constant changeability. The inclinations of the theoretical approaches presented in this article are limited in the space, to the community of the Chinese in Milan, and in time to the most recent migration flows.

This basic characteristic made the migration researches very difficult to any generalization, categorization or even detailed description. The time perspective is, from one hand, needed to state anything certain, but from the other hand present, intensive migration movements need to be solve instantly as the Italian citizens demand from the local authorities. The researches that cope with the most recent trends and phenomenon on the migration field need to also cope with the pressure create by the public opinion and by the local authorities in searching for best solutions, what causes that the field researches and reports published have a high priority and simultaneously great responsibility.

This article concerned mainly the Italian case, or to be more specific the Milan Chinese community. Even if I was using the general Italian approach by Ambrosini it was not
corresponding at the whole particular situation. The most suitable theoretical approach that try to
describe and to explain, in some part, the circumstances were prepared by Roncaglia and
Cologna. They concentrated on the city of Milan and I believe that their analyze of the respective
ethnic communities in Milan, also the Chinese one, is accurate and, even with its heterogeneity,
explains the local conditions in a proper way.

The education of the second generation of the Chinese in Milan appears as multidimensional
but also very important because of the elevate presence of the Chinese in Italy. According to the
teacher it is easier to teach Chinese children in the local primary schools in the “Chinese zone”
but the domination of one national group on a small territory and in one school always increase
the isolation tendencies. The education of the young immigrants should be seen as a very
important issue, especially from the process of positive identity shaping point of view.

Acknowledgements

Special thanks to my demography professor Patrizia Farina, my mentor Daniele Cologna,
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comments.

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Executive Summary

The Plaza Saltillo Station at the southwest corner of East 5th Street at 412 Comal Street will become a popular destination immediately east of downtown Austin, Texas. Overwhelmingly, however, the area is not conducive to a pedestrian/bicycle friendly transit station as little commercial or retail development has been initiated. Also, because there are not very many destinations for retail or other commercial activity, few people have been noticed walking through the area.

Envisioned for the Saltillo District TOD is a multifunction transit node precipitating the unification of the East Austin community by providing a means for commercial, residential, and retail interaction. At the center of this interface is a mass transit station serving regional interests and facilitating a boost in economic development while also preserving local cultural heritage. The vision also requires the provision of market rate and below market rate residential dwellings. Lastly, the station will serve as a magnet for commercial development along 7th Street, helping to extend downtown’s central business district operations eastward.

We propose that a feeder bus system be implemented to collect residents living in or near the TOD and dropping them off at the station. We also propose that affordable housing and location-efficient mortgages should be two implementation tools that Plaza Saltillo
Barrera, McCarthy, Mosadomi

should utilize to both increase and diversify the residential population. Success comes from making the TOD a viable destination by successfully blending residential developments, cultural/entertainment destinations, employment centers, and commercial/office centers.

The purpose of the TOD station is to serve as a primary destination near downtown Austin representing traditional East Austin heritage and blending forward-thinking planning techniques with contemporary quality of life. The station itself should be visually appealing, replete with streetscape improvements and increased vegetation and pandering to very heavy pedestrian and bicycle traffic.
NEWS MEDIA ETHICS: A ROAD MAP

Submitted for:
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Abstract

Many professions with different objectives affiliate with mass media resulting in overlapping definitions associated with media ethics. This causes confusion in creating a proper ethical structure to which the news media can subscribe. Our paper historiographically examines news media ethics definitions and interpretations according to Clifford G. Christians and John C. Merrill, two of media ethics’ most cited and published authors, and helps lay a foundation for a clearly defined system of news media ethics. We point out that the two authors, even coming from very distinct backgrounds, defend some ideas that can be used as common ground to develop functional theoretical discussion that will assist in the improvement of the field.
News Media Ethics: A Road Map

Weeks after CBS News anchor Dan Rather used unauthenticated memos as sources to charge that President Bush was given special treatment in the National Guard during the Vietnam War, a USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll found that 41% of people believed they could not trust the accuracy of CBS News. Furthermore, the study showed that 47% of people have a negative view of media accuracy in general (Johnson, 2004).

The public’s distrust of the news indicates that the news media are not properly fulfilling their social role, which is to provide society with useful, accurate, and educational information (Christians, Ferre, & Fackler, 1993; Plaisance, 2005; Richards, 2004; Ward, 2005). Based on our research, we believe the media’s failure to fulfill their social role can be remedied with a well-structured and thoroughly defined ethical system. We believe that a thorough definition of professional ethics should take into account the objectives of a profession and their relation to the role a practitioner plays in the construction and maintenance of a healthy society.

Plotting the Course: A Purpose Statement

Many professions with different objectives affiliate with mass media, including journalism, public relations, advertising, broadcast, and cinema. As a result, there are overlapping definitions associated with media ethics. This overlapping causes
confusion in creating a proper ethical structure to which the news media can subscribe. Our paper examines the definitions and interpretations of news media ethics according to Clifford G. Christians and John C. Merrill, who are among the most cited and published authors on the history of media ethics; as such, they are two of the most influential authors in the study on news media ethics (Starck, 2001). This paper will help lay a foundation for a clearly defined system of news media ethics.

Biographies

A print journalist by trade, Merrill (1997) worked on newspapers as a columnist, news reporter, feature writer, and wire editor in four states and has written or edited 30 books, most of them on international communication and journalism philosophy (Merrill, Gade, & Blevens, 2001). Merrill, a professor emeritus of journalism at the University of Missouri, has been teaching for more than 50 years. A supporter of the Libertarian approach to news media ethics, Merrill has a B.A. in English and history, two master’s degrees - one in journalism from Louisiana State University and one in philosophy from Missouri - and a Ph.D. in mass communication from the University of Iowa (de Beer & Merrill, 2004).

Christians, a professor of communication at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, is considered one of the main developers of the communitarian approach to the study of news media ethics and one of the main supporters of media ethics education (Starck, 2001). Since his early studies on the social responsibility theory of the press and on the history of
communications and media ethics, Christians has written and collaborated in multiple essays and books dealing with various aspects of mass communication and mass communication ethics. He has holds a B.A. in classics, B.D. and Th.M. in theology, and M.A. in sociolinguistics for Southern California, and a Ph.D. in communications from Illinois (Christians, Rotzoll, & Fackler, 1991).

Choosing a Compass: A Historiographical Look at News Media Ethics

We chose the historiographical method to achieve a better understanding of how Christians and Merrill helped create the lenses through which other researchers explore the work of early authors in the field of news media ethics. According to Rousmaniere (2004), “Historiography literally means the study of the techniques of historical research and historical writing” (p. 33). Rousmaniere explains that the historical understanding of any given situation is built not only on the historical data available, but also on the arguments contained in the narratives written by historians and their perceptions of the work of other historians. “These debates shape the understanding of history as much as any specific historical document or any type of historical method” (Rousmaniere, 2004, p. 33).

Additionally, Startt and Sloan (1989) provide a methodological explanation for the influence of historians on our perception of history:

Historians have two primary jobs. One is to describe the essential nature of the past. The other is to explain why that essential nature was as it was. Interpretation helps provide explanation. ... Explanations grow out of historical perspectives; without a perspective in which it is based, historical writing tends to wander. It is a traveler with no
road map or destination – who takes one road or another and never arrives anywhere because he had no place to go (p. 38).

David Paul Nord (2003) clarifies this perception:

Historians, historical sociologists, and the practitioners of the new historicism in literary studies all share a sense that human reality is and was constructed by human beings in particular contexts of culture. ... Thus, both social structure and individual choice, both probability and accident, both the general and the particular, can all carry weight in causal explanation in history (p. 373-374).

**A Plea for Normative Ethics: Starting the Journey**


After this promising beginning, the next important step in the attempt to create a systematic study of news media ethics was taken in 1947, with the publication of *Freedom of the Press: A framework of principle*, by William Ernest Hocking. Hocking, one of the main theorists of the Hutchins Commission, proposed the substitution of the negative concept of freedom, as used by the Libertarian theorists, for a new positive concept, which included the community and the society as an inseparable part of any individual’s freedom (Hocking, 1947). Hocking also offered other important concepts such as intersubjectivity of human experience and freedom of expression.
as an earned moral right. This is in opposition to the idea of inalienable natural rights, which scientific naturalists theorists supported (Christians, Ferré, and Fackler, 1993).

Unfortunately, the results of the Hutchins Commission, a mix of rules based both in the Libertarian and social responsibility approaches to news media ethics, derogated the work of Hocking. Only after 30 years, with the resurgence of the field — mostly due to the works of Christians and Merrill —, researchers started to approach the subject of news media ethics from a more philosophical and academic way, instead of merely writing codes of conduct (Christians, Ferré, and Fackler, 1993).

In 1979, Christians and Merrill debated the practices and problems of teaching ethics for communication students in a roundtable (Sanders, 1979). The discussion included other prominent historians and professors in the field like James Carey, who explained the importance of reemphasizing the theme of ethics after a 30-year hiatus:

It is not enough simply to say that you can teach ethics in every course by the professor acting ethically, or you can teach ethics by having a course in ethics in which you take up the problem of free gifts to the journalists — whether you should take the trip to the golf tournament in Hawaii and how this will influence your coverage. It can only be done well by returning to a much more ancient belief that it’s possible to have rational knowledge about the ethical and moral life and that it is a worthy object of pursuit within the university at large and within programs in journalism in particular. ... But I think that it is necessary, not merely for the proper education of ourselves let alone the students, but also because the ethics of communication ethics is not merely a concern of ours, but is a concern of all men and women in society. The stakes for people in this occupation are very high (Sanders, 1979, p. 33).

After this historical meeting, both Merrill, who was already a renowned professor in the field, and Christians, who wrote the
article “Beyond quandries: a plea for normative ethics,” which provoked the roundtable, became increasingly recognized for their leading roles in news media ethics studies (Sanders, 1979; Starck, 2001).

Findings and Discussion

Tracking Origins: Early Philosophical Influences of Christians and Merrill

As a Libertarian, Merrill (1989a) traces the roots of American journalism to Aristotle, who promoted a spirit of individualism, rationalism, self-respect, and morality. And although Aristotle’s emphasis on self-development and intellectual growth lost popularity in Europe for almost 2,000 years after his death, the Aristotelian spirit flourished once again in 18th-century Europe—the Enlightenment (Merrill, 1989a).

Thomas Aquinas, according to Merrill (1989a), is credited with reintroducing Europe to Aristotelianism toward the end of the Middle Ages, although the Aristotelian spirit did not peak until the first half of the 18th Century. Even before its peak, however, the return to a focus on rationalism and individualism was evident throughout the European Renaissance (14th-16th centuries), which saw the questioning of superstition and the Church’s authority, and increasing emphasis of the human mind, individual potential, and scientific activity (Merrill, 1989a).

However, in part to the philosophies of Kant, who devalued scientific knowledge and realism, the European Enlightenment lasted only half a century. Nonetheless, Merrill (1989a) underscores its
profound impact — it influenced the Founding Fathers of the United States who helped build a nation centered on the idea of freedom, including freedom of expression (Merrill, 1989a).

In particular, the theories and philosophies of John Milton and John Locke — both Libertarians — contributed greatly to the European Enlightenment (Merrill, 1989a). For example, Milton’s “self-righting principle” contends that, concerning freedom of expression, truth will always defeat error. In other words, Milton believed all human beings should have the opportunity to speak their opinion because people are intelligent enough to distinguish fact from falsities (Merrill, 1989a). Likewise, Locke believed liberty to be a natural right of all people; he also understood government to be a creation of the people, and, therefore, a servant of the people (Merrill, 1989a). Locke’s ideas, as well as Milton’s, undoubtedly influenced the U.S. Founding Fathers — and Merrill’s perceptions of the practice and ethics of American journalism.

Merrill (1989a) believes that another Libertarian who promoted the importance of freedom — for the press, specifically — was John Stuart Mill. Although Mill did not see freedom of expression as a natural human right, as did Locke, he believed free expression benefited society (Merrill, 1989a). Mill, who, like Milton, believed truth would always prevail over falsehoods, argued that all opinions are valuable and should be heard because if one is silenced, truth may be silenced. Additionally, Merrill (1989a) says, Mill contended that even “wrong” opinions could contain some truth, and that the challenging of commonly held opinions is
healthy, as it ensures the opinion won’t lose its vitality (Merrill, 1989a).

Machiavelli is another philosopher who influenced the Libertarian views of Merrill. While Machiavelli wrote hundreds of years prior to the Enlightenment, his ideas influenced thinkers like Locke and Mills in many ways (Merrill, 1992). Like Aristotle, Machiavelli is sometimes called the “father of modern American journalism” (Merrill, 1992) because of his discussions about power, government, politics, and history. In fact, according to Merrill (1992), some have labeled him as one of the first watchdogs on government.

Like Merrill, Christians posits that the Western, liberal press operates in an individual and autonomous fashion. He thinks that this autonomy and the belief that the freedom of expression is an inalienable right were prerequisites for a democratic society (Christians, 1989). However, he does not support this individual structure for the news media.

Christians’ ethical background is much more closely related to the social responsibility theory, which is founded on a report by the Commission of Freedom of the Press. The report, which Robert Maynard Hutchins chaired, would later become known as the Hutchins Report (Christians, 2003).

The social responsibility theory states that the media have a duty to serve society as opposed to serving the interests of business or government. Hocking, central theorist for social responsibility, believed that freedom of the press was not an inalienable right, but an earned moral right. He thought that freedom is not a given right, but one that involves the necessity
to work with and perform duties for others. Christians agrees with Hocking and argues that this leads to more truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent reporting (Christians, 2003). Christians thinks the press has a social responsibility for social service. As such, we are individuals but rely on each other (Christians, Ferré, & Fackler, 1993).

In part, Christians’ communitarian beliefs may have fueled his support of the social responsibility theory. As a communitarian, Christians believes that everyone has rights, such as the right to live, create, and communicate. While the community has no standing to hamper these rights, communitarians believe rights only exist in relation to the community. As such, people must create things that expand their resources and help others in the community further prosper in their environment (Christians, Ferre, & Fackler, 1993).

Christians states that when communitarian subjectivity is applied to the press, the safety of autonomy is lost. As a result, this makes individuals accountable for each other’s freedoms as well as their own. Christians sees Hocking’s work as having influence people to be advocates for ethics of responsibility. In other words, journalists should be compelled to act morally based not on professional interests, but because of their humanity (Christians, 2003).

Nonetheless, Merrill believes Machiavelli’s ideas remain strong guidelines for modern journalists (de Beer & Merrill, 2004); Machiavelli’s ethical philosophies also influence today’s news media. In short, Machiavelli believed in individual ethics that help the individual succeed. If adhering to social ethical standards helps one accomplish his goals, then that person should
adopt the accepted social ethic. If, however, the social ethical standard hinders an individual from succeeding, that individual should ignore the accepted ethic and utilize whatever ethic he or she needs to achieve his or her objective (Merrill, 1992).

Indeed, Merrill (1992) contends that Machiavellian journalism is true journalism. This is not too surprising, as Merrill (1997) believes journalism functions best under the individualistic philosophy; however, he notes that news media professionals should not immerse themselves completely in Machiavellism. Instead, he suggests journalists should make ethical decisions rationally, considering the consequences— for themselves as well as others (Merrill, 1997).

In our interpretation, Merrill’s adoption of the Libertarian approach to news media ethics is a reflection of the era in which he worked as a professional newspaper journalist. Indeed, in the 1930s, when Merrill began working, the Libertarian approach was widely predominant. The philosophy may have influenced his belief in ethics as a value within the media that guides the work of news media professionals in an individualistic sense. In other words, the professional should follow ethical standards for personal reasons and for the promotion of the profession.

Because Christians entered the field after Merrill, Christians was most likely influenced by the work of Gibbons (1926), Hocking (1947), and the birth of the social responsibility theory of the press. As such, he advances the aforementioned theory into the communitarian approach. Therefore, Christians argues that unless one’s freedom is used to help others, it is negated. Believing this, he would support that there is no single self, but only
humans who thrive and develop through interactions with others. The role of media in this process is to provide quality information that is educational and useful to society.

News Media Ethics: Searching for Directions

Christians argues that many communicators utilize the same channels, or media, to distribute messages. For example, reporters, sales representatives, entertainers, producers, and public relations professionals all send messages. By acknowledging this, he is also noting the difference in news, advertising, public relations, and entertainment (Christians, Rotzoll, & Fackler, 1991). Christians states that each plays a role in the main functions of media, such as news/journalists reporting news, advertising and public relations professionals conducting persuasion, and entertainers providing entertainment. It is at this point that he distinguishes journalists and the “news” media from forms of entertainment, and in a sense, makes a case that news media are not, or should not be, entertainment (Christians, Rotzoll, & Fackler, 1991).

In addition, Christians (Christians, Rotzoll, & Fackler, 1991) argues that media ethics is based upon critical reasoning related to moral questions. As such, ethical analysis should be conducted with a sense of social responsibility, which involves deciding values, moral norms, and loyalties. While individuals are responsible for making ethical decisions, they should not make them autonomously.

When journalists operate as part of a larger community, they become accountable to others and are interdependent. Christians
also argues that this lack of isolation helps avoid egotistical and deceptive decisions. Media that perform at this level provide a framework for media ethics that is strengthened as individuals recognize, define, and cultivate their position as a responsible citizen within a larger community (Christians, Rotzoll, & Fackler, 1991).

Likewise, although Merrill does not distinguish in specific detail journalism from entertainment media, he observes a blurring of the lines that once separated the two (de Beer & Merrill, 2004). Merrill’s background as a newspaperman is apparent as he laments society’s disinterest in serious journalism and increasing desire for entertainment (de Beer & Merrill, 2004).

Although Merrill opines about the importance of serious journalism, which he said should fill a deeper need than just what people want to hear (de Beer & Merrill, 2004), he recognizes the difficulty of defining a journalist in modern America (Merrill, Gade, & Blevens, 2001). As technology advances, the definition of a journalist becomes more difficult to pinpoint; radio, television, and the Internet have all expanded the role and broadened the scope of journalism (Merrill, Gade, & Blevens, 2001).

Despite a vague description of journalists, Merrill defines journalism ethics as the branch of philosophy that helps journalists determine what is right to do (Merrill & Lowenstein, 1971). Ethics set forth guidelines, rules, norms, codes, and principles that will lead — not force — the journalist to make certain moral decisions (Merrill & Lowenstein, 1971). Despite the disdain most journalists have for rules, Merrill (1997) suggests
that the rules inherent in rational ethics are useful to journalists.

While both authors agree there is a difference between news media and entertainment, Christians furthers the argument by positing that the various forms of media create symbols associated with who we are, what we should believe, and how we should act. As a result, they should be subject to ethical reasoning (Christians, Rotzoll, & Fackler, 1991).

Even though Merrill and Christians recognize the blurred lines between news media and entertainment, we believe that the two authors did not effectively define the differences of news media and entertainment. Because they did not provide clear distinctions of the objectives and purposes between news media and entertainment, we have no foundation for building ethical systems for either.

A Crisis Of Credibility: Are We Off the Beaten Path?

Since the Hutchins Commission of 1947, journalism has been under pressure to be more responsible (Merrill, 1997). Merrill suggests this commission came as a result of the press’s losing credibility in the eyes of the public (de Beer & Merrill, 2004). This loss of credibility, Merrill argues, is a result of, put simply, poor reporting on the part of journalists (de Beer & Merrill, 2004). He cites the media’s quest for part of the market share, which is leading journalists away from truth and significance and toward a more vulgar audience interested in entertainment and sensationalism disguised as news (de Beer & Merrill, 2004). Additionally, Merrill (1997) hypothesizes that the
celebrity status of many media personalities and their increasing attitude of self-importance is another reason journalism ethics concerns the public.

Merrill believes a universal definition of press responsibility restricts and limits the freedoms afforded the press under the First Amendment (Merrill, Gade, & Blevens, 2001). While Merrill (1989b) sees a benefit in the creation of broad ethical principles – such as cooperative attitudes, mutual respect, and empathy – he believes these principles should not be codified and that journalists should not be forced to follow these principles (Merrill, Gade, & Blevens, 2001).

Additionally, Merrill (1997) believes journalists should concern themselves with ethics out of self-respect, and he advises journalists to be concerned about ethics because people in general are concerned about ethics. The media must have a desire to be ethical; they need something to prompt them to act a certain way day-in and day-out. One inspiration may be the need to reestablish credibility (Merrill, 1997).

According to Christians (1989), early journalism educational practices, established in the 1920s, primarily focused on teaching journalists to focus less on values and more on the dignity and status of journalism. The result was an educational system for news media professionals that was based on professionalism, the avoidance of sensationalism, and the encouragement of social reform (Christians, 1989; Christians & Covert, 1980).

The primary goal of the educational system was to develop credibility for the profession while attempting to remove the stigma of journalists as “entertainers” and “jazz journalists”
News media ethics: A road map

(Christians & Covert, 1980, p. 3). This was to be accomplished through educating journalists to become scientific gatherers of news. As journalism grew to incorporate radio and television, it became an enterprise that provided both news and public service without proper codes of ethics and licensing in place.

Professional organizations attempted to remedy this by developing codes, but the result was primarily peer-regulated statements about conduct (Christians & Covert, 1980). In Christians’ opinion, codes have no foundation and “serve as public relations tool[s], like paint over bad plaster” (Christians, Ferre, & Fackler, 1993, p. 135). Christians claims that journalism education became skills-based with emphasis moving from individual ethics toward organizational responsibility and society (Christians & Covert, 1980).

As a result, Christians notes that the term media ethics (and all its cognates) disappeared from all mass communication book titles for 40 years beginning in 1932 (Christians, 2000). Christians speculates that educators thought it was enough for journalists to receive their training and guidance from codes of ethics, history books, and law (the First Amendment). During this time an anti-ethical worldview flourished and scientific naturalism ordered the structure of knowledge. Those things that could be identified with natural laws of hard sciences were seen as supreme. Freedom of the press became the main concern, with ethics falling to the wayside (Christians, 2000).

While ethics has returned to the classroom, Christians (2000) believes students are currently taught to choose the correct (ethical) course of action when practicing journalism (i.e. client...
autonomy, promise keeping, conflict of interest) without knowing how to consider the right course of action. Christians argues that until ethics are applied and appropriately reintroduced into the educational system, the intellectual pay-off from these efforts will be limited. He claims these teachings should be grounded on “credible versions of normativity, organizational culture, accountability, loyalty, and moral agency” (Christians, 2000, p. 30).

Christians also explores the need for media to generate profits and how this need has affected news media—specifically the way these profit-driven ventures have become more about making money than about serving the public. This is important because Christians thinks the press should encourage discussion about important social needs, and that the need to do so is more important than an organization’s needs (Christians, Ferre, & Fackler, 1993).

Christians looks at the media and the technological role they play in cultural pluralism (Christians, 1997b). He addresses that technology embodies values that are incompatible with democracy. It breeds normlessness and leads to challenges that are driven by amoralities in the culture. He claims that the more technical a society becomes, the more individuals become isolated and lose touch with morality. “Moral purpose is ravaged by the spirit of machineness” (Christians, 1997b, p. 193).

Christians states individual autonomy, which is being fueled by monopolistic business practices and technological advances, is currently influencing the mass media. Until they move past this model and adopt the communitarian approach, the mass media will be
unable to truly serve society as a cultural boundary spanner (Christians, 1997b).

Paving a Road for the Future

Christians has made a case that the Western, liberal press is based on individuals and their autonomy (Christians, 1989). However, advances in technology have minimized the implications of previously defined barriers. In other words, Christians argues that media ethics needs to encompass and take into account this rapid growth, which has allowed for mobility and complexity of culture (Christians, 1997b).

As a result, he claims there is an urgent need for new ethical scholarship that moves past simply focusing on country-by-country specifics, such as capitalism and industry (Christians, 1989). In doing so, a communitarian philosophy would support a democratized media in which ethnicity and citizenship are successfully integrated and moral imagination, not electronic networks – which lead to individualism – create a larger global culture (Christians, 1997b).

This requires the promotion and acceptance of international normatives. Christians states that only the “fringes of media ethics theory resist technological and industrialized imperatives in the culture at large” (Christians, 1989, p. 11). As a result, media theory reflects the values of one country at a time and fails to serve as a vehicle of transformation (Christians, 1989). As media ethics shift from local to international, Christians suggests using an international deontological-teleological typology of three ethical principles – regarding natural existence and sacredness of
life — which have been found across cultures: human dignity, truthtelling, and non-violence (Christians, 1997a; Christians, 1997b; Christians, 1989; Christians & Nordenstreng, 2004).

Christians says that instead of searching for neutral principles to which all parties can appeal, or accepting moral relativism uncritically, media theory should rest on a complex view of moral judgments as integrating facts, principles, and feelings in terms of human wholeness (Christians, 2000). It is these principles that will span borders and cultures and create a frame for critiquing news media practices and codes of ethics (Christians & Nordenstreng, 2004).

In contrast, Merrill disagrees with social responsibility theorists and communitarians who continue to call for measures to increase press responsibility. Some communitarian propositions include the establishment of universal ethical codes for journalists, heightened standards for students in journalism schools, and disbarring journalists who act irresponsibility (Merrill, Gade, & Blevens, 2001).

However, Merrill does not believe these efforts will effectively improve the ethical dilemma journalists face — balancing freedom with social standards and increasing dissatisfaction among the public. In fact, Merrill argues that the establishment of normative ethical codes will mute the free press voice (Merrill, Gade, & Blevens, 2001) and turn the press into a predictable, moral-conforming establishment (Merrill, Gade, & Blevens, 2001).

Moreover, Merrill questions how universal journalistic ethics are going to be written, since most media professionals and
scholars do not know what responsibilities the press owes the community, state, nation, or world (Merrill, Gade, & Blevens, 2001). Furthermore, Merrill wonders what defines press responsibility; he posits that responsible journalism is simply a press that supports one’s own truth (Merrill & Lowenstein, 1971).

Additionally, Merrill predicts the idea of civic journalism will generate continued conflict in the future (de Beer & Merrill, 2004). With the trend toward increased democratization of the press, journalists fear they will lose their role as gatekeepers (de Beer & Merrill, 2004). In fact, Merrill says journalists may not be interested at all in advancing democracy within the press; they have vested interests not to do this - financial, security, and political reasons to name just a few (de Beer & Merrill, 2004). Instead, Merrill suggests journalists should return to a focus on more serious news, and, despite the trend of combining entertainment and news, Merrill believes serious journalism still can be achieved (de Beer & Merrill, 2004). However, he labels the current call for journalistic integrity weak, and he foresees more soft, entertainment journalism in the future (de Beer & Merrill, 2004).

Looking to the future, Merrill supports the individualist philosophy in journalism; he prefers the idea of journalists making rational ethical decisions based on their backgrounds, value systems, and political and social environments (Merrill, 1989b). Merrill asserts:

Ethics or moral philosophy, then, must be a “concern” of the journalist, regardless of what code of ethics (written or unwritten) he subscribes to. Personal codes are, of course, always changing to some degree, evolving, becoming refined. But they should always be becoming more demanding – no less
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[320x747]
demanding – on the individual journalist. Demanding in what respect? Demanding in the sense that the standards become ever more difficult to achieve and that they become increasingly more rational (Merrill & Lowenstein, 1971, p. 247).

Simply showing a concern for ethics, Merrill says, instills in journalists a sensitivity to every action – a trait that is becoming more important as the public continues to lose faith in the modern press (Merrill & Lowenstein, 1971).

It seems to us that Merrill and Christians successfully identified some prominent causes for the current credibility crisis in news media. Both authors agree journalism programs should include a specific course in ethics (Sanders, 1979). Although Merrill believed early in his career that the integration of ethics into general journalism courses was adequate, shortly after receiving his degree in philosophy he expressed the importance of teaching specific ethics courses in journalism programs when he said:

But I’m convinced that after last year at Long Beach, (they do have a course in journalism ethics and I taught that last year), that you do need a separate course [in ethics] so you can develop it systematically. If you try to weave it in all the courses, I think you are bound to fail in any systematic attempt to develop this moral consciousness, because you’ve got all these other things like development of technique to do in the other courses (Sanders, 1979, p. 34).

By changing his mind, Merrill exemplifies what Christians believes – that teaching a structured philosophy of ethics can serve as a basis for the cultivation of moral awareness. According to Christians this moral awareness is even more important now as the cultural boundaries are fading due to technological advances, which fuel individualism within the media.
It is clear to us that neither Merrill nor Christians believe that codes of ethics will solve the aforementioned problems. As Merrill states, codes of ethics diminish press freedom. He believes journalists should be autonomous to make their own decisions based upon their backgrounds and value systems. Merrill attributes to the communitarian movement the imposing of ethical codes on the press. However, Christians, as a communitarian, explains that normative ethics are not based on codes of ethics but on philosophical principles. Ironically, this matches Merrill’s view that journalists should rely on their own values and background systems.

**Conclusion: A Rough Guide for Future Research**

The limitations of this work are direct reflections of the historiographical method. As such, even though Christians and Merrill are two of the most esteemed authors in their fields, we were dependent on the limited number of texts they have written. Additionally, since history is told from the perspective of the present, we were imprisoned by the perspectives of our time; therefore, we were unable to fully experience the perspectives of their time of writing.

In our opinion, researchers need clearer and more precise definitions of what constitutes media practitioners and media ethics in a way that relates professional objectives with their societal role. This clarification will help build a common ground for discussion. For example, it seems to us that Merrill and Christians agree more than they differ; however, definitional misunderstanding causes a perception of conflict.
In order to achieve this common ground, the research in this field should be built on a universal structure, which works as a foundation for a large philosophical system of ethics. We hope, in our discussion of these two prominent authors, that we were successful in providing a map that will guide future researchers and help them avoid the overlapping of theoretical ideas, which is hampering attempts to build strong theoretical structure for the study of news media ethics. When this is properly addressed, it will lead to a broad understanding of media ethics and help to fill the definitional gaps.

References


News media ethics: A road map


“Intimate Segregation: Gentrification And Race In Chicago”

Anthropology

Research Paper for Paper Session

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“Intimate Segregation: Gentrification And Race In Chicago”
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Abstract:

“Do you know what gentrification is?” one new Chicago resident poses. “To some people it means just plain white.” I approach gentrification both as a moment that reveals underlying racializations in the United States, and as a process that transforms race through the medium of urban space. How is race revealed and constructed by gentrification? How are interracial interactions, conflict, and avoidance part of the political economy of race? While structural inequalities and shifts in modes of production and finance drive gentrification, its social climate and cultural worlds take shape through elaborate racial discourse. This ethnographic project focuses on the largely Latino Near Northwest Side neighborhoods of Humboldt Park and Logan Square in Chicago. I seek to reveal the reproduction of race by studying whites and people of color together at a crucial moment of urban encounter. I examine this landscape through public events and venues, meetings and structured interviews, and through the discourses of two white residents acting to promote gentrification, and two Puerto Ricans acting to contest its onslaught. Now that white residents are returning to areas formerly abandoned to people of color, both interracial contact and avoidance increasingly operate through mixed discourses and practices of diversity and inclusion on the one hand, and heightened and overt racial signification on the other. Intimate segregation sounds like a contradiction—indeed, it is—but it is a lived contradiction. Its intimacy signifies a new repertoire of practices which internalize the ways we interrelate even when we separate. I argue that the result remakes the form and content of racial segregation in deep, embedded, and often unpredicted ways.
Women Parolees: Hidden Identities and Invisible Lives

Topic Area: Sociology/Criminology

Presentation format: Paper Session

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ABSTRACT

Women Parolees: Hidden Identities and Invisible Lives

Discussions of citizenship, the common good and social justice in relation to issues of reintegration and rehabilitation of parolees and ex-offenders into society upon release from prison are predicated on definitions of community, which determine “insider” and “outsider” status. While modern communities have to struggle to balance competing rights, including the rights of the individual as compared to the rights of the collective, some groups, in particular parolees and ex-offenders, are inevitably relegated to “outsider” status. This presentation focuses on the parolees’ experiences of reintegration into community through interviews with five women in the first “three-quarters” house in Canada: a pilot project funded by the Correctional Service of Canada and administered by the John Howard Society, Thompson Region (Kamloops, British Columbia). A “three-quarters” house provides less supervision than a halfway house and is the final step for inmates before release into the community on their own. The interviews were conducted using the collective case study approach, and the study was framed within the theoretical perspectives of Critical Theory (Habermas and Foucault), Canadian theoreticians of citizenship (Kymlicka, Taylor and Ignatieff) and Garland’s critical analysis of punishment and the culture of control. Findings focus on the “hidden” identity of the women and their families (most have children), their “invisibility” within the wider community and their loss of citizenship/“insider” status within society at large.
Title: Interpersonal Criticism: Who’s More Prone to Be the Source or Target and Why?

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Abstract: The tendency to find fault in others is pervasive in many human relationships including acquaintances, friends, family, and co-workers. Some of the criticisms may be designed deliberately to tear down the other while other criticisms may be constructive in that they are meant to build up the other person on a faulty area. The person may be criticized over a variety of qualities including physical appearance or looks, dress style, timeliness, mannerisms, physical acts, or work performance.

Although interpersonal criticism is pervasive, there is a dearth of systematic empirical evidence in criticism literature about the extent to which some individuals are more prone to being the source or target of criticism and why. This project investigated this question among thirteen undergraduate students in an introductory communication course in a four-year liberal arts public college in Eastern United States. The thirteen students included 9 females and 4 males. Their ages ranged from 18 to 22 years with average age of 20.62 years. Their GPA ranged from 2.0 to 3.7 with an average GPA of 2.53 (4-point scale). Their distribution by major included one in geography, two in economics, in elementary education, in sociology, and in liberal arts, and four in physical education.

These students were given the option to participate in this research project in lieu of one of the tests. To participate, each student was required to write a comprehensive essay under the title: “Understanding Criticism: The Tendency to Find Fault in Others”.

To assist them in organizing their essays, the participants were given a two-page single-spaced document titled “Criticism Project”. The first part of this document was subtitled “Context”. It provided brief background information about the various meanings and uses of the term “criticism”. The second part was subtitled “Topics” which the participants were required to include in their essays. The first topic was definition. It asked each participant to provide their own definition of criticism or fault finding. The second topic was perception under which the participants were asked to discuss the following: (1) Scope—the extent to which fault finding is pervasive, (2) Value—whether fault finding is a good or bad thing and to whom, (3) Gender Differences—(a) the extent to which one gender is more prone to be the (a) source or (b) target of criticism, and (c) whether or not men or women are more prone to criticize men or women, (4) Racial Differences—(a) whether a member of a particular racial group is more prone to be the (a) source or (b) target of criticism, (c) whether a man or a woman is more prone to criticize men or women of his/her own or different race, (5) Religious Differences—whether a member of a particular religion is more prone to be the (a) source or (b) target of criticism and why, (6) Foreign-born Professionals—whether a foreign-born professional is more prone to be the (a) source or (b) target of criticism, and a professional from which of the following areas is more prone to be the source or target of criticism and why: Africa, Asia, Australia, Europe, Latin
America, Middle East, etc., (7) Aspects of Criticism—which person’s features are prime targets of criticism and why, (8) Frequency—whether some features of a person are more prone to be criticized more frequently than others and which ones, (9) Harm—whether some criticisms are more harmful than others and which ones, (10) Motives—the reasons why some people criticize others, (11) Avoidance—the extent to which people try to avoid those who have critical tendencies, (12) Freedom—the extent to which a person would feel relatively freer to criticize the other in the following levels of relationships: (a) strangers, (b) acquaintances, (c) friends (boy-girl, boy-boy, girl-girl), (d) husband-wife, and (e) boss-worker, and (13) Faultless—the extent to which there are people without faults.

**Documentation**—The participants were told: (a) that the review of criticism literature was not necessary. However, if they used information from published sources, they were required to cite the specific information they obtained from those sources, and to compile a complete bibliography of those sources at the end of their essays, and (b) that if they felt necessary to illustrate their essays with specific instances when someone criticized them and/or when they witnessed someone else being criticized in his/her presence or absence, they were encouraged to provide those illustrations. In these instances, the participants were asked to include answers to questions such as: What happened? That is, what did the person say about the other? Why do you think he/she said that? To what extent was that legitimate? What was the mood of the discussion like?

**Requirements**—Finally, the two-page document listed the following requirements: (1) Each submission had to be in essay format without any numbering or use of bullets. (2) Each submission had to have a cover page bearing only the essay’s title without the author’s name since the essays were regarded confidential. (3) They were free to use subtitles they deemed appropriate for a logical development and smooth flow of their essays. (4) They were required to number the pages sequentially; double-space the text; to use no more than 12-point font; no more than one-inch margins on every 8½ x 11 page; the length of the essay had to be at least 15 pages. (5) The essay had to be submitted in two media: hard copy and electronic (on a diskette: Only WordPerfect or Microsoft Word). The participants were told that neither of these submissions would be returned to the author as the data analysis would continue far beyond the end of the winter session in which they were taking the course. However, they were advised to keep a copy of their submission for themselves if they wanted to do so. (f) To ensure further confidentiality, the participants were advised to submit their essays to the Department of Communication Studies secretary who would check the hard copy to determine if the essay met the requirements. If it did, the secretary would check off the author’s name on the participant roster to affirm the author’s participation in this research project. If it didn’t, the secretary would return both the hard copy and diskette to the author to indicate that the submission was unacceptable and why. All the thirteen essays were acceptable in lieu of one of the tests.

**Preparing Dataset for Analysis**—Each student’s electronic version of the essay was uniquely coded for identification.

Through the process of “cut-and-paste”, all the submissions were compiled into a master file and saved as MS Word document which was 186 pages. A copy of this document was then converted and saved as ASCII/ANSI (plain text) with line breaks to facilitate the text analysis under the computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS). In addition, COURIER 12 point typeface (font) with fixed character or pitch (not proportional spacing) was used to ensure that each character in the text took up the same space on the file. Using this typeface, the left and right borders (margins) of the file were set at 2.5 centimeters, for a totally workable setting of 63 characters per line which facilitated the coding and analysis.
Data Analysis—The project’s dataset was coded and analyzed with WinMAX Pro 98 software (Kuckartz, 1998). Using this software, the analysis entailed both the quantitative and qualitative data.

This paper will report the quantitative and qualitative findings and conclusions. In addition, it will outline the project’s limitations for future studies on this topic to consider.
Hawaii International Conferences
The Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences
Submission Deadline: January 24, 2007

1. Title of the submission
   Fall through the cracks of two nations: Aging Japanese American Atomic-bomb survivors

2. Topic area of the submission (chooses from above list)
   Social Work

3. Presentation format (choose from above list)
   Paper sessions

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Abstract

Fall through the Cracks of Two Nations: Aging Japanese American Atomic-Bomb Survivors

Earlier historical events surrounding Japanese Americans abound with lessons in the U.S. immigration policy and welfare. The events include the mass relocation of Japanese Americans from the West Coast during the wartime. Little has been documented, however, there was a sizable number of Japanese Americans in Hiroshima when the atomic bomb devastated the city in 1945. For some, being American-born was on forbidden ground at the height of wartime. Following the end of the war, those American-born survivors chose to recover their American citizenship and returned to the U.S. with a hope to be established in their homeland.

Their life in America continued to fill with hardships, however. Radiation exposure caused them unknown physical fatigue and ailments. Furthermore, psychological distress kept troubling them, especially for those who survived over the others. Culturally and experientially, they were estranged from Japanese American community, where the majority shared “the camp” experiences. Both the U.S. and Japan have marginalized them while they need governmental support for their health and well-being as a-bomb victims. It is estimated that nearly 1,000 Japanese American Atomic-bomb survivors living in the U.S. today, who fell through the cracks of two nations for decades.

Drawing a few cases of older atomic-bomb survivors living in Southern California, this case study illustrates biopsychosocial needs of aging Japanese American Atomic-bomb survivors. It also describes the generational needs of this special population that is critical to be recognized in ever diversifying and graying society, as well as in the world of nuclear warfare.
Title of paper: The Saudi Succession: The Incipience of a Change

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Abstract:

The Saudi Succession: The Incipience of a Change

Due to variety of reasons, the Saudi crown has been transferred in the past 50 odd years not from a father to his eldest offspring, but from an elder brother to his younger bother, among the sons of Abd al-Aziz (Ibn Saud), founder of the modern kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

That system have proven itself effective even in complicated cases when a certain king was deposed (Saud), or another one was assassinated (Faysal). Endeavors to resort to ‘normal’ succession (from father to son) are sensitive and problematic, yet it seems that biology is about to do what genealogy so far failed to achieve: Among Ibn Saud’s handful of surviving sons some are octogenarians and even the youngest is over sixty.

The Saudi ruling family is well aware of this reality. Since the accession of the present king, Abdullah, in 2005 actually preparations have been made to pave the ground for a possible transfer of power to the next generation.

This paper analyses the origins of the prevailing system as well as the possible consequences and potential problems that are likely to emerge if and when it would be indeed decided to transfer kingship to the one of Abd al-Aziz’s grandsons. It is also discusses the measures taken by the royal family to prevent or at least to minimize the afore-mentioned potential dangers.
Title: *On the Path of History: Privileging the (Ornamental) Language of the Maya*

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This paper is but a trace of a moment in time, although it serves one well to remember that Hegel “taught us that results are nothing without their becoming, outside the locus which assigns to them an itinerary or a method.”¹ These “results” are, to put it casually, the culmination of “thinking about things,” and it all started with the driving question of a graduate seminar in anthropology, “What is culture?” Compounding the interrogation of culture was also being in culture, being there, being in existence. Our existence requires existing with Being, being with others, communicating, talking, language – the principle, the only tool that we have to exist – but how does this relate to culture and what can we do with language that we cannot with Being?

For one, we can recognize, we can create difference. Without language, we are unable to differentiate between things. In other words, binary oppositional pairs such as white-black, light-dark, wet-dry, cold-hot are fundamentally in language. Following this line of thinking, existence, therefore, is differentiation is language. If I cannot name it, I cannot bring it into my world – or at least that is what Heidegger said – and thus existence is constantly penetrated by Being, by insistence – not unlike how the “it” of “it all started with” is insisting on me because I persist in thinking about it. But what is “it”?

Here, finally, I can introduce what interests me, which in turn becomes the body of this trace, a being, if you will, that “[participates] in beingness, in ousia, …[because it participates] in being-present, in the presence of the present, or … in presentness.”²

* * *

² Derrida, 40.
Heidegger privileged language because he saw it as “more playful,” which is why he referred to language as “the home of man’s essence … the house of Being in which man ek-sists by dwelling, in that he belongs to the truth of Being, guarding it.”\(^3\) It is through language that we have a way of experiencing our original relationship with the elusiveness of existence, of Being. But Heidegger’s conception of language can be problematic as well. For example, his vigorous refutation of Descartes, who equated thinking and language as the same, puts him at philosophical odds with German literary critic Walter Benjamin, among others. In the essay, “On Language as Such and the Language of Man,” Benjamin wrote

> Every expression of a human mental life can be understood as a kind of language, and this understanding, in the manner of a true method, everywhere raise news questions. It is possible to talk about a language of music or sculpture, about a language of justice that has nothing directly to do with those in which German or English legal judgments are couched, about a language of technology that is not the specialized language of technicians. Language in such contexts means the tendency inherent in the subjects concerned – technology, art, justice, or religion – toward the communication of the contents of the mind.\(^4\)

Sixty years earlier, Owen Jones, a nineteenth-century British architect, in his catalogue detailing decorative ornament from a variety of cultures around the world, *The Grammar of Ornament*, wrote that, “what we seek in every work of Art, whether it be humble or pretentious, is the evidence of mind.”\(^5\) Elsewhere in the same text, Jones further observed that examples of Mexican pottery in the British Museum “have a remarkable affinity with the Greek fret: and in Mr. Catherwood’s illustrations of the architecture of the Yucatan we have several varieties of the Greek fret: one especially is

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\(^3\) Heidegger, 237.


thoroughly Greek.”6 This seemingly simple comparative statement thus forms the basis of my discussion of the ornamental “other”—namely, the sculptural ornamentation found on Classic Maya architecture. Yet, this topic is not so much about whether the Mexican fret (or other “Mexican” ornament) is or is not a Greek derivative but rather it is about language and history and “the warranty of truth grounded in writing” as well as in Realist drawing and painting, and, especially, photography.7 Just as Owen Jones had his “grammar” of ornament, we will see that the Maya, too, had their own ornamental language. Yet, what the Maya communicated through stucco reliefs covering the interiors and exteriors of their temples was not always what was communicated to nineteenth-century European and North American audiences through illustrated and annotated travel albums – publications that were not only often bestsellers (as in the case of John Lloyd Stephens’ four volumes on the Maya), but also sparked excitement and scholarly interest in the study of ancient Mesoamerica.8 Jones’ comparison, then, is far from simple. The twenty-first century scholar must mediate discursively through a host of nineteenth-century notions about archaeology, colonialism, culture, and “race” – not least of which are “nature, science and the picturesque.”9

The visual base of information on America was greatly expanded in the nineteenth century when, in 1810, Alexander von Humboldt published the first part of his

6 ibid., 97.
8 The Maya used a hieroglyphic writing system, which, despite a number of breakthroughs made by the end of the nineteenth century, was not fully understood until 1960 when Tatiana Proskouriakoff discovered that there were repeating a patterns in both Maya writing and imagery, and that these patterns could be “read”, thus enabling her to ascribe meaning to glyphs without knowing the equivalent words in Maya.
Voyage de Humboldt et de Bonpland, a thirty-volume album with nearly 1500 plates – both in color and black and white – that was to serve as the visual record of all the mapping, measuring, collecting, and sketching that Humboldt, a geologist, and Aimée Bonpland, a botanist, conducted while the two were traveling throughout the viceroyalties of the Spanish king, Carlos IV. That Carlos granted Humboldt a passport in 1799 might not be particularly surprising or perhaps even noteworthy in light of the fact that Old World artist-scientists had been traveling to the New World since Spanish Europe first encountered the New World civilizations in the late fifteenth century. In other words, the tradition of visually recording the flora and fauna of the New World for the Old World had already begun nearly three centuries before Humboldt’s trip.

What is perhaps more significant is that the Spanish colonies were, for the most part, closed to foreign contact and, of course, they were colonies: the various independence movements had yet to reshape the political landscape. In this context, the publication of Humboldt’s various volumes, which covered subjects such as botany, zoology, comparative anatomy, astronomy, and antiquities, and included physical and geographical atlases as well as political essays on New Spain (Mexico) and Cuba, became immensely popular in Europe (especially his Atlas pittoresque: Vues des

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10 According to Dawn Ades, Humboldt was probably granted a passport and allowed to travel freely throughout Spain’s “American dominions” because, as a geologist, he specialized in mines, which would have been attractive “to the hungry colonizing powers of Europe.” Plus, Carlos’s father, Carlos III, was a progressive monarch who had already opened the region to free trade and “other liberalizing reforms.” Ades, pp. 45-66.

11 Geography is particularly important here because Portugal’s colony in America was literally, physically closer to Europe and, therefore, easier to visit. Brazil comprises much of the Atlantic coast of the South American continent while the Spanish viceroyalties were clustered predominately along the Pacific. Moreover, it was not until the first decade of the nineteenth century that, with the exception of Brazil, a number of civil wars erupted throughout the continent, ultimately culminating in the creation of new, independent republics.
Cordillères et monuments des peuples indigènes de l’Amérique). As such, they were very influential for the visual cultural history of the nineteenth century in general and in constituting an image of Central and South America for Europeans in particular.\footnote{12} Furthermore, with the dawning of Independence of Spanish America, more and more traveler-reporter-artists set sail for the New World to see for themselves the unknown and the wild, and as a result, many produced their own picturesque and/or historical albums. Given this, and the fact that in Europe there was already a fascination with ruins since the excavations of Pompeii and Herculaneum as well as Napoleon’s campaign in Egypt, the South American landscape was ripe for visual contemplation. There are several significant men to emerge from this proliferation of knowledge; men who are historically associated with the founding of Maya archaeology, but it will be the work of three in particular who change, if not actually set, the course for the study and appreciation of Maya art: Jean Frederick de Waldeck, John Lloyd Stephens, and Frederick Catherwood.

Most of the artists who traveled through Mexico in the early nineteenth century perpetuated a strain of Romanticism that coalesced around the depiction of the native landscape, customs, and popular \textit{types} – e.g., the traveling musician, peasants in the field, or \textit{poblanas} – while highlighting the specific and unusual (relative to the European experience).\footnote{13} In a catalogue essay for the exhibition, \textit{Mexico: Splendors of Thirty Centuries}, Fausto Ramírez observed,

\begin{quote}
These artists depicted the different regions through which they traveled in innumerable views of cities and their inhabitants …. They brought to Mexico a tradition of the plein air landscape … [and] evoked the grandeur of ancient
\end{quote}

\footnote{12} Humboldt’s extensive quantitative work eventually served as the foundation for the modern academic study of physical geography. 
\footnote{13} A \textit{poblan\'a} is one who belongs to a village, a villager. In this particular instance, the women of a village.
monuments … . Their presence in Mexico had major artistic repercussions; the lithographs, in particular, stimulated an exploration of local iconography.\textsuperscript{14}

As of 1838, only three archaeological sites were known in the region now ascribed to the Maya: Cópan in Honduras; Palenque, about 300 miles northeast of Cópan and now in the Mexican state of Chiapas; and Uxmal, about 300 miles to the north of Palenque in Yucatán, Mexico. At the same time, no one familiar with the sites, especially considering the distance between each of them, thought these ruined cities were the work of one culture. Certainly, use of the word “Maya” in connection with these sites was non-existent. Here again, Old World practices regarding the collection and dissemination of knowledge as well as hierarchical notions about non-European civilizations dictated the study of New World antiquity. In the Renaissance, the study of antiquity was considered a branch of humanistic learning while the study of New World antiquity only really began as recently as 1850 and, according to George Kubler, “soon took a scientific turn, relating it more closely to anthropology than to humanistic studies.”\textsuperscript{15} Thus, even today, a discussion about the “art” of ancient America is often (still) mired in ethnography: works of art are “read” more as sources of information about social structure and/or economic life rather than as the “expressive realities” of a given culture.\textsuperscript{16}

When Humboldt was in Mexico, so, too, was former military officer Guillermo Dupaix, who is considered by some to be one of the earliest Maya archaeologists.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{14} Mexico: Splendors of Thirty Centuries (New York, 1990), 502.
\textsuperscript{16} ibid., 33.
\textsuperscript{17} See Robert L. Brunhouse, In Search of the Maya (Albuquerque, 1973), 5. Guillermo Dupaix, born in Austro-Hungary sometime between 1748 and 1750. He arrived in
Although retired from military service circa 1800, Dupaix received a royal appointment from King Carlos IV to explore the territory from Mexico City to Palenque and record any antiquities he discovered. The expedition party also included a drawing instructor from the Academy of San Carlos, Jose Luciano Casteñeda, who made quick sketches that he later reworked from memory and with input from Dupaix.\textsuperscript{18} Throughout the expedition, Dupaix kept a personal log of his own observations, often rewriting his thoughts and adding descriptive comments on Casteñeda’s finished drawings. Relying on these observations – observations which were nonetheless rooted in “the idealist philosophical method of considering ‘values’ as resident in speculation about absolute ideas of good, truth, and beauty during the European Enlightenment”\textsuperscript{19} – Dupaix rationally tried to account for what he saw. When he found it difficult to interpret certain forms, for example, what he called the “distorted” proportions of human figures, he reasoned that it was not because the native artist could not draw or carve properly; rather, it was because of “political and religious conventions which dictated a uniform style for deities, as was the case in ancient Egypt.”\textsuperscript{20}

Mexico in 1791 and led three expeditions between 1805 and 1807. The illustrated record of these surveys was not immediately published as Dupaix was unjustly accused of being disloyal to the king in 1808. Once acquitted, his descriptions along with Casteñeda’s drawings were finally published to wide, popular acclaim, and the work is credited for having stimulated European interest in visiting and studying the ruins.\textsuperscript{18} In 1785, the Academy of San Carlos in Mexico City was founded, becoming the first art academy in the New World.\textsuperscript{19} George Kubler, \textit{Esthetic Recognition of Ancient Amerindian Art} (New Haven and London, 1991), 84.\textsuperscript{20} Brunhouse, 22. It should be noted, however, that where Brunhouse attributes changes or “improvements” to Dupaix, it has also been suggested that it was actually Edward King, Lord Kingsborough, publisher of an account of the Casteñeda-Dupaix collaboration in 1831, who introduced the distortions to Casteñeda’s drawings, making them look more Egyptian or Hebraic. A more comprehensive, two-volume edition was published later in France in 1834.
Jean Frederick de Waldeck’s drawings reveal similar artistic intervention, although this most likely owed to drawing what he thought he saw. Perhaps the most noticeable example is when Waldeck claimed to have discovered carved images of elephant heads. When questioned about the veracity of such findings, “that he had mistaken tapirs for elephants, [Waldeck] triumphantly pointed out that the tapir could not throw its snout upward in the air as depicted.” Waldeck was a French artist-explorer who may have made his first trip to Central America in 1821, although by 1822 he was back in Europe, living in London, where he met Henry Berthoud. Berthoud was a bookseller and publisher who recently purchased a copy of the report of Antonio Del Rio’s exploration of Palenque in 1786 and he hired Waldeck to engrave plates based on the drawings done by Ricardo Almendáriz (an accompanying member of the exploration) and translate the text into English. For Waldeck, the encounter with these images was profound.

Whether he made a serious effort to become an archaeologist and/or undertake Americanist studies is not clear but, because he did need to make a living, in 1825 he took a job as a hydraulic engineer for an English silver-mining company in Tialpujahua,

21 ibid., 71.
22 Captain Antonio Del Rio had been sent on a mission to explore the ruins of Palenque and his report reflects not an interest in the remains of an ancient or earlier civilization but rather what he saw as paganism and idolatry. Had it not been for Berthoud’s own awareness of the public interest in American indigenous cultures as well as Romantic ruins, Del Rio would have probably been forgotten.
23 Miguel Leon-Portilla refers to this pivotal moment: “En Londres, hândandose en la casa de un librero y editor de nombre Henry Berthoud, tuvo acceso a un manuscrito que despertó grandemente su interés …. Las figures humanas … avivaron su imaginación.” See Jean Frederick de Waldeck, Viaje Pintoresco y Arqueológico de la Provincia de Yucatán (México, 1997), 16. Brunhouse also cites that Waldeck later “attributed his inspiration to study Maya archaeology to the engravings he made in 1822 rather to firsthand experience at an outstanding site only a year or two earlier.” See page 55.
Mexico. Once back in Mexico, he eagerly studied pre-Hispanic culture and developed strong opinions about the subject. Determined to visit Palenque and the Yucatán, he approached Mexican vice-president Lucas Alamán with a plan to “[invite] citizens, ecclesiastics, and states of Mexico to pledge subscriptions totaling 10,000 Mexican dollars.” For his part, Waldeck agreed to spend the next two years exploring the area and to publish a book with 200 illustrations. He and the project, however, were continually plagued with financial difficulties, and without sufficient funds to publish the proposed book, Waldeck approached Prosper Mérimée and the French Academy for assistance. *Voyage Pittoresque* finally became a reality in 1838 but received little attention until after the discoveries of Stephens and Catherwood.

As an artist, Waldeck claimed to have studied with Jacques-Louis David, thus establishing a connection with the neoclassical tradition in art. He is also a curious figure in the story of Maya art and archaeology as his biography is practically a work of art itself. His own work, however, including drawings of Maya monuments, has been

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24 Brunhouse, 65.

25 Although there are several biographies to date – namely, C.W. Ceram’s *Hands of the Past* (1966), Robert Brunhouse’s *In Search of the Maya* (1973), Carlos A. Echanove Trujillo’s *Dos Heroes de la Arqueología Maya* (1974), and Miguel León-Portilla’s prologue to the 1997 Spanish-language translation of Waldeck’s *Voyage Pittoresque*, Brunhouse and León-Portilla probably come closest to some semblance of the actual story. Both cite the “detective work” of Howard F. Cline who disproved, or rather, failed to prove a number of Waldeck’s biographical statements, and who subsequently “considers the early adventures apocryphal and Waldeck a poseur.” (Brunhouse, 51-55.) In 1947 Cline published his findings in an article for *Acta Americana* entitled “The apocryphal early career of J.F. Waldeck, pioneer Americanist”. According to Brunhouse, Waldeck “claimed to have been born in Paris, Prague, or Vienna on March 16, 1766”; León-Portilla reports that the date Waldeck gave for his “arrival into the world” was May 26, 1766, although the birth certificate Waldeck was required to produce for the French Ministry of Fine Arts so as to collect the pension that he had been granted by Napoleon III listed the year of his birth as 1768. Waldeck also claimed to have joined François Levaillant’s ornithological expedition to the Cape of Good Hope (his name, however,
criticized for being inaccurate; among other things, he frequently saw elephant heads where in fact there were none.\textsuperscript{26} Additionally, Waldeck claimed to have found “two gigantic figures with European profiles … and an Egyptian monument.”\textsuperscript{27} His drawings of a structure now known as the Pyramid of the Dwarf included four Egyptianized figures flanking the entrance to the temple. Archaeologists who later visited these same sites at Palenque and Uxmal, including Stephens and Catherwood, found neither a basis for his temple reconstruction nor any evidence of the figures. Waldeck’s writings about his “discoveries” were similarly dismissed in his own time – in part for expressing ideas conforming to the diffusionist anthropological notion that the Maya were originally from Asia, perhaps India or Egypt, which could “be easily discerned in the architecture of these monuments.”\textsuperscript{28} The carved elephant heads were additional “proof” of this supposed

\textsuperscript{26} In writing about the contributions of French photographer, Désiré Charnay, to the field of Maya studies, Keith F. Davis pointed out that Charnay’s photographs “corrected” Waldeck, who, in describing a figure in one of his plates in his *Monuments anciens du Mexique, Palenque et autres ruines de l’ancienne civilization du Mexique* (Paris, 1866, n.p.) wrote: “la coiffure de la figure qui se tient debout est bien évidemment une tête d’éléphant.”

\textsuperscript{27} Brunhouse, 71.

\textsuperscript{28} Waldeck, *Voyage pittoresque et archéologique dans le province d’Yucatan et aux ruines d’Itzalane*, translated by V.M. Conrad in C.W. Ceram, *Hands on the Past: Pioneer Archaeologists Tell Their Own Story* (New York, 1966), 329. George Kubler discusses diffusionism as one of the two schools of thought in nineteenth century anthropology. On one side were the Americanists who argued that New World cultures
Moreover, the descriptions Waldeck provided for his illustrations employ a type of racial categorization typical of nineteenth-century ethnography. In one such example, where a figure kneels in supplication to a seated figure with an elaborate headdress, Waldeck wrote: “Cette dernière est évidemment éthiopienne: son origine est prouvée d’une manière incontestable par le caractère du profil et par la couleur noire encore visible sur les chairs … Un detail plus curieux encore est l’ornement nesem répété sur les deux profiles.”

Although Waldeck’s theories have since been disproved and even amused later generations of Americanists, he is important to the beginnings of Maya studies and the categorization of Pre-Columbian art as “art” because “he found Maya art harmonious with European ideals of art.” Waldeck also realized that “[it] is chiefly in the ornaments that we can admire the patience of the craftsmen employed on these buildings, and perceive the taste of these ancient peoples for monumental splendour.”

If Dupaix was one of the earliest Maya archaeologists, then American writer John Lloyd Stephens is the father of Maya archaeology. His detailed accounts of the cities and
sites that he and Frederick Catherwood discovered not only are considered by some as “better than those of his predecessors” but, in some case, are also the only surviving records of ruins that are now just piles of rubble.\textsuperscript{33} Stephens studied at Columbia University where he learned of the phenomenology of J.G. Herder – which, according to George Kubler, gave “esthetics a place within anthropology” – which, in turn, would later prepare Stephens to see in other civilizations, such as the Maya, “its own quality and worth.”\textsuperscript{34} Upon graduating in 1822, Stephens went on to obtain a law degree and was a practicing attorney until the fall of 1834 when, having tired of the profession, and for health reasons, he embarked on what became a two-year sojourn to Europe and the Near East.\textsuperscript{35} By 1839, President James Van Buren recruited him for a mission to Central America that was both diplomatic and archaeological. His friend, English artist Frederick Catherwood, accompanied him as they sailed from New York City for the Gulf of Honduras on October 3, 1839.

The same year that Waldeck traveled to Central America for the first time (1821), Frederick Catherwood traveled to Rome to study the art and architecture of classical antiquity.\textsuperscript{36} In 1822 Catherwood traveled to Greece, continuing to study ancient

\textsuperscript{33} See Richard L. Predmore’s introduction to the Rutger’s University Press edition of Stephens’s \textit{Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan}, volumes I and II, 1949, xvi.
\textsuperscript{34} Kubler, \textit{Esthetic Recognition}, 9; 127.
\textsuperscript{35} When he returned to New York, he published his first book, \textit{Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia Petraea, and the Holy Land}.
\textsuperscript{36} Catherwood attended art classes at the Royal Academy in London, specifically the architecture lectures given by Sir John Soane. Through Soane, Catherwood was introduced to Giovanni Piranesi and the latter’s \textit{Della magnificenza ed architettura di Roma} (published in 1761). Victor W. Von Hagen writes: “Catherwood … was deeply moved by the manner in which Piranesi rendered Roman ruins [and] … he tried to capture in his own archaeological drawings the same intense emotion of that master.” See Von Hagen, \textit{F. Catherwood: Architect-Explorer of Two Worlds} (Barre, 1967), 22-
architecture and sculpture until the outbreak of civil war when he left for Egypt in 1823 – “at the time that ‘Egyptianism’ … was taking hold.” In Egypt, Catherwood met Robert Hay and became a member of the latter’s expedition to journey up the Nile to explore “each ruined site, known and unknown.” In 1833 Catherwood traveled to Cairo and later Jerusalem, constantly researching and drawing, before returning to London in 1835 where he exhibited his painted panorama of Jerusalem. It was also around this time that he met Stephens, who had recently arrived in London after traveling in the Near East, and the two talked about rumors of fantastic cities of stone hidden in the jungles of Mexico. Shortly thereafter, at the urging of Stephens, Catherwood decided to move to New York.

On November 17, 1839, Stephens and Catherwood were about to make American archaeological history as they ventured into the jungle-covered remains of Copán and encountered the art and architecture of the Maya for the first time. They recounted their experiences in the two-volume *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan* (1841), followed in 1843 by another two volumes, entitled *Incidents of Travel in*

24. From his association with the Academy, Catherwood gained entry into a group of painters, sculptors, and architects called the “Society of Englishmen.” It is quite possible that it was within this circle that he met and became friends with Owen Jones. Jones cited in his preface to *The Grammar of Ornament* that he “received invaluable assistance from Mr. J. Bonomi.” Joseph Bonomi was not only one of “the best remembered … members of the Society of Englishmen” but also both he and Catherwood were “architectural artists on the famous Egyptian expeditions of Robert Hay.” See Jones, 19.

37 Von Hagen, 27.

38 Ibid., 28. The men on this expedition would eventually form the basis of Egyptian archaeology.

39 Catherwood brought his panorama to New York and exhibited it for six years before it was destroyed in a fire in 1842.
Yucatan – both illustrated by Catherwood’s drawings. Indeed, Mayanist Linda Schele noted that no other work about the ancient Maya has been studied so intensely as [these] four volumes . . . . The books were among the bestsellers of the nineteenth century, and . . . remain some of the best books ever written on the Maya. The illustrations, engravings by Frederick Catherwood, conveyed the romance of the subject, as well as fairly dependable information about the ruins.

Along with the significant expansion in the body of knowledge of Spanish America coincidental with its “opening” to European travelers in the nineteenth century, the number of books and travel albums published on the subject also expanded as did the desire to travel to the New World – so much so that by the second half of the nineteenth century, explorers now came armed with cameras to document sites with all the precision and veracity that was accorded photography. One such photographer was Désiré Charnay who had been so fascinated with Stephens’s accounts in the Incidents of Travel volumes that he, too, traveled to Mexico to explore the Yucatán and produced his own album entitled Cités et ruines américaines: Mitla, Palenqué, Izamal, Chichen-Itza, Uxmal (1863). The publication was important for several reasons – primarily because the album was Europe’s “first photographic vision of the mysterious Mexican monuments,” but also because Charnay’s simple yet engaging narrative was juxtaposed with an essay written by Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc who analyzed the architectural ruins. The essay reiterated many aspects of the diffusionist argument, specifically, that “the builders . . . were not endemic to the region and instead migrated from northern Europe, Africa, or

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40 Edgar Allen Poe reviewed Incidents of Travel in Central America for Graham’s Magazine and said the book was “magnificent.” See Von Hagen, 50.
Moreover, Viollet-le-Duc identified racial characteristics in some of the architectural motifs, remarking, for example, that “if only the Aryan Semites or pure Semites built with dry stone, it is the pure Aryans to whom to attribute wooden construction and whenever we see appear a tradition that indicates a combination of joined timbers, we can be sure it was influenced by the Aryan race.” Yet, in a passage where he described the interior of a room in the Temple of the Jaguars at Chichén-Itza as being covered by a series of flat sculptures of armed men battling against serpents and tigers, Viollet-le-Duc also observed that if the meaning of the ornamental reliefs is obscure (to a nineteenth century audience), the types of heads, clothes and weapons of the human forms furnishes precious information.

Is this “precious information” the “evidence of mind” to which Jones referred? Indeed, many art historians and other writers have commented on how the ornament of a people reveals their aesthetic endowment, and Catherwood, too, seems to have supported this position when he described how “elegant ornament is carved on either side of the arch [at the Casa del Gobernador], very similar to [that] found on Greek and Roman buildings. The twisted cable, or rope ornament, is also of frequent recurrence in Yucatan; it is to be found … in all countries which have made any advance in the art of building.”

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43 ibid.
45 See Ciudades de Luz, 45: “Los ornamentos … están totalmente recubiertos por una serie de esculturas planas que representan hombres armadas luchando contra serpientes y tigres. Si el significado de esta bajo relieve es obscuro, los tipos de cabezas, las vestimentas y las arma de los personajes nos proporcionan información preciosa.”
The task that Stephens and Catherwood set for themselves in the Yucatán was to record what they saw. Having already published two travel books that were both critical and popular successes in the United States and Europe, Stephens was well prepared to document his thoughts and observations about the cities and sites he and Catherwood encountered. On this trip, Stephens also assisted Catherwood with his preparations, e.g., selecting the view, clearing the area of jungle debris, recording measurements, and erecting the scaffolding for the camera lucida which Catherwood used so as to achieve the greatest degree of visual accuracy and scientific “authenticity”. Stephens remarked that “from the beginning, [the] object and effort was to produce true copies of the originals … Mr. Catherwood made the outline of all the drawings with the camera lucida, and divided his paper into sections, so as to preserve the utmost accuracy of proportion.”

Yet, for all the attention to, and concern for, accuracy, and the consistent acknowledgement of the beauty and workmanship of the ruins, the narrative throughout the volumes is not without equally consistent comparisons to either Egypt and the Near East or the Greco-Roman past. For example, as they were preparing to leave the area, Stephens summed up the ruins found at Copán:

the monuments … standing as they do in the depths of a tropical forest, silent and solemn, strange in design, excellent in sculpture, rich in ornament, [are] different from the works of any other people … . The form of sculpture most frequently met with was a death’s head, sometimes the principal ornament … [with] rows of them on the outer wall … keeping death and the grave before the eyes of the

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47 *Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia Petraea, and the Holy Land* was published in 1837 and *Incidents of Travel in Greece, Turkey, Russia, and Poland* was published in 1838. Both were published by Harper’s publishing house. The European editions were in England, France, and Sweden.

living, presenting the idea of a holy city – the Mecca or Jerusalem of an unknown people.49

On the one hand, such prose is wholly appropriate: both men traveled to Egypt and Jerusalem, and studying the classical past in situ was part of Catherwood’s education as a student of architecture. On the other hand – and this is where the need to have a better understanding about the relationship between history and culture specifically, and time and culture generally, comes in – history is not simply a series of links between or a serial flow of events through time. Michael Taussig saw history as something that could move forward and backward, be accelerated and condensed, and all of those forms (those different forms of historicizing) become especially visible when looking at non-western worlds, such as that of the ancient Maya. Indeed, Homi Bhabha further pushed the notion (role?) of temporality in history to the point where one needs to find an entirely different temporality all together so as to access the complex (and, therefore, contingent) relationships in the world we inhabit and study like an object. Stephens’s narrative is thus problematized by this dialectic: ruins reminiscent of ancient pilgrimage sites such as Mecca or Jerusalem and yet ruins built not by Egyptians nor the lost tribes of Israel but rather by the original inhabitants of the area, the ancestors of the contemporary Maya. Moreover, Catherwood’s drawings reflect a similar aporia in that they are a mixture of archaeological draftsmanship, the picturesque, and romantic notions of the “noble savage” where primitive man was more in harmony with nature because he was closer to nature. Given the cultural constructs of the nineteenth century under which Catherwood

49 ibid., 124.
(and Stephens as well, for that matter) labored, it is not surprising that he combined careful, archaeological study with *costumbrista* scenes.\(^{50}\)

Yet, can there be a discussion of Catherwood’s scientifically precise drawings and Stephens’s very detailed descriptions of people, place, and ornament *without* first a discussion of the “primitive” or “primitivism” (and its attendant issues of colonialism, racism, and exoticism)? Both have been constructed as something at once exotic and reassuringly familiar and both are culturally loaded (because they are culturally-constructed) terms whose shifted (and shifting) meanings are keys to understanding the representations of indigenous “others.” And, at least for enlightenment-educated and worldly-traveled white European/American men of the nineteenth century, a century in which the positivist embrace of industrialization perpetuated the establishment of a cultural hierarchy between the western, civilized model and the unindustrialized and “primitive”, the “art” of non-Western cultures was thought to offer more “authentic” kinds of experience.

In its most general sense, the word “primitive” means earliest, original, ancient, and/or at a simple level of social and economic organization. By the eighteenth century, many of the Enlightenment philosophical debates on the origins of culture centered on the concept of the primitive. An aesthetic construct developed and defined by Europeans, primitive material culture was representative of early, more rudimentary human cultural

\(^{50}\) From the Spanish for customs or habits; not costumes. Generally, it refers to one of the categories – scientific, ecological, topological, and social – into which one can divide the predominate subjects of the traveler-reporter artists during the years 1810-1860 throughout Latin America and the Caribbean. More specifically, in this context it not only refers to the depiction of a local “customs”, such as bare-breasted women at a well gathering water for the village, but it also corresponds with, or is derived from, the European taste for the exotic.
production. Facilitating this discourse is what anthropologist Shelley Errington specified as the “metanarrative of progress”.\textsuperscript{51} To experience progress, there needed to be a notion of linear time. Teleologically speaking, if something is to exist in a linear format, then there must be a starting point, a middle point, and an end point.\textsuperscript{52} Thus, the primitive was the starting point; all else was about moving forward on the timeline, about change and progress.

The notion of progress, of a systematic and planned improvement of society, among other things, also improved and increased artistic freedom, and by association, increased fine art production – both of which were considered signs of cultural advancement and civilization. Embedded in the story of progress are the tales of parallel discourses about objects in a consumer commodity culture. One discourse is grounded in the art historical classification system: objects were classified either as “fine art” or “applied.” This classification system was derived in the sixteenth century and included the notion of the artist as individual and as autonomous creator. In the eighteenth century, Immanuel Kant addressed the problem of the freedom of the mind (“Reason”) in the realm of the sensuous world (“Nature”) and concluded that, as Michael Podro explains, “by making moral thought govern our intention we could act freely.”\textsuperscript{53} Kant’s art historical writing and philosophy provided the “new” discipline of art history with a

\textsuperscript{51} Shelley Errington, The Death of Authentic Primitive Art and Other Tales of Progress (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1998), 5. According to Errington, the metanarrative of progress, derived in part from Hegel’s narrative that assumed art always existed, enabled “the discourses of ‘authenticity’ and ‘the primitive’.”

\textsuperscript{52} Again, it is Hegel’s account of a universal story “of the unfolding of Man’s Spirit,” whereby the narrative begins with the Ancient World, moves on the Middles Ages, the Renaissance, and finally arrives at the Modern World, that serves as a model or basis for this particular view of European (or Western) history. See Errington, 50-51.

framework for critically considering visual works of art. Thus, within this aesthetic framework, the “highest” forms of art are those that are the most “free” (“art for art’s sake”) and the “lowest” forms are those objects whose purpose has been dictated by specific function, i.e. utilitarian.

Anthropological theories about the evolution and origins of art constitute a second discourse. By the early nineteenth century, stories of European historical progress had been developing since the Renaissance and were now unfolding, revealing Western (i.e. European) civilization at the front of the imaginary timeline. This “position” not only justified expansionist policies but also provided a way in which to “locate” the Other: if the story of progress was about (European) man’s climb up from a low, “primitive” tribal existence, then the artifacts and people who created them were relegated to the bottom.54 This story also coincided with the formalization of the evolution of human material cultures by European anthropologists – men who “saw in the ‘primitive’ peoples of the European empires a great laboratory for the investigation of human cultural evolution.”55 And while these anthropologists may have been debating the specifics of historical evolution patterns in the process of formalizing theories critical to their discipline, they all embraced Kantian ideas of progress and the “high/low” art binary.

These discourses very much informed Stephens’s artistic/intellectual milieu. Still, Eurocentric prose notwithstanding, he described the façade of a building in Uxmal,

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54 See Errington, 14-17. The author drew graphs depicting aspects of this imaginary “story of progress.” For example, in one graph there is projected vertical movement along the “Better & Worse” axis and lateral movement along the axis of “Earlier & Later”.

the House of the Governor, as if he were a composer building towards a powerful
crescendo: “This building was constructed entirely of stone. Up to the cornice, … the
façade presents a smooth surface; above is one solid mass of rich, complicated, and
elaborate ornaments, forming a sort of arabesque. The grandest ornament, which imparts
a richness to the whole façade, is over the central doorway.\textsuperscript{56} Stephens observed that the
ornament directly above what appears to be a partial figure with an elaborately plumed
headdress was a type of ornament that appeared throughout the ruins. In fact, it was a
stone projection that “measures one foot seven inches in length … and resembles
somewhat an elephant’s trunk, \textit{which name has, perhaps not inaptly, been given to it by Waldeck},
though it is not probable that as such the sculptor intended it, for the elephant
was unknown on the continent of America.”\textsuperscript{57}

Stephens’s reference to Waldeck was perfectly appropriate and perhaps even
necessary for the completeness of his own research. Prior to sailing to Central America,
Stephens frequented a bookstore in New York City that had received a copy, sometime in
1838, of Waldeck’s \textit{Voyage pittoresque}. Just as Del Rio’s illustrated manuscript about
his travels to Palenque had captured Waldeck’s imagination, Stephens experienced a
similar reaction and set out to read all that was then available on Central America.
(Along with Del Rio’s account, there were also publications by Dupaix and Humboldt,
among others.) Thus armed with the knowledge of others who came before him,
Stephens questioned everything he saw once he arrived in the Yucatán. Although he did
not know that the flattened foreheads of the figures he saw were outlined reliefs were a
physiognomic attribute the Maya admired and did to themselves, the resultant profile was

\textsuperscript{56} Stephens, 1841, II: 166-168.
\textsuperscript{57} ibid., 172. Italics mine.
so different from the local people he met that he concluded that those anonymous earlier inhabitants could not possibly be related to Old World peoples.\textsuperscript{58} It was also Stephens who refuted many of Waldeck’s conclusions.

The Nunnery was a large quadrangular building with little rooms around the perimeter. Waldeck accounted for its floor plan by assuming the name of the building implied its purpose and, therefore, it must have been the priests who arranged for the placement of the rooms so as to “maintain surveillance over the ‘nuns’.”\textsuperscript{59} Stephens, however, thought differently: “The … building … is called by a name which may originally have had some reference to the vestals who in Mexico were employed to keep burning the sacred fire; but I believe in the mouths of the Indians of Uxmal it has no reference whatever to history, tradition, or legend, but is derived entirely from Spanish associations.”\textsuperscript{60} And it was Stephens who identified the “Greek” fret at Uxmal. The motif was just one of the many that comprised a visually distinctive “grammar” that he defined as “very elaborate, sometimes grotesque, but often simple, tasteful, and beautiful … subjects are squares and diamonds, with busts of human heads, heads of leopards, … and the ornaments known everywhere as \textit{grecques}.”\textsuperscript{61} Above the molding on the façade of the House of the Governor is an area filled with ornament and there one can find a variation of this fret that Jones termed “thoroughly Greek.” Catherwood’s commentary

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{58} Stephens recounted their departure from Palenque: “Among the Indians who came to escort us to the village was one whom we had not seen before, and whose face bore a striking resemblance to those delineated on the walls of the buildings. In general, the faces of the Indians were of an entirely different character, but this one might have been taken for a lineal descendant of the perished race.” (Stephens, 1949, II: 305.)
\item \textsuperscript{59} Brunhouse, 75.
\item \textsuperscript{60} Stephens concluded correctly; when the Spanish discovered the building, having no knowledge of its function, they called it “Las Monjas” – the nuns. (Stephens, 1949, II: 359.)
\item \textsuperscript{61} ibid., 357.
\end{itemize}
in his *Views of Ancient Monuments* also provides insight into how these men melded art and science to discuss and represent the Maya in the nineteenth century.

Our understanding of the Maya has changed over the past 200 years or so. Much of the work of Stephens and Catherwood, however, remains *unchanged* for it was the work that laid the ground rules for discussions of Maya art and archaeology. Yet, after all is said and done, to artistically appreciate the Maya we had to make them like ourselves, and we did this through language. All human communication is inscribed in a linguistic structure, even body language, and that language, whether visual, cultural, or temporal, is what constitutes our being.
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Title: Misuse of Mathematics in Theory of Price in Economics leading to illogical and inconsistent inferences in Law of Demand, Indifference Curves and Loanable Fund Theory.

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Law of Demand

In Economics the theory of price hangs on many assumptions and on the single weak thread of assumed 'Demand Curve'. Some data of price - wheat / price - apples, etc. are taken so as to suit the straight line drawn beforehand. In most of the books thus is the demand curve defined. To make it more mathematical, within the next few lines it takes the shape of a curve (with negative slope, convex to the origin, sloping downwards from left to right) which facilitates the researcher's predetermined inferences. Demand curve assumptions regarding price, quantity, taste, time, market conditions etc are not realistic but they are taken because of the advantage of simplicity and convenience. In further discussion it is stated that we have already proved 'that the demand curve slopes downwards from left to right and is convex to the origin'. At this stage this becomes the 'Law of Demand'. Nowhere one finds any justification for calling it a law of demand or a demand curve. Now geometrical properties of a curve or a set of curves (convex to the origin and in the first quadrant) are stated and it becomes a demand function. No author of any book prefers to give a single mathematical equation (other than f(x,y)) for any demand curve. This demand curve starts with the assumption that utility measure is 'cardinal'.

Some explanations from different books are cited below. These would show that while developing the concept of demand no justification is given for inferences.

1. With the use of arbitrary data, points are plotted, a line is drawn and this becomes the 'Demand Curve'. Similar is the case with supply. The point of intersection of these assumed demand and supply curves becomes the point of equilibrium. The author of the book does not feel it necessary to justify straight lines and also the existence of point of equilibrium in the first quadrant. On page 97 demand curve takes the shape of rectangular hyperbola. Further the following arbitrary equation is taken for quantity X.

   Quantity of Good X = Constant – A*price of good X + B*price of Y + C*per capita disposable income. (27)
X1 = \( f(P_1, P_2, \ldots, P_n, Y, A, \alpha) \), \( A \) is advertising outlays and \( \alpha \) is other influences on demand. Another equation, Demand \( X = \text{Constant} - A \cdot P_1 + B \cdot P_2 - C \cdot P_3 + D \cdot Y + E \). These two equations are given with no supporting arguments. The derivation of these equations is not addressed at all. But still the nature of the curve remains straight lines.(7)

2. With no explanation the curves are drawn so that demand and supply curves (not straight lines) intersect in the first quadrant and the author gets point of equilibrium. Fig2.(5)

3. QDX = \( f(P_x, I, P_y, T) \), QDX is quantity demanded, \( P_x \) is price of commodity X, \( P_y \) is price of related commodity, T is tastes of consumers. Another equation similar to equation in (1) above is given \( Q_X = \text{Constant} - A \cdot P_X + B \cdot I + C \cdot P_Y - D \cdot P_S + E \); however no elaboration is made.(32)

4. Some arbitrary data is considered. Nature of demand curve is assumed. Tastes, incomes, prices of other goods, new substitutes, prestige involved etc are totally ignored. No explanation is provided to justify the nature of the curves Fig 2. Both the curves drawn are not straight lines.\(^{(21)}\)

5. Both the curves are drawn as straight lines Fig 1. The assumptions are made for no change in tastes, weather, incomes, prices of other related goods, expectations.\(^{(19)}\)

6. Utility: 'As a metaphysical concept utility has to be defined in terms of itself. Utility is the characteristic of commodities which makes individual want to buy them and individuals buy commodities to enjoy utility in consuming them.' This concept of utility is further used to define demand.\(^{(31)}\)

7. Some arbitrary data is used to draw demand curves. They are not straight lines but cut curves which are convex to the origin. Fig 2 Individuals curves are added ad final demand curve is drawn. No explanation is provided for the nature of the curve. But it states that this is the demand curve. Similar treatment is adopted for the supply curve. No equation is provided.\(^{(18)}\)

8. 'Utility is measurable. Price of a thing can be taken as a measure of its marginal utility to him'. The author is not clear about both Marshall's treatment and Hick's treatment about the demand theory.\(^{(30)}\)

9. Utility is the want satisfying power of a commodity on a service which determines the demand for commodity. Jevons called this 'utility'. He further states that utility is purely a mental concept and is a measure of satisfaction derived by an individual from the consumption of a commodity. Utility is supposed to be a measure of Law of Demand.\(^{(15)}\)
10. 'Law of Demand states that other things remaining same a household or an individual consumer will demand more of goods at a lower price than at a higher price'. 'Marshall's theory of demand is based on law of diminishing marginal utility, combined with a number of assumptions'\(^{(28)}\)

In almost all the books dealing with Price Theory (mainly utility, demand and supply) there are many variations in the definition of the theory. Every author has his own way of interpretation, assumptions, inferences and geometrical representations. May be there are about 20/30 geometrical figures to elaborate demand curve development in every book but one does not find a single mathematical equation to satisfy even a single figure. If there was one then estimation, testing the fitness etc would have enabled to justify the nature of the lines or curves. But basically the theory and the economists do not need any mathematical involvement as that would jeopardize the entire structure of the price theory. Geometrical figures used in this theory have only ornamental value. If only even one concept in price theory gets quantified it has a bright future in the present days of computers and advanced softwares. In the absence of this aspect one can find there is no growth and advances in this theory. Even modern economists talk of mathematical models but one hardly sees geometrical representations and any mathematical equations which would help in estimation and testing.

'Indifference Curves'(ICs)

First, we consider some definitions/descriptions/assumptions made by various authors in their books on Indifference Curves. In almost all the books, data to suit the curve or the curve to suit the convenience are drawn first and then assumed properties are shown as observed by the curve. To suit further assumptions, ICs are drawn so that they do not touch or intersect and have negative slopes. ICs have come through the research of Edgeworth (1881), I. Fisher (1892), Pareto (1906), Slutsky (1919), Hicks and Allan (1934) and Hicks (1939).

The theory and the concept are being studied and taught for the last 70 years or so. The researchers found the cardinal measure 'Marshallian Utility Measure' unsatisfactory and unconvincing. Two economists Hicks and Allan developed the concept of 'Indifference Curves' and considered it to be an Ordinal Measure. The concept has three assumptions:

i) Non Satiety
ii) Transitivity and
iii) Diminishing Marginal Rate of Substitution.

For the purpose of this paper these assumptions are accepted. Further for the ICs, the governing properties are:

a) ICs slope downwards to the right
b) ICs are convex to the origin
c) ICs can not intersect each other
d) ICs can not even meet or touch or be tangent to each other.

These governing properties are themselves all assumptions. No mathematical explanation is provided to support the same. In spite of the above assumptions geometrically and physically the measure is supposed to be 'ORDINAL' that is no quantification and only qualitative measure of grading or rating is possible.

At no stage in the development and the use of ICs, is any mathematical equation used, to represent the ICs. Only f(x,y) or some similar notations are used. This section of the paper deals with the intricacies and contrasts developed in the situation. If two or more ICs are to observe the above conditions, notional, geometrical and mathematical, then what are they actually?
Let us see what different authors have to say in the matter.

- IC shows various combinations of commodity X and commodity Y that yields equal utility or satisfaction to the consumer.\(^{(29)}\)
- Curve is shown (Jeans against CDs) with a comment that preference must be a) rational b) consistent and c) complete to define ICs.\(^{5}\)
- No data. Only two smooth curves are drawn (Gas against electricity units) to define ICs. The author further states that the practical problems of constructing such curves are virtually insurmountable but this does not detract us from their theoretical explanation. Accept that i) Individual ICs do exist ii) they can be meaningfully combined to yield community ICs and iii) they are convex to the origin. The curve is generally postulated as convex to the origin and the slope is declining.\(^{(20)}\)
- IC is the locus of points involving combinations of rates of combinations of the two products or sets of products X and Y with all points on the curve yielding same level of satisfaction. It is ordinal in character, only preference is asked from the consumer. Example is of bread and wine. Curve is drawn first and then inferences are drawn.\(^{(17)}\)
- Diagram is drawn directly. Think of the consumer as sliding up and down the IC. Then he is equally well off at any point on the IC. Commodities in question are divisible into very small units. There is convenience in drawing a smooth curve. Preference means moving North-East on the map IC. Maps are drawn so that curves appear to be parallel to one another. Parallelism is devoid of economic significance.\(^{(37)}\)
- Economists do not believe that utility has a cardinal measure. Only ordinal measure is considered, i.e. 'much or less' and not 'how much'. Consumer behavior in terms of preferences which in turn are defined only by behavior. The results are circular. Hypothesis places definite restrictions. \(^{(29)}\)
- Shape of IC is predetermined. It is either steep or shallow. ICs are convex to the origin.\(^{(34)}\)
- ICs are negatively sloped. It shows diminishing rate of substitution. The measure is ordinal.\(^{(32)}\)
- Utility is ordinal. Indifference map may have \(au+b\), \(a\log x\), \(au.u\). Indifference map is a system of curves \(u(x_1,x_2) = \text{constant}\). \(I_1, I_2, I_3\) ... system of curves are drawn in the OX1X2 as indifference map.\(^{(2)}\)
- With no factual data ICs are drawn, first a three dimensional diagram and then a two dimensional diagram. An inference is drawn that if two points are on the same IC they have the same utility. A comment is made that 'we have come to a remarkable thing about ICs..... with wide economic significance.....given wants............scale of preference \(^{(9)}\)...

It can be seen that most of the authors have presumed the existence of the ICs in the shape of a curve

i. convex to the origin,
   ii. with negative slope,
   iii. not intersecting with each other
   iv. not tangent to each other and
   v. having an ordinal measure.

The author of this paper sees some of the possibilities. The diagrams are in the XY plane and restricted to the first quadrant. Only in the cases of hyperbola all the four quadrants are shown. This is only to show that the dichotomy that creeps in if the curves are to observe the above imposed conditions. None of the definitions/ descriptions / assumptions of ICs by different authors of various books referred have given any significance to its presumed ordinal characteristic.
I) In figure No.3 the ICs are parallel to each other within the imits of goods X and Y.

II) In fig.4 a system of parabolas, one inside the other, is shown. Each curve represents one IC and at any point on one curve, the same amount of satisfaction is derived by the consumer. The IC above it gives locus of points giving equal amount of satisfaction but more than the satisfaction on the curve below.

III) In fig 5 ICs are a system of concentric circles till the time the curve of the circle is convex to the origin.

IV) Similarly fig. 6 shows a system of ellipses one inside the other till the curves are convex to the origin.
Figure 7: System of Hyperbolas

V) Fig 7 shows a system of hyperbolas restricted to the first quadrant and also that the curves are convex to the origin.

VI) ICs have to be symmetrical about a point. If this property is not observed by the ICs they are likely to intersect each other at some point or the other.

VII) Why almost all the books or papers do not give any mathematical equation(s) to represent the ICs.

VIII) The level /grade/ranking of consumer's satisfaction, is it a discrete or a continuous variable. By very nature of assumptions it has to be 'Ordinal'

IX) Even though the commodities along the X axis and the Y axis seem to be discrete, the points on the IC (Amount of Satisfaction) are ordinal. In further analysis use of differentiation, partial differentiation is made and inferences drawn. When there is no continuous variable on the two axes, how far this use of mathematics is justified?

X) Arbitrary and suitable curves are drawn to show and justify substitution and price effects.

XI) Do ICs really support ordinal measurability?

There are ambiguities and inconsistencies in the argument and assumptions in the development of the theory of ICs.

Further once tool of ICs is ready what purpose it serves? With so many constraints and no such market prevailing any where it has become a futile theoretical exercise based on non tenable conditions. So many mathematical curves spread over the development of ICs but there is not a single mathematical equation to justify the nature of the curve. Without accounting for nature of the variable, discrete or continuous, the tools of differentiation and partial differentiation are used freely. This shows no accountability for such uses.

It was Galileo who realized the importance of measurement and wrote, 

*Count what is countable,*

*Measure what is measurable,*

*And what is not measurable,*

*Make it measurable.*
If the consumer is able to give his preference to particular combination of two goods (generally discrete in nature) by grade or rank only while observing all other conditions, mathematical and some assumed, the preference can not possibly be 'ORDINAL.' Further he is also able to distinguish his level of satisfaction even because of very small changes in either of the goods. There is no such possibility.

The author of this paper feels that the very foundation of 'indifference curves' that the measure is 'ordinal' becomes doubtful and not tenable. No purpose is being served by the existence of ICs in the present form. One can do away with it.

**Loanable Fund Theory**

Any assumptions made while initiating the theory and further developing it need to have sound reasoning, need to stand simple practical situations and mathematical tests. Loanable fund theory is a glaring example of a theory which defies logic and mathematics. There are anomalies and aberrations in the present scenario of the 'Loanable Fund Theory'. In price theory in economics there is a branch of 'Interest'. Interest has been defined/described/explained by many economists in different ways. Loanable fund theory explains the rate of interest through the equilibrium between demand for and supply of loanable funds.

**Fig 8**

**Demand Curves**
- DS - Dis-savings
- I – Investment
- H – Hoarding

\[ DL = DS + I + H \]

**Fig 9**

**Supply Curves**
- S- Savings
- DI – Disinvestment
- DH – Dis-hoarding
- BM – Bank Money

\[ SL = S + DI + DH + BM \]

Almost all the books covering the topic of loanable fund theory represent these seven components by straight lines. The three under demand are to be parallel to each other with negative slopes and four components under supply are parallel to each other with positive slopes.

Further the three lines are added and one gets the summation curve, again a straight line(DL). Similarly four lines in the other set are added and one gets summation curve, again a straight line(SL). Another assumption is made that these two DL and SL must intersect and that too in
the first quadrant.
Consider how many assumptions are made which do no exist and are not feasible in practice and also are non mathematical.

1 All the seven parameters, in demand and supply together, which are represented by straight lines are not so in practice, barring few situations. Many important factors (time, duration, risk, productivity, taxation, market standing etc.) are ignored just to get the parameter to follow a straight line.
2 Even if supposedly they are represented by straight lines then why they should be parallel to each other except to suit the convenience of the theory with no accountability for the parallel lines.
3 The summation lines of demand and supply must intersect in the first quadrant. This is because the point of equilibrium, geometrically has to come in the first quadrant to suit the assumptions.
4 Summations must be straight lines.
This is a chain of incorrect assumptions, illogical inferences and free use of geometrical figures to suit the development of theory and there are no mathematical equations. Then why teach this theory and enhance untenable and unproven way of thinking in the minds of students of Economics.

Fig 10

Under supply, savings is one component. Irrespective of any rate of interest, high or low, there is bound to be fund available which individuals and households keep for emergency and safety. Considering the huge number of individuals and households, this fund is bound to be very large. So even for zero interest there is bound to be fund available. It shows that the line for savings would have a point with coordinates \((x,0), x > 0\). The line if at all there is one it perhaps would be as drawn in Fig 10.

Under supply, dis-hoarding is another component. This component is generally not in terms of monetary terms. (For example, Cement, Steel, Cotton, Food Grains, Gold, Shares etc). Hoarding/dis-hoarding can not be in the form of monetary units as it would involve possible violation of law. But most of the books do no discuss whether hoarding/dis-hoarding is in terms of monetary or non-monetary units as they do not cite any examples while speaking of dis-hoarding. This component would have a point with coordinates \((0,y), y > 0\) fig 10. Thus it shows that the line of savings and the line of dis-hoarding can not possibly be parallel to each other. Further somebody's dis-hoarding is someone else's investment therefore it does not make additional fund available in the market. Fig 10.

Under supply, another component is bank money. Because of the very nature of the business, bank money could be in the form of monetary units, guarantees, securities, shares etc, so
irrespective of rate of interest prevailing in the market the fund would always be there and a point on this line, if assume , will have coordinates ( x,0),x>0. The point stressed here is that the lines drawn for convenience can not be parallel to each other.

Firstly savings, disinvestments, dis-hoarding and bank money need not be straight lines under supply. Under some situations if they are straight lines they can not be parallel to each other.

Similar arguments are true for components under demand. No book refers to demand in the form of goods like, steel, cement, food grains, shares, gold, securities etc and aspects like weather, govt. policies, war, famine etc but presumes in the form of monetary values. Hoarding, dis-hoarding, consumption, cost of hoarding, perishable goods, weather conditions, rains, floods etc are given no weight in the analysis of the loanable fund theory. Thus this exercise of loanable fund is like poetry with little logic or mathematical backing. One sees no use of this theory in economics.

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Hath (Social) Democrats Forsaken Labor?

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Hath (Social) Democrats Forsaken Labor?

Abstract: Sell-outs or master adjusters? This is a question that organized labor has been asking of their political spokespeople - Social Democrats - as income and job insecurity heightens among many skill groups in the last decade or two. To labor groups, the fight over ‘the (output) gap’ is almost over, for the bad, taking activism out of them. Output gap is, materially, what we churn out in a year relative to where we see ourselves as capable of. If unsure of the latter, labor’s demands become just academic as improved information flows (technology) facilitates competition from late-coming countries, necessitating bids to produce our favorite toys by workers the world over. This further puts pressure on labor in the West. Policy response to such developments? Labor suspects Democrats, at the minimum, are all too willing to go along with outward-oriented laws that tends to, ultimately, weaken post-War pro-labor policies. More importantly, these changes comes at a time when fundamental institutional changes are taking place to remove the ‘separation of powers’ of principal economic and political actors, a departure from the post-war stance.

A simple regression analysis with key economic variables leads our theoretical conversation as to whether the declining fortunes of Social Democrats (dependent variable ‘left vote’ as a percentage of the sum of the ‘left’ and that of ‘independents’) is driven by these economic fundamentals (output gap) lagged for a couple of years; earnings of production workers over time; government share of GDP, and voter turnout. It turns out that we did not place enough emphasis on the fact that where we see ourselves as capable of being at (potential output) depends on where the latecomers are, an observation that has significant implications on policy menu and choices thereof while altering internal power configurations, placing a number of Democrats at the ‘scene of the crime’.
Draft of

Ma ATT: from life support to reunion with lost babies.
Is a reunion possible for U.S. too?

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Ma ATT: from life support to reunion with lost babies. Is a reunion possible for U.S. too?

**Summary:** Good name is better than riches, so the saying goes. What if the good name is derived from fast-disappearing riches, and the good name now so tainted that some kids, embarrassed, have walked out of home in disgust? This is the case of Ma USA. Fortunately, even at her moral and material worst, Chomsky’s thought of it being ‘over’ for Ma might very well be an overstatement. True, she is uneasy about the limitation of the retirement income that she will soon receive; severely misaligned items on her balance sheet (aggregate demand/current account); geopolitical realities that are no longer favourable to her; neighbours Asia and South America coming of age and getting more attention. But despite these catch-ups, the belief here is that with appropriate rehab – strategic regional reorientation and selective demand contractions - a reunion is possible with the kids. Her chances will be much brighter especially if she could:

- at the material front, treat her addiction, fast, adjustment that will likely push back key budgetary variables that are out of place - on her current account - that has made her so vulnerable
- At the moral front try to be European by (administratively) depoliticising the all-important Supreme Court whose rulings on major constitutional issues increasingly are being interpreted as un-American in spirit
- Keep the un-European stance at the immigration front by continuing her progressive assimilative policies

Fortunately, reality is on her side. By setting such a low moral standard, she can, in Wall Street parlance, beat it (expectations) handily. So committing a type 1 error will be the least of her concerns. But for ultimate control, she has to realize that kids (neighbours and political allies) are grown and need to be treated like adults.

**I. Background: ONCE INVINCIBLE, NOW VULNERABLE**

Ma ATT’s sales topped $120 billion in the year 2006, and is supposed to double this year, 2007. Hard to believe, considering the fact that at age 121 years, obsolete in her *Telegram* motor skills (as in American *Telegram* and Telecommunications), and comatose, we were quick in pronouncing her dead, on that fateful January 2005 (merger) day. But she did not. In fact she came back in style, in 2006, when, in a dramatic turn of events, SouthWestern
Bell came home and inspired her to come out of her deep sleep. Ma ATT is now almost fulfilled, with only Verizon and Quest still holdout. I guess she cannot win it all.

Another Ma has a similar story to tell, not exactly a comatose one but close, and a more exciting one because she has a much larger extended offspring with different characters and interests to match. But ultimately, it is the comeback story that will provide all the intrigues we can wish for.

II. LINES OF VULNERABILITY

What to do when a country that, previously, just had to show up with third-rated players, ended up teaching the world how to play ball at the Olympic Basketball Games, but now, even with the big guns like the Kobe Bryants, the Shaqs, the Dirk Nowitzkis is denied the top medal three years in a row, even beaten soundly in the recent (2006) World Baseball Classic tournament, a shocker? At the diplomatic front, what to do when a country, whose leader had a line-up of presidents waiting to be received but now considered such a liability they are shying away and turning to Third World leaders (Brazil, India, and China)?

What to do when violence greets a president who used to draw cheers on visits to friendly Latin neighbours, and is lectured by hosts on how to run foreign policy? Militarily, what to do when a country that took just hours to humiliate another from Kuwait, with images of sandals-wearing soldiers pleading for mercy by, literally, kissing the feet of the victors but now finds herself humiliated not even by that country’s national army nor an organized group but rather rebels in rugs and still does not want to get out for fear of being branded, in her own words, ‘a quitter’, a ‘cut-and-runner’, or a ‘loser’? Morally, what to do when a country that used to draw up annual State Department human rights report as a blueprint for a moral world but its recent one ridiculed for human rights gaffs that for reasons not yet well understood had to withdraw from the U.N.’s Human Rights Council? What to do when a country that thought its legal system could stand the test of social, political, and social disruptions but once tested (9-11) resorted to some well-publicised blatant judicial interference that we once associated with dictatorial regimes? What to do when her once almighty economy – just as General Motor’s - is bleeding from the loss of its star economic export (argued here as ‘democratic premium’), but can no longer sell enough to pay for bills,
this premium ‘bond’ (reputation) reduced to junk, and maybe in a danger of, diplomatically, being ‘acquired’ by ‘a Nissan’? You guessed it. This is a story about Ma USA, the humbled parent.

An operational plan for rehabilitation is provided here, drawn from the lesson that ATT just taught us on its reinvention and reunion with its long lost ones. Ma ATT played to her strength to gain the moral right to reunite with lost babies. Now she is even threatening to be even more of a force in this new age. It did it when no one was watching, with a dose of substance, lots of style, and what is left of her good name. Ma USA could very well follow ATT’s footsteps and make quick adjustments aimed at reclaiming lost premium. But she will be in a better position if she recognizes that things are not the same as before. Contrary to what her trade and pop-internationalist advisors tell her, she does not only have to recognize the limitations of her retirement income (real income drop) but will have to get uses to a severely bruised ego (depreciation). Even that, she will have to balances her books well, address some productivity woes, and above all, go back to being inclusive.

III. A PREMIUM LOST

Accountants call the premium on what we own Goodwill, a windfall for ‘good’ name, or deed, able to attract even more premium over time. A ‘good’ neighbourhood, for instance, confers such a premium to a house. Other professions use different names for such intangibles but regardless of profession, undoubtedly, Ma’s huge economic locomotive and deliberate attempts at inclusion presented economic and moral promise that complimented other intangibles to attract hefty premium that is reflected in her greenback, her signature currency and jewel that symbolizes prestige. Let us explore how so much air came out of this greenback lately, an exercise that will involve the examination of both the buy (demand), sell (production) sides, and the windfall that comes with such interactions.

*The buy side, the money trail and*

Easy come, easy go! The premium house in the premium neighborhood needs only a string of bad events (say robberies or murders) to make the premium disappear, in a flash, and Ma
has surely got a lot on her plate lately: shocks to her pocket and a string of expensive and ill-advised foreign expeditions that are weighing so heavily on her purse, tearing a big hole in it.

A short while ago, (please see fig 1) in 2001, she could get €1.20 ($1=€1.20) to shop but five years later by May 2006 the reverse had happened: only €.78 ($1.279=€1) in exchange. Old trade literature has it that this is a typical rich person’s disease and that as she craves for those spiffy foreign goods (higher income elasticity for the imports that she buys relative to what she sells), all she will have to do is to get used to a bit more deflated wallet but as we are finding out, such deflation might not be enough for her to get to her old self. This is because more so now than ever before, exchange/trade is now more than a ‘price’ thing. There are other intangibles (non-price) as well but having things of relevance to sell to neighbors is key to benefits from a diminished premium. As neighbors buy more from her and demand more greenbacks to facilitate that, its value would go up perhaps turn into even more positive intangibles/premium as well. Unfortunately, this is not happening for her. Sales are not generating the income to pay for what she buys. More importantly, she is no longer getting ‘free stuff’ that celebrities get by just showing up at events. A look at her principal trading partners and her balance sheet illustrate this. I use the ‘principal’ here to reflect relationship between ‘equals’ so as to identify significant structural shifts.

In the same period (5 yrs ago), Canada’s loonie could barely bring in $.69USD (CDN$1=.69USD). Now, the two currencies are inching closer to par. Similar stories could be told of Brazil, those in the Eurozone, and Britain, less so for Japan, whom many from Ma’s home have counseled on how to cut (micro-macro) umbilical cord that ties the accommodating central bank to mega (‘inefficient’) firms that benefit from ‘easy credit’. For the latter, never mind the consequential deflation, and the elephant around its neighborhood (China) who has taken some of its thunder. He has been able to hold his own precisely because he has been able to sell more to Ma, lots of it, especially cars. It is exports, stupid!
Obviously, it is not by design that the greenback has taken such a pounding. It is mainly the result of weakening economic fundamentals – what economists conveniently refer to as the twin deficit. That is why David Walker, US Controller-General, the guy who oversees government expenditure, is crisscrossing the country telling anyone who would listen, that Ma needs to go to rehab to curb her only treatable ailment - shopping addiction. For the longest time her trade advisors, Paul Krugman of old amongst them (in Competitiveness: A
Dangerous Obsession\textsuperscript{1} assured her that as a large ‘closed’ and/or self-contained economy, she is too big and too powerful to worry about economic threat from neighbors, certainly not the lowering of her price (devaluation), because doing that would cause those in her house to lose income because that is where the action is, and where jobs revolve around. So, using retail parlance, why cut prices and lose margin when you might not get the volume? This, the logic went, is what would happen if she had cut prices for those outside her household (a small percentage of her activities). One more thing! Ma’s wallet was supposed to be the magic wand from which her spending on those outside her household triggers all kinds of growth. As table 1 below shows, the richer people got in Ma’s home, the more they bought from neighbors, 2.87 of them ((for Krugman and Baldwin’s (1987) measure)) for every dollar rise in income, compared to a value of 2.42 for what others buy from her household. Bolstered by this fact, and the fact that decent productivity growth and associated intangibles (in chart 2 below) stood at 100 while many others less than 100, she figured her house will do just fine while others stalled. No room for rehab was given.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Imports</th>
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<tr>
<td>Kruman and Baldwin (1987)</td>
<td>2.87</td>
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<td>Helkie and Hoper (1988)</td>
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<td>Cline (1989)</td>
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<td>Lawrence (1990)</td>
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<td>Blecker (1992)</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>1.67</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blecker (2003)</td>
<td>2.22</td>
<td>1.38</td>
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Source: Howes and Singh's(2003) \textit{Competitiveness Matters}, Univ. of Michigan p. 49

Time changes! A number of emerging giants, at different (but more advantageous) stages of development than Ma are in, and competing hard with her. They are using their capital (human and physical) and labor resources (MFP) more efficiently. As a consequence, a number of them have converged to Ma’s prestigious status, making it look like she is losing out when in fact they are just catching up. So relying on shopping (aggregate demand) to pull the rabbit out of the growth hat might not work this time, even with the decent multifactor productivity showing (fig 2 below) that says that she is putting in 1.8 units of labor and 2.4

\textsuperscript{1} Foreign Affairs, 73 (Mar/April) 28:44.
capital to help churn out only 1.8 (bar chart) by way of effectiveness in producing output, a feat that the emerging giants can beat hands down.

Fig 2

<table>
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<th>OECD estimates of productivity (2005)</th>
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IV. THE BUY/DEMAND SIDE

Put differently in a more pointed way, Ma, arguably, the richest among the bunch, has been borrowing heavily from a poor guy who just got a raise recently (China), and a few others. A quick browse at personal balance sheets tells the story better.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Public sector balance} + \text{Private agents balance (consumers & businesses)} &= \text{current account balance} \\
\text{or} \\
\text{Ma's balance} + \text{kids (at home's) balance} &= \text{current account balance}
\end{align*}
\]
What she spends to protect family at home (public sector) is in the red, so are those living in her house (consumers). A brighter spot is businesses, but they have a bit of problems too.

*The genius of a price*

Funny that Ma took her trade advisor’s word that price does not matter but now is doing an about face accusing China of using the same (discredited) ‘price’ to embarrass her. I suspect she realizes that a price (exchange rate) could carry a dynamic effect beyond a simple value calculation. In otherwords, if GM is bought by China and its facilities shipped to his house, would China’s benefit extend beyond direct activities that the car production generates? The answer is yes. That is why such a simple exchange rate manipulation by China is making her look like an intellectual mouse in this (economics) area that she has won all kinds of Nobel Prizes at. China’s simple price scheme, to quote a popular commercial, is ‘so easy a caveman can do it’. It goes like this. It says the best way to keep a nervous addict on leash is *not* to increase the price of what she buys but rather hold it steady or lower it. Illicit drug dealers know this so well. They package their stuff in small packages, cheap enough for addicts to keep coming for their fix. That is the purpose of China fixing its yuan currency to Ma’s greenback. If she lightens up with addiction treatment, there is hope she can manage buy habit, reduce the amount of greenback turned over in exchange for, increasing the latter’s value until the mind game ceases. As for the $1 trillion in reserves that China has piled up? He has the luxury to pile it under his pillow, buy houses with them, give it back to Ma as a loan, invest it in exotic financial papers, or dump it, but he will no longer be assured of continued specie flow, so it will now come to play, maybe as fair as Ma wants it.

*The picture*

To appreciate her buy side woes that has helped transfer all these money to China, she recently had to twist the arm of the credit card company to raise her credit limit in order to accommodate her expected $9 trillion debt on her household – about $30,000 for every man, woman, and child – most of which went into unproductive activities, oversized offspring (military), and poorly-designed Medicare drug benefit plan, and, other pork barrel projects
sold as a hedge against haters (terrorists). We are not even counting the bills that typically total $225-billion in 3-months. In otherwords, what she buys exceeded what she sold by $225-billion in the first 3 months of 2006, up from the $185-billion 3-months prior so she needed $2.2-billion dollars every day to make up for the shortfall. That is not all. Her lawmakers (The Senate) just passed a record $2.8 trillion spending bill for the year 2007, guaranteed to add to the mountain of debt. Do not forget that in May 2006 she signed a $70 billion money giveaway (tax cuts) that will take away from her ability-to-pay. Presented with the fact that all these antics ties her hands to only two families to the tune of 50% of her total debt, some close associates shrugs it off believing that these two lenders just cannot fall out of love with Ma. They claim those lenders have:

- nowhere else to put their savings and that
- Ma offers stability and security that no one else can offer

Oh, Ma has got a little surprise for the debtors who dare threaten or blackmail her by massively demanding their money (dumping her IOUs). Bring it on! Why such machismo posture? Ma figures that:

- The world will not let her die because she will take a lotta borrowed money to her grave so even if it requires everyone else to tighten belts to subsidize her hospital bills and keep her on life support, it is a rational thing to do.
- So Ma’s surrogates have a point, underscored by China’s (Premier) Wen Jiabao’s recent assurance to Ma that his plan to go liberal in the investment of the $1 trillion-plus reserves ($600 in greenbacks) would not depress the premium further. By dumping the IOUs en masse, these creditors lose money because the greenback would be worth less (lower price from the higher supply of IOUs). So true, Ma is sitting pretty, in debt while China is in the driver’s seat, giving mercantilism a new meaning, thanks to Ma. China’s deliberate attempt to go against a pop (economic) culture of unfettered capital and current account liberalization has yielded dividend by controlling Ma’s destiny with all kinds of ‘metals’ in reserves. Ma might be

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thinking she is doing the creditors a favour by providing a safe place for their savings but she might be very well be digging herself deeper in the hole.

A realistic scenario

Theoretically and practically, if the greenback is dumped, not massively but even gradually, in a panic, Ma’s short-run strategy would to be nice to lenders by paying more by way of interest rate on the debt. In so doing, she will have to live with the negative consequences of high interest rate on her household – for those who rely on bank finances – threatening her attempt at strengthening her sell side: those in her house who want to produce but cannot afford the funds to do so. Nonetheless, her chief confidant, The Fed, has been doing just that, pushing interest rate, rather slowly, upwards, trying to appease these nervous financiers. That will likely shuffle internal cards by perhaps threatening to pop the bubble in the housing market that Ma has seen as a reliable source of strength. An increase in interest rates pushes out marginal borrowers, especially those sub-primers, leaving the banks, especially in a bear market, with a lot of useless properties that the lending banks will rather not have. Hard to imagine where she will begin to change course.

Temptation for relapse?

Just in case Ma finally gets it and shapes up, chances for relapse? Recall this whole addiction culture came from people of all stripes – the ideological left, and right. From the right, a group that calls itself Ricardian equivalence cheered the debt binge by waving their ‘debt does not matter’ flag to any one who dared question Ma’s excesses, a cultures nurtured actively under Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush, leaving them with debt unprecedented in history. At the supply side, debt was justified when argument were convincing that it would put the military-industrial complex rolling.

The left, on the otherhand, huddled around the full-employment tent, well intended but to a large extent built a culture of competitive fiscal bids. Whether the call for oversight will be able to curb such excesses in such an engrained culture, permanently, without relapse is yet to be seen. To make believers out of the concerned, she will have to (a) Construct,
internally, artificially high price for what she buys (relative price)\(^3\) but then would splinter family members go for it knowing that such higher prices implies that they buy less stuff? A second way is to do it the old-fashioned way: cultivate a savings habit. She needs it because her private sector’s surplus (her only surplus unit) is slowly being eating away by higher interest rate on ‘easy money’ being showered on it for unproductive mergers and acquisitions. If not warned, eventually, they would very well join in on the orgy of free spending.

In short, the First Way out, from the \textit{buy side}, for now, is problematic. Let us see how this shopping habit feeds into another side of the democratic premium, the supply side..

\textbf{V. THE SELL/SUPPLY SIDE: and some theoretical ambivalence}

How about the Second Way: selling more to pay for the bills? For starters, Ma goods – just as her offspring GM, Ford, and Chrysler – are not flying outta the shelves despite decent showings in Europe and Asia. In fact it has got to such a psychological point where, in Ma’s household, even if GM makes the best car and puts its logo on it and Nissan builds the worst car and puts its Nissan logo on it, chances are customers will gravitate toward the Nissan car. Testers of cars (Consumer Report, etc) are in on this too, comfortable with consumer’s fixation with imports so less generous in recognizing Ma’s products. This turns Ma into a tennis (sports) player. Being the lower ranked player attracts tougher opponent. Alternatively, if she were ranked higher, she gets to be matched up with weaker opposition. So Ma and GM’s premium loss implies tougher psychological fights ahead as weaker opponents (like KIA Motors) have the opportunity and the confidence to square off with here. It is a mind game now, no free ride. But she has been here before and has been known to be a master at flexibility, only that she needs a different kind of flexibility, not with image-makers that GM has been obsessed with in the past to please shareholders.

These image-makers have also done her an unpardonable disservice, microeconomically, just as the ‘debt does not matter’ advocates did macroeconomically. Take the view derived from the Ricardian and Heckscher-Ohlin (resource endowment-based) models. Building on traditional neoclassical growth models that have it that growth comes from technological advantage, these models also promised jobs and security to skilled people in rich families like

Ma’s, so Ma became, perhaps, too comfortable. If we sneak in the Stolper-Samuelson (1941) theorem, the story loses some sentences because though trade is supposed to be the way through which labor of all kinds – skilled and unskilled - could gain in labor-intensive industries in Ma’s world, it was the unskilled in poorer families too that would benefit the most to motivate them to keep shipping to Ma the low-tech toys and raw materials that she has relied on for decades. For most part the have but they, and Ma in particular, missed an important (backward and forward) links: the extent of benefits to skilled groups in poorer families. Who imagined that China will step up to challenge Boeing and Airbus in commercial aircraft making? But by getting comfortable thinking she will remain an unregulated monopolist over such (high-tech) stuff, Ma assumed away catch-up by all others at a time of decreasing (tele)communications costs and increasing intra-industry trades stemming from joint ventures, facilities that has permitted poorer families their relatively unskilled people to learn and take Ma on squarely.

But perhaps this catch-up is sinking in. Maybe that is why she is holding back her NAFTA (North America Free Trade Agreement) commitments to economically extend her fence northwards to Canada and southwards for as far as she chooses. Weird how she could deliberately frustrate even obedient son, Canada, with petty softwood lumber countervail disputes, and harassment when Canada wants to visit from north of her border. The ‘left’ and the ‘right’ have not helped her either, in Congress, with their political games of protectionism, the latest of which is a reversal of a 20-yr-old policy with imposition of tax on a number of China’s goods, giving her a sense of security. But there are signs that the same Congress is coming to grips with reality as well. In March 2007, it signalled that the stalled Doha, Qatar, round of negotiation will receive a new life with separate deals with Colombia, Panama and Peru, and even South Korea, all intended to remove many inter-family barriers (tariffs), and even the AFL-CIO is hopping on board.

Ma ATT’s reinvention: lessons for Ma

Ma ATT had occupied the enviable position of dominance: the first to build a long-distance network in 1885; an icon who whose name is synonymous with telecommunication, and perhaps of quality. Yet, she was deemed not to have the depth (vertical integration) to be
trusted with the job of control over the industry so had to be broken up in 1984 to start life as a head of a much smaller family, a flexibility challenge. With manufacturing arm in her way, in 2001, she got rid of it, readying herself for the changing world that responds better in packaged units of hybrid cable, wireless, and line products.

Rather than being isolationist as Ma USA, Ma ATT, through collaboration with industry leaders (Intel, BEA Systems and Symbol Technologies), sought to build on its traditional prowess into simple, manageable, secure network solution called frequency identification (RFID) device to pitch to businesses. The target now is to make this network work across diverse hardware platforms. Slowly, she has become a major managed services company with a lot more terabytes (per day) of traffic, a feat that even ‘younger’ industries would only dream of, in addition her leadership in residential long distance services. Perhaps favorite son SBC realized this tenacity that is why despite his deep pocket and youth, he was glad to have Ma ATT ran the show, at least by name, once again. The rest of the story is history: now back as the largest long distance career, wireless Cingular services, and DSL internet access. Not quite the towering figure (unregulated monopolist) she once was but big enough to be a responsible (regulated oligopoly) with considerable leverage. To be fair, Ma USA, she has realized that collaboration pays but will rather do it within her geopolitical prism. Take the March 14th, 2007 comment by one of the most revered person in global commercial-aviation business Steven Udvar-Hazy.

He warned those of us on the Pacific coast, especially Boeing, not to hold its breath on missteps of fellow duopolist Airbus on its spiffy A380 plane for its survival. Instead, he cautioned that there is an air of excitement for something new - like rivals like Russia, China and Japan jumping in. Perhaps, Ma got such drift and recognizing Japanese technical prowess, attempted cooperation (through NASA) with the Japanese counterpart Japan Aerospace Exploration Agency (JAXA) intended to develop a low-noise, fuel-efficient supersonic jet to fill the vacuum that the Anglo-French Concorde left a few years ago. Why go so far when she could have tapped into the expertise? North of her fence, Canada has a smaller family of planes made by Bombardier and to the South, Brazil boasts of Embraer. Teaming up with them into an Airbus-brand of conglomerate, would give her more ‘air power’ in competition with Airbus and anyone who will emerge from Asia. Such a

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relationship will also cement a southern axis built around the drive to work in Ma’s house by
neighbors. Already, her long lost Mexico is slowly moving back to reclaim areas (in Ma’s
backyard) that he used to call home in the 1850s: New Mexico, Texas, and California. So
once again, these areas will serve as a natural cultural and economic extension, a departure
from the Anglo-European roots.

VI. THE THIRD WAY: Diplomacy

A Third Way – beyond the buy and sell sides – is to amplify her appeal by pointing to her
traditional virtue as a ‘safe haven’. By doing so, irrespective of past wrongs, everyone could
walk back home, maybe this time not unannounced, but certainly be welcome, with all the
money they carry with them. She will need it’. The family spirit will lighten up, once again.
But first, she has to admit to her competitive fate (loss of this premium) and not be an
arrogant debtor. She should not treat subjects as kids, nor play favorites needlessly,
otherwise she alienates others. Rather, she should relate to them adults, an approach that will
certainly whip up the sense of togetherness. More importantly, as reflected in his book Failed
States, Chomsky, Ma might want to address the four principal elements of her democratic
institutions that has sunk morale — arrogance of being above domestic and interfamily
(international) law, lack of true democracy at various levels, inability to protect her family,
and the divide between public policy and public opinion, areas that he sees are fast losing
real substance. Let as expose bits of the arrogance that Chomsky seem to be referring to.

Understanding the lingo, and Ma’s recipe

Ma has shown that she can even be friends with adversaries, even help them out: Marshall
Plan for Europe, and inseparable friendship with Japan. Even when playing favourites, she
could still be reasonably fair. She derives all these virtues from the fact that she has been a
master at borrowing a bit from all cultures and turning them to her advantage, an attribute
that stems from a reasonable level of respect to other cultures. That is how we have come to
know her, and that is why her friends and neighbours are so demoralized that she has gone
back to her ideals.
Specifically, they trusted Ma with assurances on their security even when the issues at stake were too complicated to understand. Sure they did not understand the lingo that goes into negotiations over intercontinental ballistic missiles; the degree of North Korea’s nuclear capability; complexities of the Iran-Contra arrangements. So when, then, the CIA was accused of undermining other (foreign) families sympathetic to another by name the Soviet Union using ‘intel’ scoop that was no better than a New York Times article clipped as classified information, the family believed Ma because she was supposed to know better, and trusted to work to protect family interest since it was too complicated for our simple minds. This was not the case with the pants-dropping Clinton-Monica encounters that was initially denied, nor prisoners on leash being humiliated by an occupying power seeking to impose democracy by force, events that initially Ma claimed did not exist and that we should trust her. A picture is worth a thousand words. Her own arbitrators (Supreme Court) on June 28, 2006 ruled that her military-style trials at Gitmo is were illegal, echoing what other families on the planet have been saying for the past three years, but Ma, though now grudgingly admitting some mistakes, is still sticking to the script.

Perhaps the turning point for Ma came when the respected elder Colin Powell staked his reputation to go to bat for her by conclusively pointing to two trucks as WMD laboratories. He later on admitted that he got it all wrong, or perhaps made up. Where were all the humint (human intelligence), satellites, and other sophisticated tools that her confidant (CIA) had at his disposal to get it right?

All of a sudden, stories in the 1960s and 70s of aggressive Ma making up recipes to destabilise left-leaning neighbours south of her borders and in other Third World families in the name of anti-communism all of a sudden makes sense now. She is now seen as pathologically untruthful and even potentially dangerous. If a conspiracy theorist shows up now with a silly allegation that the CIA pulled the trigger on JFK, it would not sound so absurd. So the Iraq fiasco thus becomes not only a credibility problem for a regime but a value challenge that undercuts Ma as a moral crusader. Thus, for the curious and the open-minded, ‘intel failure’ is now seen as convenient excuse for incompetence and hypocrisy. But for cheerleaders of her recent policies, such horror stories and even the much publicised exaggerating of arch enemy (Soviet) and Saddam’s capabilities are well within the margin of
error. So she is staying the course, almost all alone now but seemingly not bothered by accusations of abuses anymore. Ma is damaged. She could do other wrongs but not lie or make things up just to beat up on a little son. She needs more than words to makeup.

Mediocre competition, and scrambled morals

I remind friends that a true measure of a leftist is if one remains a leftist after becoming wealthy. China and India happens to be good case studies. Representatives of China, repeatedly, when asked at the U.N. and elsewhere why China he is now buddy to the likes of Khartoum, Rangoon, and Ndjamaena, the response has been standard: ‘it is all business and that he is doing exactly what Ma U.S.A. is doing’. All bets are off, and standards are dropping.

Who imagined that China and India would openly cozy up to Rangoon? China used to brag about his support for progressive regimes like Nelson Mandela’s ANC, Sam Nujoma’s SWAPO in Namibia, FNLA in Angola, among others. Natural resources were of little consideration then. This has all changed. Oh, remember the yearly birthday ritual that India used to send to Burmese opposition stalwart Aung San Suu Kyi? Kiss that goodbye too. In 2005 India was one of the few families that did not send a 60th birthday card. Aung San has nothing to offer now in opposition, and in confinement, compared to the lucrative natural gas contract being offered by the regime in Rangoon. When confronted, they cite Ma’s own exploits and her long wrap sheet– support for Saddam of Iraq, Manuel Noriega of Panama, Apartheid South Africa and (then) Rhodesia, Marcos of Philippines, and a litany of dictators and authoritarians. Once richer, these leftists are trading the Mao-like suits for a 3-piece.

But rather than take advantage of mediocre competition and change course dramatically to make up, Ma is, once again, expending political capital sabre rattling on another renegade sibling by name Iran, fearing that she has been a bad influence, recently, on a son that fell out of favour a while ago, Iraq. That fear is warranted because once this indiscipline gets out of hand, it will drag vulnerable Saudi Arabia along if the badly-treated and vengeful Shiites pushes enough to form a triangle out of Iraq into two neighbours (Iran and Saudi Arabia) who could be sympathetic to a Russia-China bloc. So whether Ma likes it or not, she is stuck with her unwanted stay in with Iraq, at least for now..
Sticking by a favourite son

One dominant issue - seemingly benign but morally significant – is complicating Ma’s comeback attempts and undercutting her moral authority. It is her relationship with her favourite son by name Israel, whom her Middle Eastern axis revolve when tensions are high. She has always favoured him for good reasons but in the past has been careful not to push other siblings away so her leverage was considerable. The road to Israel started at Ma’s doorway, so we all believed. Certainly her love is borne out of the deep moral dysfunction in Europe that made a devil out of militarism there. That is where Ma was got her reputation as a moral policewoman capable of putting together:

- her immediate family (Civil War/abolition of slavery) and more importantly
- a credible enforcer and mediator of all families after WWI and WWII.

So when Ma conceived and delivered him, in 1947, with cheers from virtually all families, Ma promised that she will never permit crazies like Hitler to emerge and threaten him. Israel, in little ways, knows how protective Ma was. The fact that the other Semite siblings living in the Middle East, in their minds, see him as the spoilt one does not bother him at all. In fact he relishes it, and the others simply had to be resigned to accept their fate.

But Ma’s measured impartiality has taken a hit, seriously, in the past three years. Some will even argue that the favourite son is telling Ma what to do in the Middle East now. It became evident when she announced that she was going to, just like Israel, build a fence to protect against intruders by from south of her house, an idea that had been considered so crazy that it was only right-wing crazies who would dare float around town. Surprise! Now it is part of Ma’s mainstream thought. It shows how far Ma has come. Then came the real kicker.

Israel had moved into his sibling’s (Palestinian) home, and seized a head of family (cabinet ministers) and by June 2006 had extended the campaign to the other one supportive of the insubordinate sibling, bombing him to submission while Ma stayed mute. Now the revered Shimon Peres is quoted as referring to the Lebanon beating a ‘mistake’ though, then, Ma

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publicly urged Israel on until Lebanon comes to his senses and ceases to harbour rogues (Hezbollah). Ma had gone too far.

An opportunity came for a make-up of sort when the Dubai Ports World deal arrived on her table but Ma scared residents in her house not to corporate so these petrodollar siblings, uneasy with neo-Cons and the Democrats seeking to be ‘tough on terror’ are staying away. From the above account, Ma has been less than a good parent, especially knowing that the moral reasons these sibling rivalry are questionable ones: from threat to push the Israel to the sea (Hamas), or justification for occupying part of Palestine (Israel). Ma’s authority is severely diminished.

Earlier – in March, 2006- her spokesperson to the world (the State Department) published a list of worst human rights abusers. The list included ‘permanent residents’ – North Korea, Iran, Egypt, etc. But this time reporters and news outlets openly questioned why Ma did not list her off-shore exploits in Guantanamo Bay and Abu Graib. The standard line was that it was a judgment on others, not on herself. Then in May 2006 John B. Bellinger III, leading a 12-member-strong delegation, had to plead with a U.N. body, the Committee Against Torture, that the question is not whether Ma had not tortured but that she has not systematically done so in the war on terror. Reporters also questioned why the favourite son was not cited, and why China’s excesses were watered down. No clear answers could be found but it was clear that pocketbook issues now trumps morals. Ma’s ability to be objective is in question. She has work to do. Perhaps, declining morals will make it possible to impress sceptics, once again, with minimal sacrifice.

**VII. OPPORTUNITIES: domestic virtues**

There is no precise formula for maintaining parental control but, as mentioned earlier, if Ma can deliver at the material level and play fair when imposing sanctions on siblings, morale will be lifted. For a while this seemed to have been the case in her house. This used to be where an overwhelming number of outsiders (immigrants) called their 1st, or 2nd homes. Initially, they were from the ‘culturally compatible’ families of Ireland, England, Canada, and Germany, making the strongly pro-European social policy design easy. A distinctly ‘non-European’ flavour was added by way of a different kind of ‘rule-of-law’, permitting freer
speech on even religion. In Harlem, for instance, one can find all kinds of Muslims who see that religion as one source of vibrant spiritual and political activism. Across the isle in Long Island, the largest concentration of these very Muslims relate to their religion as a cultural and regional identity. Similar dynamics underlie the Irish, Ukrainian and Jewish presence, many of whom have strong European roots. One could ‘ask and tell’ almost anything about themselves and what social forces makes their being without being vilified – notable exception being those who make a living reciting ‘white power’ when such visitors speak their minds. So, arguably, Ma’s house provided avenues for constructive dialogue, and perhaps offered the most achievable path to citizenship, more so than any other family on earth. So irrespective of the axis that links all to Ma, from work permit to green card, one could easily melt into Ma’s pot to attain the all important political and legal citizenship that confers voting right, and access to family jobs, and other services. Even with a tarnished image, not many families units will question her intention to be inclusive at these fronts.

Ma has always been welcoming to intellectuals too who came in to study and wanted to stay. A loose transition from visitor/student status to residency enabled skills to be retained, liberally, and they helped attract the all-important research money. They still do. Even law-abiding folks who sneaked in from underneath her fence ends up being ‘pardoned’ to stay, occasionally, to join Ma permanently for the evening dinner ritual. That is why during times that Ma became mouthy and used the ‘I’ word liberally (‘I’ as in ‘illegal’ immigration), it was understood that she meant no harm and that it was just talk. Almost every group in the power echelon have been in on such loose talk. Lawmakers (Congressional candidates) and the chief executive (President) have been known to promise to do something about their illegal status (deport them) when their backs were against the political wall but then once (re)elected they went to sleep. Ma has always been like that for the longest time: loose talk but practical on the ground. She has been almost always pragmatic but preached conservativism to anyone else who will listen.

There is one more element of the benefit of Ma’s openness: deflationary (wage-price flexibility) benefits of such porous fence to global competition. Our famous midtown, N.Y. streets of Broadway and 5th Avenue, and Chinatown, among others, attract visitors in large part because of the bargain prices that such ‘illegal’ visitors bring. Call it what you may –
sweatshops, slavery or exploitation – but one thing is clear. Even at the non-outsourcable non-tradable sectors (cleaning, construction, and food processing) and farming, areas where almost two-thirds of illegal immigrants go, they are having deflationary effects: undercutting local wages, narrowing the gap between that of the West and the Chinas and the Indias. More importantly, they are expanding capacity, helping us produce more than we were capable of before. As visitors, they tend to complain less, and even accept unsafe working conditions. An unpleasant part of this is that they could undercut some local labor (those with the drive to work) in the non-tradable sector. In the tradeable sector – where they help produce stuff for sale or exports - such undercut might not be that bad. In little ways Wal-Mart has proved that it could be beneficial, especially if they can find ways to tap into the unskilled who complain that such visitors are taking jobs from them. From this vantage point Ma’s deliberateness in looking the other way at her fence could actually be a good thing, economically speaking. Ma can even start selling lots of stuff overseas rather than buy that much from neighbours. Neighbours from across the Atlantic (Europeans) have also be doing this but through the backdoor and so the visitors feel used because they are not made to feel at home and participate in the citizenship project.

Sectorally, the difference between Ma and those who reside in Europe is even clearer, but the latter tend to be in a habit of downplaying it given bright spots like France that has done an extraordinary job being inclusive but ignored some significant groups of underclass. The news magazine Economist’s Look Out, Europe, they Say[^6], for instance, shrugs off Ma’s advantage by pointing out that Ma was only lucky to have upwardly mobile Moslems from Southern Asia, Iran, or African-American converts who have little personal link to Islam’s heartland who might harbour less resentment. The impression is that if the European siblings happened to attract lower skilled people, then such social tensions are expected, and that (by implications) France, and especially all others, could be excused. Despite such differences in emphasis, Fareed Zakaria[^7] summed up Ma’s work at this front pretty well. In his To Become an American, he suggested, in line with the argument presented above, that such a sense of citizenship prevented the radicalization of Muslims, helping prevent a 9/11 for that long. To demonstrate this, he cited the German Green Card fiasco that failed in large

[^6]: June 22, 2006 issue
[^7]: Washington Post April 4th, 2006
part because it was just a work program and not a ticket to citizenship. Who wants to live in a country for 50yrs only to be asked to go back to their family of origin because they are no longer needed?, he seemed to ask.

Perhaps the best thing that made Ma stand out in the past among other families was that social institutions responded well too with significant protection for these visitors. In fact in some cases they even stepped ahead of the usually resentful electorates with reasonableness to applicants, especially for those with a few thousands of dollars to blow on a lawyer. A bunch of loopholes in the law too permitted them and employers to break the rules and claim rational ignorance in the name of the common good. Also, where prosecution is possible, there are so few enforcers that only an occasional sweep in election seasons is possible. In short, even illegal visitors smelt a bit of the democratizing exercise of inclusiveness via work. Life has, in the past, been good at Ma’s house for many immigrants.

VIII. PROMISE

Not a terrific Ma, but worthy of a second chance, hence, the hope for a Third Way out, different from the pre-911 first but better than the present (2nd way). She can pull together a workable coalition of superstars and ‘emerging’ around those uncomfortable with China: Russia (a wild card), Japan, India, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, Taiwan, and traditional allies U.K, Australia. The coalition will be an uneasy one since a number of them have their families tied by trade to China. The extent to which such economic interest dominates political common with Ma will certainly hinge on Ma’s economic strength. A strong economic rebound will be complimented by the fact that the diplomatic table in the land of Asia, there does not seem to be room for three giants – India, China, and Japan, each of them in one way or the other have their own historical grievance against the other.

India stands out as Ma’s natural ally, and to a lesser extent Japan. In fact China will be lucky to pull off any credible political alliance at own backyard. The recent declaration signed between Australia and Japan on security co-operation on March 13th underscores this point. More important is the speculation that India might join in to form a trio of democratic stalwarts in this region, and with Japan, with his pacifist constitution that ties him somewhat
to Ma, they can isolate China. Again, Ma can make it happen if it behaves, and not be overly controlling.

But if China can get to Russia’s good side (a tricky one), then he could make both Japan and the United States really nervous, and there are signs that slowly, that might be possible if Ma keeps rattling saber.
The Global Rise and Defeat of the Party States: A Research Project

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ABSTRACT

The major aim of the present research is to establish a wider and deeper conceptualization of the party state as a global phenomenon of the “short twentieth century”. Party states will be presented as an extreme version of the modern state. The maximization of the monopoly of violence results from the twofold tools for power accumulation, the state and the party apparatuses, in order to challenge the hegemonic state and improve its position in the world-system. The particular aims of each party state in the world system arena are concomitant to its position in it. Party states in the core openly attacked the hegemonic powers in order to gain their position. Party states in the semi-periphery attempted economic independence. Party states in the periphery struggled initially for political independence. Historically, the confrontations between the hegemonic state and one-party states proceeded in three successive and interrelated waves. Party states in the core openly attacked the hegemonic states in order to gain their position (1922-1945). Party states in the semi-periphery attempted economic independence (1930-1973). Party states in the periphery struggled initially for political independence (1954-1977).
INTRODUCTION

Although there is a plethora of studies regarding one-party/single-party states, to date no attempt has been made to approach them as an ideal type and as a dynamic political formation in a global context. On the contrary, while some party states were approached as such (mainly communist one-party states and African one-party states), most of them were researched from different perspectives and arranged under different concepts, among which the more widely used is that of totalitarianism. The study of totalitarianism began with all-encompassing works that defined the phenomenon as an all-embracing organization in full command of force and ideology (Arendt, H. 1951) or the combined subjugation of state and society, under an utopian, non-political claim to exercise rule (Buchheim, H.1962). Thus defined, the phenomenon was approached analytically, by specifying its component parts. This shift resulted in the empirical study of an aggregation of components such as, a totalistic ideology, a single party committed to this ideology and usually led by one man (the dictator), a fully developed secret police, and monopolistic control of mass communications, operational weapons, and all the organizations involved in a centrally planned economy (Friederich, C. and Brzezinski, Z. 1956). Thereafter, each of these components was specifically approached (e.g. the dictator by Tucker, the secret police by Barghoorn, and the centralized economy by Hardt, P. and Frankel, T.) and additional features were incorporated into the profile of totalitarianism such as it mobilizing character (Montias’s “mobilizational system”, Lowenthal’s “modernizing mobilization regimes”). The usage of this construct was brought into question due to the growth of industrialization and professionalization that had been spawned by the
technical and scientific commitments of the regime, and which weakened statism (Barber and Curtis, 1969). However, during the 1980’s a second coming of totalitarian theory evolved and adopted both a wider time-space scope and new conceptual concerns. To the classic examples of Italy, Germany, and the Soviet Union, more diverse cases were added ranging from one-party states in China, Africa, and the Middle East. The recurrent topics of charismatic leadership, official ideology, and terror were dismissed as no essential features and were replaced by the concern of relationship between state and civil society (Hermet, G. et. al. (eds.), 1984). Recently, for the second time the study of totalitarianism was undermined by approaching this perspective as an artifact of the Cold War (Gleason, A. 1995). Nevertheless, despite criticism, the totalitarian approach still inspired recent works, such as, among many others, the study on modern tyrants as revolutionary idealists guided by an ideology, empowered by nationalism and modern science, and founded on the rejection of individualism and consumerism (Chirot, D. 1995) or as an economic enterprise based on “substantive irrationality” (economic policy relying on the falsification of bankruptcy evidence) that stems from the will of the leader and on a system of forced labor (O’Kane, R. 1996).

Other concepts under which party states were approached are authoritarianism, dictatorships, populism, and national liberation movements. These categories appear as overlapping, confronting or self-enclosed. Although these analytic distinctions are in many cases justified, it is also true that a synthetic perspective should be applied in order to depict the unity underlying the variety. Therefore, the existing wide range of research, including monographic, comparative, analytic and theoretical works could be channeled into this synthetic project. Moreover, the totalitarian approach depicted
above exemplifies a common assumption of all of these perspectives: the endogenous nature of the inquiry.

The present research, in contrast, attempts to relate the profile of party states to the position of each state within the world system. Therefore, the main theoretical framework adopted for this research is the world system perspective. There are three outstanding features of this perspective that compelled a research of the global rise and defeat of the party states. Firstly, nation-states and their concomitant features, depending on their status in the world system are a primary concern of research. Secondly, the hegemonic rivalries between states and the anti-systemic movements constitute central issues for this perspective. Finally, the twentieth century was extensively studied through this perspective lens. However, despite these features of the world system perspective, the phenomenon of party state was not conceptualized and therefore remains under-researched.

In short, there are two large bodies of knowledge relevant to the global evolution of party states. However, the branch of knowledge focused on the nation-state as its unit of research is compartmentalized into various approaches that emphasize the singularities of different kinds of party states, with the result that their common features are overlooked. On the other hand, the world system approach that provides a global unit of research was not applied to the study of worldwide party states as an attempt to confront or resist the hegemonic core powers.
RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The Global Rise and Defeat of the Party States is a work in progress, which first aim is to establish a wider and deeper conceptualization of the party state as a global phenomenon of the “short twentieth century”. Party states will be presented as an extreme version of the modern state. The maximization of the monopoly of violence results from the twofold tools for power accumulation, the state and the party apparatuses, in order to challenge the hegemonic power and improve its position in the world-system. Considered from an evolutionary perspective, the origins of the party are in a political organization placed in the antipodes of the prevailing state. Nevertheless, at some point of its career the political organization becomes a well organized party, a mass movement, and the head of the state (although not necessarily in this order). Once holding the state power, the party suffers a process of adaptation to the revolutionary transition from the antipodes to the central power, surviving this transformation. At the end of this process, the party state is consolidated. The new type of regime holds at once the power concentrated by the state apparatus and the party organizations proceeds to impose internal unity. One type of means for that purpose is the application of conciliatory policies between social classes. The other type of measures to accomplish the unity goal is a thorough repression of dissidents. Finally, as both the maximization on the monopoly of violence and the internal unity are achieved, party states attempted to bolster their position vis-à-vis the hegemonic coalition under the leadership of the hegemonic power (Great Britain until 1941 and the United States since) and conformed by a coalition of client states in the core (democratic regimes), semi-periphery and periphery (military dictatorships, tyrannies,
or formal democracies). This pursuit of redefining the place of the society ruled by party states in the world system is the source of the conflict between the hegemonic powers and the party states. The particular aims of each party state in the world system arena are concomitant to its position in it. Party states in the core openly attacked the hegemonic powers in order to gain their position. Party states in the semi-periphery attempted economic independence. Party states in the periphery struggled initially for political independence.

The second purpose of the present research is to track the interrelated dynamics of the rise and defeat of party states by applying the world system perspective. There are three global features to party state. First, it is a co-emergent phenomenon, that is, this particular type of regime rose and fell simultaneously in several societies during particular periods. Second, this simultaneity or conversely consecutiveness derives from its second global dimension: the diffusion processes of the party state model and its several components. Third, there is a systemic dimension to the development of party states world wide. The challenges posed by party states (mainly a powerful one or a party states coalition) to the hegemonic states and the attrition they caused to them encouraged the rising to power of this type of regime in other societies. Conversely, the defeat of a party state (mainly a powerful one) by the hegemonic states propels the following defeat of others.
PRELIMINARY OUTLINE

The attempt by the central powers to modify the imperialist map during World War I had failed. In its aftermath, the latecomer (in political unification, imperialist expansion, and/or industrialization) powers suffered setbacks of varying degrees, from loss of power and territory to total extinction as a political entity. Once the conflict in Europe was over, the countries in the periphery as well as the dependent colonies realigned to the hegemonic imperialist ties. In the wake of the situation that resulted, the latecomer core powers adopted a new political model in order to confront the imperialist hegemony: the party-state. The first wave (1922-1945) of party-state formation corresponds to the rise of Fascism and Nazism in Italy and Germany, and that of Stalinism in the Soviet Union. The defeat of the party states during World War II was only partial. The Soviet Union fought on the side of the hegemonic powers, which secured its survival as well as the emergence of the Eastern block, which it accomplished by the formation of party states modeled and controlled by it. Moreover, this survival of a party state of the first wave also inspired and supported the establishment of another communist party-state in China. The conditions derived from the renewed conflict in Europe enabled the rise of party states all over Latin America. However, as soon as the emerging hegemonic power stabilized Western Europe, it proceeded with the attrition and overthrow of the party states in Latin America. In most of these countries it took at least two waves of military dictatorships to clash with these leading parties and their legacies, paving the way since the 1980’s
for the instauration of formal democratic regimes. The third wave of party-state formation (1955-1977) relates to long lasting consequences of World War II, e.g. the debilitation of Great Britain and France, and the consolidation of the Soviet Union and its satellite party states. From the first result follows the process of de-colonization, which leads, eventually, to the formation of party states in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia. From the second derives the affiliation and support for most of them. Through cooptation, attrition, or direct military intervention the hegemonic power was able to defeat all attempts made by party states to modify their place in the world system. The launching of Cold War II (1980’s) ended with the collapse of the major party-state and its directly associated party states, and brought into question the existence of the unsupported remaining party states. The fall of the party states paved the way for the hegemonic powers to freely penetrate all national economies, a result labeled as globalization, as well as to intervene militarily in some of the remaining party states. The emergent substitutes for the party states are formal democratic regimes, and the transition from the former to the latter is defined as democratization. Therefore, two of the main tendencies of current economics and politics – intra-state “democratization” and, inter-state globalization - are, in fact, the result of the triumph of the hegemonic powers over the defiant political formation of the “short twentieth century”: the party states.
CONCLUSION

The Global Rise and Defeat of the Party States aims to yield contributions in several realms. Firstly, the conceptualization of the party state phenomenon in a wider vein than hitherto will contribute to the convergence of several branches of research until now in confrontation or self-enclosed. Secondly, the gathering, arrangement, and linking of information will provide a valuable factual synthesis. Thirdly, by adding to its conceptual array the category of party state and by depicting systemic processes derived from it, the application of the world system perspective to the party states will also result in a contribution to this perspective. Fourthly, this research will provide a new perspective on twentieth century history. Finally, the accomplishment of the proposed research could pave the way to the conceptualization and research into many related phenomena. To begin with, alternative regimes to the party states (formal democracies, military regimes, traditional regimes) should be researched through the three waves. This complementary study will enable a systematic comparison of the patterns of relationship between states along the center, semi-periphery, and periphery vis à vis the hegemonic states of the core: the collective hegemony. The features of this new conceptual construction and its historical study will be dealt with in a separated research. Moreover, in a third future research another political configuration amidst the struggle between the collective hegemony, the party states, and its alternatives will be approached: the regional and interregional coalitions and organizations instrumentalized by all the parties as an attempt to increase their power.
Therefore, the present proposal will open a wide research agenda, the long-term prospect of which is the global history of the struggles and coalitions between the states of the core, semi periphery, and periphery under a new conceptualization entailing the typology of collective hegemony, party states, alternative regimes, and the regional and interregional coalitions and organizations.
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Title
   Effects of stress management as employee assistance program
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Effects of stress management as employee assistance program

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Abstract

This study was aimed at examining effects of a stress management program through an activity of employee assistance program. The subjects were 19 workers (16 men, 3 women) who were in a leave of absence from duty by depression. In this study, a stage of stress management activity based on Transtheoretical model, stress management self-efficacy and state-trait anxiety were examined.

As the result of stress management program, the stage of a stress management activity almost varied with program participation to the action stage. Some subjects had tried for stress management activity before the program. Though their copings before learning the management of stress were not scientific and effective, by understanding stress management, they came to cope with their stress effectively. As for stress management self-efficacy, attention to an affirmative aspect of things, keeping relax, cancellation of feelings irritated by body activities, self-efficacy for coping such as assertion behaviors increased. Furthermore, subjects' state anxiety was decreased.

Although those results almost showed the effectiveness of stress management program, it was recognized that making of a program depending on a personal stage of behavioral change and setting of other measures (e.g. stress reactions, social supports or job satisfactions) were needed.
Title: Lessons from the Crow

Topic Area: Social Work and Cultural Diversity

Presentation Format: Paper session

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Lessons from the Crow

Abstract
The purpose of this study was to explore ways of understanding the meaning systems of individuals who are members of the Crow Nation. The study explored utility of understanding the strengths and needs of these individuals through a framework of indicators of identity complexity and evaluative endpoints contained in verbal narrative material. The framework provides flexibility for understanding individual needs and considers meaning of actions within the context of a person’s culture and situation.

The study was undertaken to provide support for the use of the Identity Complexity and evaluative narrative endpoints to understand the meaning systems of individuals from cultures and environments that are diverse from participants in previous studies that have utilized this framework. The importance of one having a complex identity receives research support of Linville (1987) as a buffer against stress related illnesses and depression, and by Guidano (1987) indicating that the greater the involvement of the individual in multiple roles, the more likely the person will be able to continue to function interpersonally and with one’s surround in the event of loss involving one of the roles.

Client narratives were analyzed for indicators & sub-indicators of Identity Complexity, & narrative endpoints utilizing a template for indicators that had been used in previous studies with involved individuals diagnosed with depression Fennell (1998), substance abuse (McDaniel, 1995), and schizophrenia (Opatrný, 2003). In addition to indicators of Identity Complexity & narrative endpoints, the narrative interviews were analyzed for additional emergent themes.

Present study findings indicate that during the early stages of each interview individuals appeared to exhibit little evidence of identity complexity. However, sensitive application of varied interview techniques tailored to the individual and context of the interview situation encouraged discussion revealing strong evidence of identity complexity on the part of most individuals interviewed. Specific study findings will be presented and implications for interviewing and analyzing narrative data of individuals from diverse cultures and backgrounds will be discussed.
1. **Title**

   “When Our Parents Need Care: Attitudes Toward Care for the Elderly -- Comparison Between Japanese College Students and U.S. College Students

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6. **Abstract:**

   When Our Parents Need Care:
   
   Attitudes Toward Care for the Elderly
   
   Comparison Between Japanese College Students and U.S. College Students

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   In many countries, today, including the U.S. and Japan, the aged population is dramatically increasing. People are living long, often very healthy and vital lives, but also often ending with a period of chronic health problems, which require various levels of care. How do young people see the issues of aging and of the care of their parents in the future? In the Eastern world, it has always been believed that the elderly are respected and that they will be cared for in their declining years by their children who respect and love them. In the West, on the contrary, the elderly have not necessarily been seen as a valuable part of the society.

   As a way to explore the validity of these cultural assumptions, data from 476 Japanese college students and 362 U.S. college students from the mid-west were collected using a written questionnaire at two data points (Time 1 in 1997 and Time 2 at 2004.) Since a comprehensive Long-Term Care Insurance Program was launched in 2000 in Japan, these two time periods for the Japanese population in particular
represent before and after the institution of this progressive program.

The data from Time 1 yielded the following: contrary to the general belief about the Eastern culture’s respect for the elderly, the Japanese college students had more negative attitudes toward and less accurate understanding about aging and the elderly than the U.S. college students. At time 2, after the institute of the national comprehensive long-term care program, the Japanese sample significantly improved their attitudes toward aging and the elderly. However, the college students’ willingness to care for their parents in their advanced age declined among both U.S. and Japanese samples over the two time periods. The percentage of college students having grandparents in need of care have also declined significantly between the two time periods. The number of students today whose family members are actually caring for elderly members of the family is minimal. The possible explanations for these changes over the two time periods and differences between the two populations will be explored.
Title: Does language play a role when learning fraction concepts? A cross-national comparison between U.S., Korean, French, and Taiwanese children.

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Abstract

Over the past few decades, abundant evidence has accumulated and demonstrated that language plays an important role in conceptual development (see Nelson, 1996 for a detailed review). The fundamental idea is that language is a channel through which culture and knowledge is transmitted and therefore acts as a catalyst for changes in thinking and knowing. Indeed, the role of language on the development of various domains of cognition has been studied extensively.

In attempt to understand the vast difference in math performances between U.S. and East Asian children, many researchers have investigated the role of language in learning math concepts. For example, it has been found that children learning to count in Chinese, a language with explicit base-ten numbering system (e.g., eleven is spoken as ten-one in Chinese), count higher and make fewer errors than age-matched peers who are learning to count in English (Miller & Stigler, 1987). Furthermore, Paik and Mix (2003) found that Korean 1st and 2nd graders outperform their U.S. peers when asked to match fraction names onto pictorial representations. They suggest that Korean children’s superior performance is partly due to the fact that fraction names in Korean appear to make part-whole relations more explicit than those in English. For example, conventional English fraction names (e.g., one-fourth) do not convey any information about the part-whole relations. However, in Korean the notion of part-whole relation is explicit in the fraction names—the Korean fraction name for one-fourth is roughly translated as of four parts, one (Miura et al., 1999; Paik & Mix, 2003). More fascinatingly, it was found that U.S. children’s performance improved spontaneously when they were given the matching task with English translation of Korean fraction names (e.g., the fraction one-fourth is spoken either as “one of four parts” or “of four parts, one”; Paik & Mix, 2003). Such result shows the importance of language support when learning fraction concepts.

In the present study, we have extended previous research and included French and Chinese speaking children. We have particularly chosen these two languages because the structure of French fraction names is similar to that of English names, just as the structure of Chinese fraction names is to that of Korean names. If language plays a crucial role in learning
fractions, we should find French speaking children performing similarly to their U.S. peers, and 
Chinese speaking children performing similarly to their Korean peers. More importantly, all 
children regardless of the nationality should perform better when provided with highly 
transparent fraction names (i.e., fraction names where part-whole relations are explicitly 
expressed) than when provided with their conventional fraction names. We have collected 
Chinese and French data, which are currently being coded and analyzed. Our preliminary data 
analysis shows that all children (i.e., U.S., Korean, French, and Taiwanese children) are 
influenced by linguistic inputs in similar ways—performing significantly better with highly 
transparent fraction name than with their conventional fraction names. Such finding strengthens 
the idea that language serves as a catalyst for children learning fraction concepts. The findings 
from the present study are also important as they may provide strong foundation for developing 
innovative curricula activities for math educators.

References


supports for children’s understanding of numerical fractions: Cross-national comparisons. 

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“Why Can’t We All Just Get Along?”

Childhood socialization of African Americans and how it affects their development of intimate relationships

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Child development is very important to later life. Familial effects also play a huge part in the development of a person. For example, household structures are important to the socialization of a child. When a child lacks socialization, it can have lasting effects that can affect his/her later life development. One of the most interesting effects of child development is its effect on the development of interpersonal skills. More specifically, the way a child is socialized has an effect on their development of intimate relationships as an adult.

Gender role socialization takes on an interesting twist within the African American community. Given that over half of all black children are being raised by single mothers, the impact of fathers is easily visible within this population. It is important to note that single parenthood is not a phenomenon specific to the African American community, but because of conditions unique to them, both historical and contemporary, the effects are more prevalent within their population group.

Because black single mothers are raising black children on their own, they are depicting a particular scenario. They are being confronted with a “Duality of Motherhood”. Because these mothers are raising their children alone, they are assuming all caretaking responsibilities and roles. It is referred to as a duality because a single mother has to take on the roles of a father and a mother in the absence of a father with regard to raising a child. As a result, she will typically raise her son and daughter very differently. This differential gender socialization may have developed a scenario which I refer to as the “Paradox of the Matriarch”. The paradox lies in the differential and contradicting gender socialization a single black mother gives her son and daughter. The paradox occurs due to the fact that the son and daughter will grow up and assume their adult roles, which happen to be very different from each other.

A black single mother typically will raise her son, providing him with two very different images of the role he is to assume as a man. These two images lie on opposite poles and represent two extremities of a paradigm. I will refer to this polarity as the paradigm labeled “BABY BOY vs. HERCULES”. The first extremity is referred to as the ‘Baby Boy’ pole, in which a single mother will typically spoil her son to make up for the fact that his father is not around. She will usually, out of guilt, overcompensate for her son because he has no role model or father figure in his life. However, on the other
extreme, the single mother will tend to raise her son “to be a better man” than his father and often to be better than the men she has known in her life. This extremity is the ‘Hercules’ pole of the paradigm. It is these two extremes that combine to provide a very contradictory image of the man he is to become. Meanwhile, she typically raises her daughter to be extremely self sufficient. Studies also note that many African American women (mothers) may provide their daughters with negative messages about African American men based on their own experiences with them. These messages are internalized and engrained in the daughter’s memory, which play a huge role in the way she will view future relationships, marriage, and men.

Because of the differential gender socialization, a particular pattern among African Americans, with regards to their formation of intimate relationships, has been noted. The pattern that has been produced is what I will refer to as the "clashing effect", which affects the formation of intimate relationships within this community and may be a causal link to some of the current issues of interest within the black community such as very low rates of marriage, increases in interracial marriages, higher cohabitation rates, higher rates of individuals who forgo marriage altogether, and higher rates of divorce/marital dissolution.
Chapter 1: Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to explain Mencius’ theory of human nature from a new perspective, namely, human composition. The controversy about human nature is one of the most famous issues in the study of the intellectual history of China. Scholars have taken a great deal of effort to find out what Mencius meant by asserting that human nature was inherently good. For instance, Fung Yulan believes
that by human nature, Mencius only meant moral inclinations.\(^1\) Graham argues that human nature should be interpreted as “a thing to start with” or a “dynamic process”,\(^2\) and thus comes up with the idea that “The \textit{xing} of a living thing was commonly understood to be the way in which it develops and declines from birth to death when injured and adequately nourished.”\(^3\) D. C. Lau takes the line that by nature, Mencius meant something that is distinctive, as for what it is in the case of human being in \textit{the book of Mencius}, Lau claims that Mencius’ assertion that human nature is good “does not at all lie in the actual way in which human beings behave, but in the fact that they possess a sense of morality and a sense of shame.”\(^4\) Roger Ames argues that human nature in \textit{Mencius} should be considered more as a cultural achievement than what is innately within human’s constitution. Therefore, he proposes “for the human being at least, \textit{xing} seems to come closer to ‘character,’ ‘personality’ or ‘constitution’ than what we generally understand by ‘nature’”.\(^5\) Irene T. Bloom argues that Mencius’ idea of human nature was actually in a biological dimension.\(^6\) Undeniably, these studies shed great lights on the understanding of Mencius’ notion of human nature. However, as we’ll see in later part, whenever we

\(^6\) Irene. T Bloom explains this idea in her three papers: “Mencian Arguments on Human Nature (Jen-hsing)”; “Biology and Culture in the Mencian View of Human Nature”; and “Human nature and biological nature in Mencius”.
are inspired by some explanations that are drawn upon a series of statements in *the book of Mencius*, there seems to arise another series of statements in the same book that make us can’t help but cast doubt on the idea cited above. In other words, the most confusing issue is why Mencius, on the one hand, asserted that human nature is good; while on the other hand, he criticized the bad behaviors of human beings, implying that he believed there was something bad in human being’s make up.

In this paper, I attempt to tear off the veil that induces the debates, and reconcile the two seemingly contradictory aspects by generalizing Mencius articulation of human nature into three levels in a picture of human composition: human physicality, human mind, and human nature.

I then discuss Mencius’ definition of “human nature”. It is argued that Mencius’ definition of “human nature” is neither human physicality as Xunzi argued; nor, as many scholars understand, virtuous potentials that brew good behavior. Correspondingly, efforts are made to find out what Mencius meant by the claim of “human nature is good”. The concept of “good” is discussed from two aspects: the good of nature and the good of mind/behavior. I will first discuss what causes human’s bad behaviors in Mencius’ view; and why such bad behaviors are not rooted in human nature. I argue that the quality of behavior is a matter of the state of mind.

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7 What particularly concerns Mencius in this terrain is human being’s biological inclinations. In Mencius’ view, they are what human beings share with animals.
8 It refers to both morality and the schemas and mechanism of human mind.
9 Such as A. C. Graham, Ames, Roger, James Legge, etc. As a matter of fact, although their specific arguments differ from each other, they share the same hypothesis: human nature is something that needs to be developed or accomplished.
and it (no matter it’s good or bad) has nothing to do with human nature. At the same
time, I argue that human nature is not neutral in that we’ll find it perfect when we
have perfected our mind. Again, it’s not a problem of whether we have a perfect
nature, but rather an issue of if we can experience it; consequently, whether we can
experience it is an issue of the state of human mind. Human nature is one thing,
while human mind is another. Human nature is pure and absolute, while human
mind has contrary states of being complete and incomplete, original and lost, etc.
Mencius never equaled human nature with human mind, neither did he ever say that
good nature guarantees good mind/good behavior. The reason why people got
confused is that they fail to distinguish these two fields, or even worse, they try to
measure one with the standard of the other. The Mencius’ story is, in terms of nature,
there is nothing bad; in terms of mind/action, there are good and bad. However, they
are not due to human nature, but to what one chooses to illuminate in the field of
mind.

My conclusion is, the criterion Mencius employed to measure whether human
nature is good or not lies neither in the dimension of human’s natural predisposition
nor in the dimension of his moral development. Rather, “human nature is good” is an
absolute and unchangeable fact.

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10 This is why wisdom zhi is so important in Mencius’ theory.
11 Please refer to chapter 3 of this paper.
12 I will discuss the differences in detail in chapter 3 and chapter 4.
13 For example, both complete mind and incomplete mind co-exist. Choosing the complete mind leads
to good and choosing the incomplete mind leads to bad. Please see chapter 4 and chapter 5 for details.
Chapter 2: Contingent Problems with Traditional Interpretations

1. Three Types of Traditional Interpretations

In order to reconcile the seeming contradiction in Mencius’ theory, there developed numerous explanations, among which are three main tendencies. The first one believes that there are three types of human nature: purely good, purely evil, and a mixture of good and evil; and Mencius’ claim that “human nature is good” is merely based on the purely good humans. For example, the famous Han scholar Wang Chong 王充 says, “I consider that, in saying that human nature is good,
Mencius considered only human being who are above the average, while, in saying that human nature is evil, Xun Qing considered only those people below the average\textsuperscript{14}. As many scholars have pointed out, one problem that this interpretation has to face is if it could be true that Mencius knew there is bad element in human nature but he just turned a blind eye to it when he chose the good one to discuss. If this were the case, Mencius theory would inevitably amount to nothing; since following this line, it is also fair for Xun Zi to assert that human nature is bad because he saw the bad element.

The second tendency takes the “good nature” as a potential/sprout, arguing that by “human nature is good”, Mencius meant a dormant possibility which, if not harmed, will embody itself in a totally moral manner\textsuperscript{15}. A. C. Graham argues that the term \textit{xing} is more popularly used in pre-Chin literature to refer to a thing’s tendency and inclinations “The \textit{xing} of a living thing was commonly understood to be the way in which it develops and declines from birth to death when uninjured and adequately nourished;” and “to find out the distinctive nature of a living thing one must discover the capacities which it realizes if uninjured and sufficiently nourished. In the case of man these include his term of life and the moral perfection of the sage, and it is


\textsuperscript{15} Just to name a few: A.C. Graham holds that human nature should be interpreted as “a thing to start with” or a “dynamic process” See “The Background of the Mencian Theory of Human Nature” in his \textit{Studies in Chinese Philosophy and Philosophical Literature} Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990 pp. 27–28.

James Legge holds that “Human nature is good is just ‘speaking of our nature in its ideal and not as it actually is.’” See \textit{The Chinese Classics. Vol. II the works of Mencius}. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University press, 1960. Originally published in Asia Major (NS. I, i, 1949), p. 59.
above all the latter which distinguishes him from other species.” Based on Graham’s analysis, Jiyuan Yu asserts, “…When Mencius claims that human xing is good, he refers only to the four seeds.” Philip Ho Hwang argues, “The first that we should remember is that, according to Mencius, man only has seeds to do good, not goodness itself. These seeds must be developed and cultivated to the extent that man can serve heaven and even fulfill his destiny.” This type of interpretation sheds light on the issue by distinguishing possibility from reality. These claims sound reasonable at the first glance: human being has the unique potential to be cultivated into a sage after all. And the good seeds doesn’t suffice to make the assertion that “human is already good”, so we definitely need cultivation. But, some questions present themselves following this line of reasoning: Why, for most people, this potential has not been actualized if it’s our nature? What blocks it from being carried out? And doesn’t the thing that blocks the moral tendency deserve more to be called human nature at the point that it is easier to be nourished and realized? And before the existence of sage, who knows if it’s already in our nature or attained from without? In other words, how can we tell the moral perfection is from our nature? These questions amount to nothing but one doubt: to treat human nature as a potential might not be convincing. As a matter of fact, following this line, we can

only get the conclusion that “human nature is good as a potential” rather than “human nature is good”. In other words, human nature is good is only because there exists such a possibility in his make-up. This analysis does not take the possibility of doing bad things into consideration: if upon the observation that “by nature one could do good”, one can conclude that “human nature is good”, why can’t he conclude that “human nature is bad” upon the observation that people are more possible to do bad things? At least, even though Mencius’ can insist that the claim that “human nature is good” is right, he cannot rule out the claim that “human nature is evil”.

The third tendency among scholars is to transform the form of the question by introducing some new concepts. For example, Song 南 scholars, such as Cheng Yi, Cheng Hao and Zhu Xi etc. attempted to address the issue by resorting to the notion of Qi 氣. For instance, Cheng Yi said, “When the qi is pure, the cai 才 is good, when the qi is impure the cai is bad. One who was bestowed the purest qi is a sage; while one who was given the most impure qi is a wicked man.”19 Hereby we can see that if a person is good or not has nothing to do with his nature, but with his qi, and there are at least two types of qi that determine if a person is innately good or not. “Nature is out of Heaven and cai 才 is out of qi. When the qi is clear, the cai is clear; when the qi is not clear, the cai is not clear either.”20 It seems to explain well why some people are good and some are not, but it still failed to explain why there is the

difference between the good qi and the bad qi, where they originate, and what’s relationship between qi and nature. Therefore, the effort of interpreting Mencius’ theory by loaning concept is not satisfying either.

Other alternative concepts such as “ethical mind”\textsuperscript{21}, “human agency”,\textsuperscript{22} etc. bring forth a series of enlightening explanations; however, they are not successful in explaining the origination of “bad element” in nature either. For instance, Roger T. Ames, taking a Deweyan’s perspective, objects to the idea that human nature is innately decided and upholds the idea that Mencius’ theory of human nature is about the unique particularity of human which comes into being in a process of cultural evolution.\textsuperscript{23} Similarly, a Chinese scholar Yang Zebo, argues that human nature means an “ethical structure” that takes shape in one’s mind; this structure works before one takes action in reality; and this is why Mencius said “the nature is originally within me.”\textsuperscript{24} The question that this theory has to face is: do humans have human nature before the moral system accumulates in their mind? If the answer is yes, this theory cannot hold itself in that there is a nature before the ethical mind which is not yet explained; if the answer is no, a new born baby must not have human nature; however, a new born baby, in Mencius, ideally represents the state of a perfect mind. Therefore using “ethical structure” to explain human nature does not


\textsuperscript{24} See note 18.
work satisfyingly. Another representative opinion is to regard “human nature is good” as a course of human agency. For example, as the scholars we mentioned before, Van Norden espouses the idea that Mencius’ claim is actually “(1) all humans are capable of becoming good”; but Van Norden doubts that this statement “does not distinguish Menczi’s position from that of many of his contemporaries (such as Gaozi).” Therefore, he comes up with four other complementary theses. (2) Humans must do that which they believe will obtain for them what they most desire; (3) Genuinely virtuous acts cannot be motivated by selfish desires. Since Mencius admits that (4) not everyone is already virtuous, but (5) everyone has incipient virtuous dispositions which they are capable of bringing into play via a psychological act labeled “concentration.” Van Norden argues, “Mengzi saw the five theses as closely related and did not carefully distinguish them in his own mind. As we have seen, all of them are important to Mengzi’s position.”25 According to Van Norden, the statement that “human nature is good” can hold only under all the five premises. However, the problem is, is it true as Van Norden argues, that without these underlying theses Mencius could not distinguish his theory from that of Gaozi’s? The point indicated by Van Norden’s explanation, as I understand, is that as far as the “potential” of doing good is concerned, there is no difference between Mencius’ “good human nature” and Gaozi’ “neutral human nature”. However, according to my understanding, this understanding is arguable for there are dozens of

times Mencius claimed “Benevolence, dutifulness, observance of the rites, and wisdom are not welded onto me from the outside; they are in me originally” or statements to that effect. As we’ll see in the later analysis, good nature is not a potential that need to grow, but a factual character that covered by ignorance. Therefore, contrary to all those who take “human nature is good” as a course and believe that “good nature” does not exist beyond this course, good nature does exist before and actually through any psychological act.

No matter taking it as a potential or as a mental course, traditional explanations share a common assumption: in order to attest human nature is good, how human nature can lead to good behavior has to be seen clearly. Unfortunately, this turns out to be a dead end in that parallel to any good behaviors there always goes a corresponding bad counterpart: if good behavior reflects good nature, what does bad behavior reveal? If good potential could be called human nature, what could bad potential be named? If a series of psychological acts that might lead to good behaviors could be considered as good nature, what about the psychological mechanism that underlies bad conducts? Or, let’s take a concession, even if the possibility of good aspect could serve as proof that the thing with this potential is good, is it necessary to rule out the possible counterpart within this thing? Otherwise it is also fair for others to say that this thing is bad based on the observation of its bad potential. However, as the research of human nature has been

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carried out, there seems to be no effort that has been contributed to this issue. It appears that these explanations just change the form of the contradiction and then center on one aspect to give interpretations while the question, as a two-side issue, is still left untouched.

2. Problems with Traditional Interpretations

The crux of the traditional interpretations, in my opinion, lies in the failure of seeing the whole structure of human constitution, and thus mixed two or three different levels of it. For example, clearly in *Mencius*, human nature, virtuous behavior and natural predisposition are three different concepts; but traditional explanations keep mixing them up. For example, James Legge argues,

> It is quite clear that what Mencius considered as deserving to be properly called the nature of man, was not that by which he is a creature of appetites and passions, but that by which he is lifted up into the higher circle of intelligence and virtue. …there ought to be a cheerful submission so far as the appetites are concerned, but where the virtues are in question, we are to be striving after them notwithstanding adverse and opposing circumstances. They are our nature, what we were made for, what we have to do.27

Actually, as we mentioned above, scholars such as A. C. Graham, Van Norden, etc. all share this assumption that the quality of human nature should be measured by the quality of human behavior. However, this is simply not true to Mencius, because according to Mencius, our nature only provides grounds for good behavior, but does not compel man to do, if any, good rather than bad.28 It is already clear that man is

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27 Ibid., pp. 63-64.
28 For detailed argument, please see Chapter 3 and Chapter 4.
more likely to do bad than good; although the good seeds in human mind manifest
themselves from time to time. Besides, to do good is a twofold issue: to enforce
external goodness and to follow internal way of good; the former is not Mencius’
idea at all and the latter has nothing to do with mandate.

However, if the perspective of moral is not suitable to see why human nature
is good, do we still have way to explore Mencius’ idea? It becomes necessary for us
to reexamine that if good behavior is the only clue along which we can reach the
conclusion that human nature is good? In other words, is human nature still
practically good without resorting to human’s moral potential or psychological
tendency? My answer is yes. Mencius did use the allegory of someone sees “a baby
is about to fall into a well” to demonstrate benevolence is inborn within human
beings; but did he ever say that without this moral impulse being seen, human nature
would be “bad” or unknown? No. Actually, he argued that even if people become
evil, his nature is still good. “As for his becoming bad, that is not the fault of his
native endowment…Benevolence, dutifulness, observance of the rites, and wisdom
are not welded on to me from outside; they are in me originally.”29 In this spirit, the
traditional way, which takes good behavior as the only evidence of good nature, is
not sufficient in supporting Mencius’ reasoning.

All in all, two relative problems are in the way to discovering Mencius’
theory: how to treat bad behaviors of human beings when addressing why human

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nature is good; and what is the relationship between the quality of human behavior and human nature? In other words, what’s exactly in human nature: germination of good behavior or of bad behavior, or, both, or, neither? Without this question being paid attention, whether holding “human nature is good” or “human nature is bad”, neither side might be able to persuade the other. In other words, in order to get a clear picture of Mencius’ notion of human nature, we’d better head off the problems that our methodology might meet, which, basically are: we must take both good and bad equally into account; in order to fulfill this task, we have to deal with the relationship between human nature and human mind/behavior; and in order to address this question, we have to examine what standard Mencius applied when he gave the definition of human nature. Actually, these questions are weaved in a three-level structure: human composition.
Chapter 3: Human Nature in the Picture of Human Composition

Before getting into what is in human nature, I would like to examine Mencius’ definition of human nature. A traditional idea about Mencius’ notion of human nature is that Mencius was talking about something that makes humans uniquely human. I would say that this is only part of Mencius story in that besides “uniquely”, there also goes “essentially”. According to the logic in *Mencius*, there are two standards applied in demarking human being: (1) formal difference from non-human or, something tells that human being is not what he is not; (2) essential quality that illuminates human nature or something tells that human being is what he should essentially be.30 In *Mencius*, as we’ll see later, the definition of human nature

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30 For example, *Mencius VIA7* (p.164), *VIA15* (p.168), *VILA1* (p.182) are all related with the relationship between human and Heaven. And as we’ll see later, Heaven is the source of human nature.
is given with regard to these two criteria. The first criterion is that mental acts
corresponding to the level of human mind; and the representative is morality. In
Mencius’ view, it suffices to distinguish humans from brutes, but it is not enough to
be a definition of human being because one can pretend to be virtuous whereas what
Mencius emphasized is true virtue; so it does not follow that anyone who can
perform virtuously has already lived up to the state of living out “human nature”. In
other words, that humans are human is not merely because they can carry out
something that animals cannot. Thus Mencius came up with the second standard,
which corresponds to human nature in the framework of human constitution, namely,
the criterion that makes humans true to what the heaven designs them to be in the
dimension of essence\textsuperscript{31}. In Mencius’ view, it is the second standard that makes
humans true human; while other standards amount to nothing in terms of essentiality.
For example, in the parable of the Ox Mountain, Mencius compared human nature
\textit{cai} to the wood on the mountain. He asserted that without maintaining this \textit{cai}\textsuperscript{32},
humans would be barely different from animals.

There was a time when the trees were luxuriant on the Ox Mountain. As it is
on the outskirts of a great metropolis, the trees are constantly lopped by axes.
Is it any wonder that they are no longer fine? With the respite they get it in
the day and in the night, and the moistening by the rain and dew, there is

\textsuperscript{31} According to Mencius’ theory, the composition of human is designed by Heaven. For example,
者，則其小者不能奪也。此為大人而已矣。”} For detailed reasoning, please see the following
sections. As a matter of fact, according to Mencius, the only standard that could be applied in defining
human is the nature in that the definition of \textit{“formal human”} is not sufficient to distinguish human
from other forms of life.

\textsuperscript{32} Mencius also employed \textit{qing} 情, \textit{liangxin} 良心, \textit{renyizhixin} 仁義之心 in this paragraph, and the
relationship will be addressed in later part of this paper.
certainly no lack of new shoots coming out, but then the cattle and sheep come to graze upon the mountain. That is why it is as bald as it is. People, seeing only its baldness, tend to think that it never had any trees. But can this possibly be the nature of a mountain? Can what is in man be completely lacking mind of benevolence and integrity? A man’s letting go of his true heart is like the case of the trees and the axes….Others seeing his resemblance to an animal, will be led to think that he never had any native endowment. But can that be what a man is genuinely like? Hence, given the right nourishment there is nothing that will not grow, and deprived of it there is nothing that will not wither away. Confucius said, “Hold on to it and it will remain; let go of if and it will disappear. One never knows the time it comes or goes, neither does one know the direction.” It is perhaps to the heart this refers.33

In my understanding, Mencius was not only talking about the fact of “man’s letting go of his true heart”; but also, he was stressing the fact that even though man’s behavior assembles animals, his cai (good nature) is “genuinely” still there. “Letting go of his true heart” makes a man not distinguishable from animal, this is one of the two most important criteria for Mencius to demark human. But this is not the only one. By a rhetorical question, Mencius implies that the seeming wickedness is not “what a man is genuinely like”. What a man is innately bestowed is his nature that is congruous to Heaven. And it’s the latter that makes humans true to what they are designed to be. In short, according to Mencius, the ingredient that makes humans human must meet at least two requirements: (A) to differentiate human from non-

human, or, making humans formally different from any other form of living beings; (B) to distinguish “true human” from “false human”, or, making humans essentially human. Under the frame of human constitution, A corresponds to human mind, which, if completely realized, is good; B corresponds to human nature, which, no matter what one does, is actually and purely good34.

The second standard we discussed above is the ultimate criterion in that it covers all the content that is carried by the first one. The starting point of Mencius in demarking human, unlike other scholars, is the second criterion: what makes humans essentially human. That’s why Mencius ruled out physicality and formal morality as standards of human nature. As a matter of fact, in Mencius, we can see that Mencius had already taken these things into consideration when he talked about human nature:

This is the way of common people: once they have a full belly and warm clothes on their back they degenerate to the level of animals if they are allowed to lead idle lives, without education and discipline.35

Yao and Shun had it as their nature. T’ang and King Wu embodied it. The Five leaders of the feudal lords borrowed it. But if a man borrows a thing and keeps long enough, how can one be sure that he did not originally have it?36

34 I ignored the physical level here because it is shared with animals.
With regard to physical need, it is what human shares with animals; therefore, it could not be regarded as a demarcation of human nature\textsuperscript{37}. In terms of the scientific, aesthetical, ethical abilities, they are important in defining human beings; but according to Mencius, they’re not able to tell the whole story of the human nature. In Mencius’ story, it is neither physical desires and abilities nor living doctrines and styles that decides a living thing is human or not; it is the essence, whether be lived out in one’s life or not, that makes humans human. This absolute and unchangeable thing is what Mencius meant by “human nature”. Without this nature, all the unique characteristics are no more than an empty form. Physical desires exist, but they are not unique to human. Morality exists and is unique to humans, but it does not make humans “truly” human without human nature. Nevertheless, the “human nature” in Mencius is not like the “holy spirit” in that in Christian philosophy the “the holy spirit” comes down to a person only after he becomes pure in soul; whereas the “human nature” in Mencius is inborn with any person, and remains there even if he becomes evil.

A question might arise from the above reasoning: now that everyone has this human nature, what’s the point to labor in bringing forth such a universal thing as an outstanding mark? My answer is, the ultimate problem is not whether humans have such a nature, but whether humans know that they have such a nature and thus cultivate themselves accordingly. All of the philosophers at that time in China

advocated self-cultivation; and interesting enough, all of them share the idea that different recognition of human nature would lead to different methodology. In Mencius opinion, although everyone has it, almost no one ever noticed it, let alone live it up to the full standard. Therefore it is necessary for him to tell this “truth”.

What’s more interesting is, contrary to most scholars’ belief that “good nature enforce morality in our daily life”, Mencius was never as optimistic as they are; because if the “good nature” bears such a function, there would have been no need to propaganda it; or even, there wouldn’t have been so many antagonists. However, this paper is not aimed at achieving any moral conclusion that who is correct and who is wrong; but, it is aimed at a conclusion that why Mencius’ theory, theoretically, is consummate. Relatively, many attacks and explanations turned out to be not really talking about human nature, but some “human forms” (e.g. physical desire, ignorant action, external moral, etc.). In order to see the whole picture of human nature, I would like to anticipate the issues that have been misleading us when it comes to the discussion of human nature. Based on the content of Mencius, there are three aspects that constitute “human” and where people might set their standard to define human nature. I will argue that Mencius’ theory of human nature is drawn on the whole picture of this composition, while others’ are only based part of this integral unit.

38 For example, Xunzi criticized Mencius by pointing out that “human nature is bad” because they tend to be led by their physical desires. See “Human’s Nature Is Evil” in Hsün Tzu Trans. Watson, Burton. New York and London, Columbia University Press. 1963. pp.157-159. But Mencius’ never said that physical desires are “human nature”. While on the other hand, as I mentioned before, some scholars explain human nature with the quality of human behavior; but the fact is, Mencius did not make that equation either.
1. A Picture of Human Composition with Three Levels

As we pointed out, according to Mencius, the ingredient that makes humans human should meet basically two requirements, the first is to differentiate human from non-human; and the second is to distinguish essence of human from form of human.39 Note, Mencius expressed this idea clearly in the following:

The relationship between the mouth and tastes, the eye and colors, the ear and sounds, the nose and smells, and the four limbs and comfort is natural tendency40, yet there also lies the destiny. That is why the nobleman does not take it as nature. The way benevolence is related to the relation between father and son, the duty to the relation between lord and subject, the rites to the relation between guest and host, wisdom to the good wise man, the sage to the way of Heaven, is the decree, but there also lies nature (as a source that determines what is what) within it41. That is why the gentleman does not regard it (only) as decree.42

Three aspects of human composition are indicated: natural tendency (physical Xing 性), destiny (mental/moral Ming 命), and human essence (humanistic Xing 性)43, each of which has its own function in constituting human. Natural tendency is

39 See also note 8.
40 Literally, the Chinese word here is Xing 性; but this Xing, being more of natural tendency, carries a different meaning from the later mentioned Xing 性, by which Mencius meant “human nature”. Therefore, I render it as “natural tendency”. As I will prove later, Mencius’ “human nature” is not a physical tendency. And it’s has nothing to do with physical tendency: on the one hand, physical tendency is natural, but it’s not uniquely of human. On the other hand, no matter the result of people’s behavior (under the direction of physical tendency) is good or not, the nature remains absolutely and purely good.
41 The Chinese word for nature here is also Xing 性, which does not mean the biological disposition, and bears more moral characters. I render it as “human nature” in order to make difference from the physical Xing.
43 See note 42.
physical predisposition and is natural; but we should not stop here in defining human nature because moral is also predestined (thus is also natural but higher than physicality), thus Mencius negated taking natural tendencies singularly as human nature. Moral decree is predestined (by Heaven), but it’s more of abstract form than of the essence of human which is regarded as human nature by Mencius; therefore, we should not cease at the level of moral fate Ming 命 in figuring out what makes humans human in that it is passive in constituting human. Here, Heaven Tian 天 is the key word in understanding why moral fate is not the source of human nature. In Mencius, there are at least three meanings for Tian: natural heaven, nature, and personalized Heaven. Obviously, the Tian in this paragraph is personalized Heaven. The relationship between sage and the Way of Heaven is decree; but there also exists nature in the relationship. And the nature is imparted by Heaven and thus congruous to Heaven. We can see clues from other chapters: “...The organ of heart is able to concentrate; it will attain the way when it concentrates; but it won’t get it when it doesn’t concentrate. This is what Heaven has endowed me....”44 “In good years the young men are mostly lazy, while in bad years they are mostly violent. It is not what Heaven endowed them that differ, but where their mind is trapped that cause so.”45 Clearly enough, Heaven endows human something; and we can get some clue of the content of the endowment from the following message:

44 See note 32.
45 Mencius VIA7. My trans. 孟子告子上 孟子曰：“富歳，子弟多賴；凶歳，子弟多暴。非天之降才爾殊也，其所以陷溺其心者然也。
…Benevolence, dutifulness, observance of the rites, and wisdom are not welded onto me from the outside; they are in me originally. Only this has never dawned on me. That is why it is said, “Seek and you will find it; let go and you will lose it.” There are cases where one man is twice, five times or countless times better than another man, but this is only because there are people who fail to make the best of their native endowment. The Book of Odes says,

Heaven produces the teeming masses,
And where there is a thing there is a norm.
Humans are endowed with constant nature,
And they love this superior virtue.46

Apparently, virtues are given by Heaven. It is in this sense that Mencius asserted that decree is not human’s essential attribute. The virtues are decree, but they are not from outside enforcement, rather they are out of our own nature. Note the following statement, “He who has developed completely all his mind knows his nature, he who knows his nature knows heaven.”47 As long as human exhaust his mind, he will know his nature, and once he knows his nature, he will know Heaven. What is indicated here is obviously the relationship between Heaven and human nature.

Virtues are endowments of Heaven, but they are only forms, the essence of the forms is nature, which, to some extent is shared by human and Heaven; although humans will not know it until they exhaust their mind.


《詩》曰: “天生蒸民,有物有則。民之秉彝,好是懿德。” 孔子曰: “爲此詩者,其知道乎!故有物必有則,民之秉彝也,故好是懿德。”

Hsü Fu-kuan points out the difference between human nature and moral decree, which is very helpful in understanding Mencius’ definition of human nature, “Human nature arises from inside, upon the realization of which, human stands in an initiative position; while decree arrives from outside, upon the realization of which people is passive.” \(^{48}\) I doubt the idea that “destiny arrives from outside”, but agree that decree is a passive issue. The reason is, as I mentioned above, according to Mencius, destiny is from Heaven, and human beings are originally congruous to Heaven. It is Heaven that determines human’s achievement and failure in their life; and Heaven has certain ways/decrees there. But it’s human being himself who decides what to do and what not to do. In this sense, decree from outside is “passive”; and therefore it is not adequate in defining human.

2. Human Nature is not Identical with Natural Predisposition

Irene. T. Bloom does an amazing job in her analysis of Mencius theory of human nature, and in many aspects, I have similar ideas as hers.\(^{49}\) However, the only point that I might hesitate to support is that she takes natural predisposition as part of human nature. My concern is, natural predisposition, without any further definition can’t be counted as part of human nature for two reasons: (1) without being controlled, they can’t differentiate human from animals; (2) being under control, it is


\(^{49}\) See Bloom, Irene. T. “Menzian Arguments on Human Nature” in *Philosophy East and West* (Honolulu) 47, no.1 (Jan 1997) pp. 21-32
our mind that fulfills this task. As we saw, in the above cited paragraph, Mencius mentioned *Xing* 性 twice and obviously each bears different meanings from the other. The *Xing* 性 mentioned first is physical, which exists in the relationship between mouth and taste, eye and color, ear and sound, nose and smell, limbs and comfort. It is natural, but Mencius did not attribute them to human nature, in that these traits are what human shares with animals. In Mencius’ view, it can’t differentiate human from animals:

This is the way of common people: once they have a full belly and warm clothes on their back they degenerate to the level of animals if they are allowed to lead idle lives, without education and discipline.⁵⁰

What Mencius mentioned in this passage is exactly what Xunzi and some scholars took as evidence in blaming Mencius. They contend that the natural inclination is inborn with human and always cause bad behaviors, so human nature must be bad. But, as we saw, Mencius had already anticipated this problem. That is, this kind of natural inclinations is not what makes humans uniquely human, while the basic standard that Mencius emphasized in defining human nature is the factor that makes humans uniquely human. In other words, these natural tendencies rather than human nature, can’t distinguish human from brutes. In *Mencius*, the comparison between human and brutes is highlighted here and there to emphasize the subtle difference between human and animals.

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For instance, in VI A, when talking about preservation of “morning air”, Mencius said that if man deviated from human way, he would become close to animals; others, when seeing his resemblance to animals, would think that he lacks good essence in his nature. However, Mencius argued that it is not that he lacks good nature, but that he fails to keep it in the right way.\(^{51}\) Many critiques of Mencius’ idea fail to see Mencius’ account of this kind of “bad behavior”. As a matter of fact, this failure reflects a confusion of natural disposition and humanistic nature.

Kao Tzu said, “The inborn is what is meant by ‘nature’.” “Is that,” said Mencius, “the same as ‘white’ is what is meant by ‘white’?” “Yes.” “Is the whiteness of white feathers the same as the whiteness of white snow and the whiteness of white snow the same as white jade?” “Yes.” “In that case, is the nature of a hound the same as the nature of an ox and the nature of an ox the same as the nature of man?”\(^{52}\)

Obviously, Gaozi was trying to define human nature by identifying human nature with natural predisposition. Mencius refuted him by pointing out that inborn elements by themselves can’t distinguish human from animals and thereby denied taking physical nature as equivalent to human nature. “Slight is the difference between man and the brutes. The common man loses this

\(^{51}\) See note 34.

distinguishing feature, while the gentleman retains it.”

Mencius admitted that the difference between human and brutes is slight; but no matter how slight it is, it is something that differentiates human from animals. Apparently, this slight difference is not what human shares with animals. In short, what makes humans human is not natural predisposition, but something subtle. Hsü Fu-kuan interpreted this passage as,

"By these sentences, Mencius meant that in terms of reactions of biological stimuli such as desires for food and drink, etc., human is same as animals except for a subtle difference. That means, in order to understand the nature that makes humans uniquely human, we can only start with this subtle difference…"

This reading explains very well the reason why Mencius did not count the natural inclination as unique human nature. In other words, by “human nature”, Mencius first stressed the characteristic that is, if anything, “humanistic” rather than (including) “natural” or “original”; the physical inclination of human, although truly exists, can’t fulfill this task.

Now, let’s see another statement of Mencius to get some clue of what he meant by “subtle difference” between human and animals. “Body and complexion are inborn with us; but only sages can completely give it a good account.” The denotation here, as I understand, corresponds to what I mentioned above. That is, only sages can control the body and put it into

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practice in an appropriate way; as for commoners, they don’t take control over their body (踐形), but are lead by their natural inclinations. Sages present the perfect form into which human can get by living out the rules of human nature; therefore, it seems safe for us to say that the sages’ state reveals, in an exaggerating version, the otherwise unclear human nature in Menius’s theory. In short, human nature should be something that superior, rather than inferior to, or identical with natural inclinations.

3. Human Nature is not Congruous to Moral

As we mentioned in the first two chapters, scholars tend to interpret Mencius definition of human nature by identifying human nature with moral action or principles. Jiyuan Yu’s analysis raises an objection to this idea. Yu convincingly draws distinction between a “moral self” and a “perfect self”. Namely, a moral self is “in oneness with society” while a perfect self is “in oneness with Heaven”, and “a perfect self is the great and accomplished self. For Mencius, however, moral self is one stage in the long and gradual natural growth of the four seeds”. Persuasively, Yu lists several paragraphs in Mencius to support this idea,

A person fully actualizes his nature not in oneness with society, but in oneness with Heaven, although if the society is one in which the way of heaven prevails, there is no tension between these two unities. Mencius distinguishes honors bestowed by Heaven and honors bestowed by man. He

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claims that ‘Men of antiquity bent their efforts towards acquiring honors bestowed by Heaven, and honors bestowed by man follows naturally.\textsuperscript{57}

He also distinguishes what is truly worthy of esteem is conferred by others.\textsuperscript{58}

All these suggest that there is a higher value beyond social value. Whether social values are really valuable should be judged by that higher value.\textsuperscript{59} I agree with this idea at the point that it sees the difference between human nature and human moral, and pointing out that morality is not the standard by which Mencius confined human nature.\textsuperscript{60}

I argue that morality is only part of the issue, because in Mencius’ view, human nature is not directly equal to morality. After the first mentioned natural disposition, Mencius mentioned decree, which narrows the topic down to human. As the content of decree, benevolence, rightness, ritual and wisdom, etc. are definitely humanistic characters. However, Mencius did not count the moral elements directly as human nature. “There exists nature;\textsuperscript{61} therefore nobleman does not take the predestined thing (only) as decree”\textsuperscript{62} Clearly, after examining two aspects of human constitution, Mencius did not stop exploring the content of human nature on the level of morality and he found that there also exists something more important, which is

\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., 6A:16.
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., 6A:17.
\textsuperscript{60} But I hesitate to accept Yu’s idea about human nature that “the good is the full manifestation of humanity, or human nature’s own peak and flourishing”. See Yu, Jiyuan. “The Moral Self and the Perfect Self in Aristotle and Mencius” in Journal of Chinese Philosophy 28, no.3 (Sep 2001) p. 240
\textsuperscript{61} Rather than natural inclination, this Xing is human nature (Ren Xing).
\textsuperscript{62} See note 44. This sentence bears the meaning of “gentleman, although should carry out moralities, should not leave it to decree, because there is something that he can do.” For example, Mencius advocated in order to deal with fate, one should “cultivate oneself” and thus serve the Heaven.
called nature. Mencius did not explain what he meant by “nature”, but as we analyzed, we can tell that there is something other than natural tendency and moral virtue that is regarded as human nature by Mencius. The problem is why morality is not human nature in Mencius’ picture and how human nature is different from morality. This is a twofold issue: on the one hand, moral virtues origin in human nature, but they exist only as form (e.g. house, ways, etc.); on the other hand, one can (seemingly) lose it if he is not in the right way, which we can see from the following:

Benevolence, dutifulness, observance of the rites, and wisdom are not welded onto me from the outside; they are in me originally. Only this has never dawned on me. That is why it is said, “Seek and you will find it; let go and you will lose it.” There are cases where one man is twice, five times or countless times better than another man, but this is only because there are people who fail to make the best of their native endowment.63

As we can see, Mencius held that virtues are not welded on to people, but exist innately within people. The statement takes such a confusing appearance that leads many scholars to take virtues directly as human nature. However, Mencius’ went on to assert that although the virtues are inborn in people, they could be ignored and thus be lost. The key question here is, whether human nature could be lost? Logically speaking, human nature is the last thing that could be lost by a man in that without human nature, a living being will not be named as human any more. Take a step back, even if one can still be regarded as human without human nature, it contradicts with Mencius’ theory because Mencius contended that even bad persons bear human nature. Therefore, it is impossible for human nature to be lost by human. However

63 See note 48.
on the other hand, Mencius did say that “let go and you will lose it”. What does this imply? This implies that virtues, according to the logic and Mencius’ premise in debating human nature, although inborn with human, are not equal to human nature. In other words, the difference denoted here is that while human nature is not subject to subjective or objective conditions, but virtues are. Let’s take see the difference from another angle. To some people, being moral is enough for one to judge the nature of humans; but to Mencius, it’s not sufficient because in Mencius’ mind, moral is a twofold issue: internal and innate morality (true morality), and external morality (counterfeit morality).

“Shun understood the way of things and had keen insight into human relationships. He followed the path of morality. He did not simply enforce it.”

As we read in this passage, there are two ways of carrying out morality: to follow or to enforce. James Legge fails to distinguish these: “It is quite clear that what Mencius considered as deserving to be properly called the nature of man, was not that by which he is a creature of appetites and passions, but that by which he is lifted up into the higher circle of intelligence and virtue. …there ought to be a cheerful submission so far as the appetites are concerned, but where the virtues are in question, we are to be striving after them notwithstanding adverse and opposing circumstances. They are our nature, what we were made for, what we have to do.”

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65 Ibid., pp. 63-64.
This is simply not true to Mencius, because our nature only provides grounds for good behavior, but does not force man to do, if any, good rather than bad. It is already clear that without “concentrating 思”, it is more likely for man to do bad than good; although the good seeds in human mind manifest themselves from time to time. Besides, to do good is a twofold issue: to enforce external goodness and to follow internal way of good; the former is not Mencius’ idea at all and the latter has nothing to do with mandate.

A proof of this difference is the parable of the Song farmer who pulled at his sprouts in order to help them to grow fast. This kind of difference does exist in Mencius idea; therefore, we can’t simply rush to the conclusion that as long as one is carrying out morality, he is manifesting the good nature of human. On the contrary, we have to examine closely the manner of one’s carrying out morality to see if he presents the inborn virtue or not. Another case that proves this understanding of Mencius’ idea lies in his criticism of the five lords. Mencius once said,

Yao and Shun are those who act directly in accordance with their nature; Tang and Wu are those who carry out their nature through their body; the five lords are those who make pretense of being carrying it out.

The five lords were not in the way of carrying out the “human nature”, but they could pretend to have it. And even though the latter could pretend to have morality, they were not as true as Yao and Shun in “being human”. Therefore, morality, by

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66 Mencius. IIA 孟子公孫醜上 宋人有問其苗之不長而揠之者，芒芒然歸，謂其人曰：‘今日病矣，予助苗長矣。’其子趨而往視之，苗則槁矣。天下之不助苗長者寡矣。
itself, is insufficient to explain the difference between Yao, Shun and the five lords; and because of the existence of enforced morality, we cannot simply draw the conclusion that morality, by its appearance, presents human nature. At least, it’s not Menius’ logic.

As a matter of fact, the enforced (external) morals are what Xun Zi and Mo Zi advocate, and strongly criticized by Mencius for they created another root, which goes against Heaven’s principle of one root\(^\text{68}\) of creating the world. The only root, in Mencius’ view, lies innately within human with complete rules of morality; it is wrong for people to seek them from outside. According to Mencius, the rule of the innate morality is out of heaven, and inborn with human; thus morality must be sought through self-examination. Otherwise, no matter what appearance it takes, it will be nothing more than an empty form.

Secondly, morality itself is not as solid as nature. One can negate or lose morality easily while nature is something unchangeable and can’t be destroyed in human’s construction. Mencius said,

> That which a gentleman follows as his nature is not added to when he holds sway over the empire, nor is it detracted from when he is reduced to straitened circumstances. This is because it is allotted so.\(^\text{69}\)

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\(^\text{68}\) The root and its principle is innately within one’s mind, rather than learned or created from outside. *Mencius IIIA5.* 孟子曰: “夫夷子信以為人之親其兄之子為若親其鄰之赤子乎？彼有取爾也。赤子匍匐將入井，非赤子之罪也。且天之生物也使之一本，而夷子二本故也。蓋上世嘗有不葬其親者，其親死則舉而委之於壑。他日過之，狐狸食之，蠅蚋姑嘬之。其顚有泚，睨而不視。夫泚也，非為人泚，中心達於面目。蓋歸反篡而掩之，掩之誠是也。則孝子仁人之掩其親，亦必有道矣。” See also *Sishu Jizhu* Hu’nan: Yuelu Shushe, 1993. p. 335.

\(^\text{69}\) *Mencius VIIA21.* I have referred to Lau’s translation.孟子 竭心上 孟子曰： “...君子所性，雖大行不加焉，雖窮居不損焉，分定故也。" See also *Sishu Jizhu* Hu’nan: Yuelu Shushe, 1993. p. 507.
What I want to stress here is, the nature that a gentleman follows is not subject to any change, and it neither increases nor decreases, not to speak of losing or acquiring. But on the other hand, virtues are subject to one’s attitude:

It is not worth the trouble to talk to a man who has no respect for himself (自暴), and it is not worth the trouble to make a common effort with a man who has no confidence in himself (自棄). The former attacks morality; the latter says, ‘I do not think I am capable of abiding by benevolence or of following rightness.’ Benevolence is man’s peaceful abode and rightness his proper path. It is indeed lamentable for anyone not to live in his peaceful abode and not to follow his proper path.\(^70\)

The Chinese words “自暴” (do not respect oneself), “自棄” (abandon oneself) show clearly that it is contingent on individual’s intention whether to follow the way or not. To announce that humans have destined morality in their mind is not sufficient to make the proposition that morality is human nature, in that, in reality, morality is deniable but human nature is not deniable.\(^71\) Morality is merely a path, although it is perfectly good, it is still possible and highly likely that people do not choose to follow it; and if people do not follow it, it’s nothing more than an empty form.\(^72\) In this sense, Mencius did not count on it in defining human nature.


\(^71\) I mean people have the freedom to choose the complete mind or incomplete mind. The choice of the former leads to moral action; the choice of the latter leads to bad action. See also chapter 4.

\(^72\) Someone might argue that the so-called good nature is also no more than a possibility, if it does not get realized. It is not the case, because nature is essence rather than form. Mencius has a complete theory of the relationship of mind, fate and nature, which explains the mechanism of the three elements. We will examine it later.
Nevertheless, one can choose to ignore his nature, but can never deny his nature.73 Whether be conscious or ignorant of his nature is contingent on the state of his mind, which I will explore in later section. This is the reason why right after counted the morality as destined Mencius brought up his idea of nature (as an essence that is unchangeable and determines ideal rules--morality--of mind) that lies with morality.74

To sum up, in Mencius’ theory, there’re three aspects in the constitution of human: the first aspect is a physicality, which consists of natural predispositions. Mencius did not deny its existence, but believed it is not decisive in confining human at all; the second aspect is the human mind, wherein, corresponding to the states of mind lies morality (including two forms: true morality and false morality) and immorality. The third aspect is nature that, although associated with physical action and mental action, is not identical with body and morality. Therefore, by “human nature”, Mencius did not mean “physicality”; or the moral rules. No matter whether Mencius’ whole theory can hold or not, his definition of human nature convincingly resists three kinds of explanations: those which regard physical desires as human


74 The Chinese word for nature here is also Xing (性), which does not mean the biological disposition, and bears more moral characters. I render it as “Human Nature” in order to make difference from the physical Xing.
nature,\textsuperscript{75} those which connect the quality of human action with that of human nature, and those which equate the good nature with moral.

\textbf{Chapter 4: Human Nature, in Relation to Human Mind}

As we have seen, three aspects constitute human and the first two, natural inclination and moral rules, are not human nature. However, although they are not human nature, they are always related to human nature in Mencius idea and thereby are usually mistakenly taken as human nature by scholars. This misunderstanding will be dismissed if we approach the question from another angle, which is, by

\textsuperscript{75} It is nature, but it is not what Mencius meant.
differentiating the function of human mind and the essence of human nature. In this chapter, I will explore the relationship between human nature and human mind, which, I think, will shed light on Mencius’ idea of what human nature is, and the matrix where morality and immorality is hatched. This exploration will also be expected to explain away the impression that evil element dwells in human nature.

1. Human Mind is the Way through Which Human Can Know His Nature.

There have been numerous explanations about what Mencius meant by “human nature”. Generally speaking, most of the studies tend to fathom nature (an object in the third aspect of human composition) with the standard of “if it is morally good” (a standard of the second aspect). This is not the right way in that this method does not distinguish human mind from human nature; whereas in the book of Mencius, the theory of human nature is drawn exactly on distinguishing human nature from human mind. In the parable of the wood of Ox Mountain, Mencius mentioned nature Xing 性, mind of benevolence and integrity Renyizhixin 仁義之心, true heart Liangxin 良心 and Xin 心; and we can find the relationship between mind and nature in VIA876 In this passage, except nature Xing that is used in an allegorical spirit, all of the other terms are used in terms of human mind. Among all the terms about nature and mind in this passage, mind of benevolence and true mind are almost congruous to

76 See note 34.
nature except that mind can be lost whereas nature cannot. A crucial notion indicated here is, although human nature never changes, its embodiment—mind—does change: the original state of mind could be true mind Liangxin, but true mind could be let go of; and when man holds on to it (true mind), it could remain; otherwise it will disappear; upon receiving nurture, it will grow, upon losing nurture, it will wither. Note herein, it is mind, rather than human nature, that changes. With the transitionary function of mind, Mencius successfully bridged the gap between unchangeable nature and changeable quality of behavior. Along this thread, we can get a clear picture of the relationship between human mind and human nature, and thus reach a further understanding of Mencius’ human nature theory.

One of the representative statements of this idea is to know human nature one is supposed to exhaust mind first. “He who has developed completely all his mind knows his nature, he who knows his nature knows heaven.”78 Obviously, as we see, mind and nature are different concepts in Mencius’ thought; and knowing mind is a necessary step in the way to understanding of human nature. According to Mencius, it’s impossible for those who have not exhausted their mind to really know the quality of human nature. That means even though everyone has the good nature, not everyone can know what the nature is before he knows his mind completely, let alone to carry it out in practice. That’s why Mencius said “those who follow it all

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77 See note 71.  
78 See note 49.
through his life without knowing it are numerous.”

Although what Mencius was really talking about is Tao (the Way of Heaven), it also could be regard as a remark on human nature in that Mencius’ Way is inherent in human nature. It’s common for people to have the ability to tell, superficially, on the moral level, what is good and what is bad; but it’s highly unlikely that they know human nature, because they have not explored deep enough to understand the mind as a whole (盡心) at this stage. In this sense, we can also understand why Confucius sighed, “You can guide commoners to follow, but you can’t let them know (the way).” In order to know the quality of human nature, we have to know all about human mind. Therefore the question becomes an issue of human mind. The key questions here are: (1) the forms of human mind; and (2) the relationship between different shapes of human mind. We will discuss these two questions in turn.

To discover the shapes of human mind, I’d like to start with examining the shapes that human mind could assume. Fortunately we can find all Mencius’ idea about it directly in his book without any subjective assumptions. In *Mencius*, there

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79 *Mencius VIIA* Tans. Lau, D. C. New York: Penguin, 1970. p.182. 孟子曰：“行之而不著焉，習矣而不察焉，終身由之而不知其道者，衆也。” This is also Confucius idea: “As for the commoners, you can teach them to follow, but you can’t let them know.” Actually, it’s not Confucius or Mencius who wanted to keep it secret from commoners, but the commoners are not in the right way to know it.

80 In Amore general sense, the Way means the principle exists in every action of human, despite moral or immoral. To understand it as a whole means to understand the human nature, because the rules are inborn within nature, as we analyzed before.

are mainly two types of mind mentioned: the ideally perfect mind and the partial mind.

A. The Ideally Perfect Mind

In terms of human composition, this mind is original; in terms of human cultivation, it is accomplished. This complete mind embodies the good nature of human. The content of the perfect mind is virtues.

That which a gentleman follows as his nature, that is to say, benevolence, rightness, the rites and wisdom, is rooted in his heart, and manifests itself in his face, giving it a sleek appearance. It also shows in his back and extends to his limbs, rendering their message intelligible without words. All the four virtues that Mencius advocated are rooted in mind, which makes the original mind good. Moreover, everyone has this perfect human mind. “Not only the sages who have this kind of mind, everyone has it. The only difference is that the sages do not lose it.”

With regard to Mencius,

All palates have the same preference in taste; all ears in sound; all eyes in beauty. Should hearts prove to be exception by possessing nothing in common? What is common to all hearts? Reason and rightness. The sage is simply the man first to discover this common element in my heart. Thus reason and rightness please my heart in the same way as meat pleases my palate.

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82 Again, the word “embody” means, the mind, although perfect, is not equal to human nature.
83 See note 48.
84 It is not good enough to exclude bad elements in Mind though. But Mencius’ other statement successfully excludes the bad elements in Mind and hence safely drew the conclusion that the original Mind is good.
86 See note 44. Trans. Lau, D. C.
And elsewhere he asked more than once that “as for what exists in human composition, does it lack mind of benevolence and rightness?” These clearly show that everyone has this perfect and complete mind.

However, this mind is open to harm. It could be harmed, lost, and blocked. “A hungry man regards food as delectable; a thirsty man finds drink delicious. In this sense, they do not get the proper measure of food and drink because hunger and thirst interfere with his judgment. Is the palate the only thing which can be distorted by hunger and thirst? The mind, too, is open to distortion.” That means, although in a complete version, human mind is good, it does not ensure that everyone will take the perfect way. When one fails to be aware of the whole mind, the mind will take a partial shape.

B. Partial Mind

This type of mind is not original; rather, it derives from the damage of the original mind. It is the result of the original one being harmed. The terms Mencius used for this type of mind, explicitly or implicitly, include lost mind, partial mind, unexhausted mind, and limited mind etc. For example, the partial mind might be an ensnared one. “In good years the young men are mostly lazy, while in bad years they are mostly violent. Heaven has not sent down men whose endowment differs so

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87 See note 34. I have referred to D. C. Lau’s translation.
88 Please refer to note 69 and note 70.
89 Mencius VIIA27. I have referred to D. C. Lau’s translation. 孟子盡心上 孟子曰：“飢者甘食，渴者甘飲，是未得飲食之正也，飢渴害之也。豈惟口腹有飢渴之害？人心亦皆有害。人能無以饑渴之害為心害，則不及人不為憂矣。” See also Sishu Jizhu Hu’nan: Yuelu Shushe, 1993. p. 511.
greatly. The difference is due to what ensnares their hearts.” 90 The partial mind could be a blocked one. Mencius once talked to Gao Zi, “A trial through the mountains, if used, becomes a path in a short time, but if unused, becomes blocked by grass in an equally short time. Now your heart is blocked by grass.”91 If we take a clear path as a symbol of a complete mind, then, the blocked path implies a partial mind. Also, the partial mind could be a lost mind.

Benevolence is the heart of man, and rightness his road. Sad it is indeed when a man gives up the right road instead of following it and allows his heart to stray without enough sense to go after it. When his chickens and dogs stray, he has sense enough to go after them, but not when his heart strays. Then the sole concern of learning is to go after this stray heart. That is all.92

As we have pointed out, compared with mind, human nature is unchangeable since human nature does not assume diametric shapes; and it could not be lost even by a bad man.

In terms of the relationship between the accomplished mind and partial mind, Chinese philosophers have conducted a great deal of studies. Zhu Xi’s famous proposition reads like this: there are two minds, one of which is the mind of man Renxin人心, which is not pure and might tend to do bad; the other is the mind of man

90 See note 47.

Way *Daoxin* 道心*, which is pure and good.\(^{93}\) Lu Hsiang-shan criticized Zhu’s idea by pointing out all things should be born from one mind, but Zhu Xi’s theory implied two origins of mind, which in Lu’s view, is impossible.\(^{94}\)

Lu’s idea corresponds with that of Mencius\(^{95}\) and successfully reconciled the mind of human and the mind of Way (the partial mind and the accomplished mind) by reinterpreting Mencius’ idea of original mind, lost mind, and intuitive wisdom. Although they seem to be two types of mind, they essentially are different forms of the same one mind. Lu said,

Mencius said, “He who has developed completely all his mind knows his nature, he who knows his nature knows heaven.”\(^{96}\) Mind is only one mind. The mind of any given person, or that of my friend, or that of a sage of a thousand generations ago, or again, that of a sage of a thousand generations hence—their minds are all only [one] like this. The extent of the mind is very great. If I can develop completely my mind, I thereby become identified with heaven. To acquire learning consists of nothing more than to apprehend this.\(^{97}\)

Lu put it very clear that “mind is only one mind”; and the only difference between partial mind (manifested by commoners) and accomplished mind (manifested by sages) is partial mind is a small part of the infinite mind; when man adhere to a small part while ignoring the entire being, he appears to be a small man, thus his mind is not the “original mind”, and he seems to have “lost” his mind.

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\(^{95}\) For example, Mencius criticized that Yizi made two roots which was against heaven’s one-root-rule. See note 36.

\(^{96}\) See note 36 and 37.

\(^{97}\) See note 37.
We can find many proofs in *Mencius* for the distinction between the partial mind and the accomplished mind. When being asked that though equally human, why some men are greater than others, Mencius answered, the difference lies in what they follow. Those who follow the big rule turn to be great men, and those who follow the small rule turn to be small men.  

This is another most confusing passage in *Mencius*. My reading of it is both infinite mind and partial mind are essentially the same one; man has the freedom to choose what he wants to be. When he chooses the small one, he turns out to be a small person, and vice versa.

2. The Relationship between Human Nature and Human Mind

Now that whether a man behaves good or bad is contingent on his state of mind, what’s the relationship between partial mind and the complete mind? And what’s the relationship between human mind and human nature? Right after Mencius said that it’s a personal issue as for as what one chooses to be, he was asked why someone chooses the big rule while some others choose the small one. Mencius attributed it to the function of mind.

The organ of hearing and sight are unable to think and can be misled by external things. When physical organs interact with the external objects, they are easily lost. While the organ of mind can reflect, when the mind concentrates on the objects in a right way, one can get it; otherwise, one will lose it.  

From this passage, we can see that the reason why one assumes the partial mind is because he is misled by objects, and why he is misled is because he fails to be aware

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98 See note 32.
99 See note 48, I have referred to Lau’s translation.
of the complete mind. Then why can one fail to be aware of the complete mind? It might be because he has the freedom to choose in his infinite mind. Mencius once used a metaphor to illustrate this case. A gardener fails to take care of the expensive trees, but pays his effort in nurturing the wild grass. The expensive tree represents the complete mind. The fact that the gardener fails to pay attention to it is not because he does not have it, but simply because he does not realize how important it is. Apparently, we can get the connotation that every human being has this good nature. It has nothing to do with if he has noticed it or ignored it.

(1) The Mechanism of the Evolvement/Degradation of Mind

Based on the analysis above, with reference to the utterance “He who has developed completely all his mind knows his nature, he who knows his nature knows heaven”, we can get a picture of Mencius’ idea about human nature and human mind.

Figure 1: The Relationship between Human Nature and Human Mind

$A$: manifests in be misled to
human nature $\rightarrow$ original mind (infinite mind) $\rightarrow$ confused mind (partial mind, lost mind, unexhausted mind, small mind)

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100 See note 94.
101 See note 49.
B:

Know heaven          know nature

heaven⇐====human nature ⇐====original mind (exhausted mind)

Exhaust/extend

⇐====confused mind (partial mind, lost mind, unexhausted mind, small mind)

A reflects the fact that human nature is good, and bad behaviors result from the lost mind, which is not from nature but from partially sticking to a small part of mind. The small part of mind is not a different thing from the infinite mind; and the infinite mind (original mind), whose content is goodness, rightness etc., is the embodiment of human nature.

B shows the course of the movement from the partial mind back to the original mind, which starts with exhausting mind (or extending mind). The goal of extending mind is to return to the original mind (exhausted mind), through which one can know his nature. What changes in the picture is not human nature, but the human mind, whose complete version is definitely good, but partial version could be bad. As far as the transformability between the partial Mind and the infinite Mind is concerned, there is no essential disparity between them.

(2) The “Good” of Human Mind is not the “Good” of Human Nature
After explored the position of human nature in human composition and the relationship between human nature and human mind, I would move on to examine what Mencius meant by good. This will be based on the relationship between “human nature” and “human mind”:

Mencius said: “Men all have the heart that cannot bear the suffering of others. The former Kings, because they had the heart that cannot bear the suffering of others, showed this in the way they governed the people. With such a heart practicing such government, ruling the world was like rolling it on one’s palm. This is what I mean by saying that all men have the heart that cannot bear the suffering of others. Now if any man were, all of a sudden, to see a little child about to fall into a well, he would experience the feeling of apprehension an pity, not for the sake of gaining the favor of its parents, not the praise of his neighbors and friends, nor yet because he dislikes the reputation he would otherwise get of being callous. Judging from this, whoever has not the heart of commiseration, is not human, whoever has not the heart of shame is not human, whoever has not the heart of keeping oneself back in order to make way for others is not human, and whoever has not heart of right and wrong is not human. The heart of commiseration is the beginning of humanity; the heart of shame is the beginning of righteousness; the heart of keeping oneself back in order to make way for others is the beginning of observing ritual; the heart of right and wrong is the beginning of wisdom. A man has these four beginnings as he has four limbs. To have these four beginnings and to say to oneself that one incapable of being good is to do harm to oneself, and to say that one’s prince is incapable of being good is to do harm to one’s prince. If having these four beginnings in oneself one knows to extend them, it is as if a fire is beginning to blaze or a spring beginning to flow through. If one is able to extend them, one has all that is required to maintain peace within the four seas. If one does not extend them, one will be incapable even of serving one’s parents.”

The famous “four sprouts” mentioned in the passage have been taken as proofs in reasoning “human nature” is only a potential by many scholars. For instance, Yu holds the idea that “…When Mencius claims that human xing is good, he refers only to the four seeds”\(^{103}\), “Mencius is clearly not talking about the whole of human nature.”\(^{104}\) However, it is the plausible interpretation of the “four sprouts” that lead to the misunderstanding of Mencius’ human nature theory. There are two most representative readings of the “four sprouts” in explaining Mencius’ theory. The first one believes that the virtues innately in one mind of benevolence, integrity, observance of rites, wisdom are only germinations; what Mencius meant by “human nature is good” is no more than saying that humans have these germs which need to be nurtured and developed; if they do not get nourished, human’s good nature exists only as a possibility. The other representative reading is that the virtues are only beginnings; therefore they are very diminutive in dimension. This claim (although usually does not get explained as) often implies that compared to these minute things, what are not innately good are dominantly large. Starting with these assumptions, people try to reconcile the dim “good nature” with the apparently not-so-good behaviors. For example, Chen Ning argues for this view by resorting to *Guodian Chujian*. Chen argues that there are two stages that can be seen in *Guodian chujian*:

\begin{quote}
者，賊其君者也。凡有四譖於我者，知皆擴而充之矣，若火之始然、泉之始達。苟能充之，足以保四海；苟不充之，不足以事父母。
\end{quote}


one is “at birth”, and the other is “full-fledged”.\textsuperscript{105} However, as Philip J. Ivanhoe pointed out, under the situation that “the evidence about where certain ideas about human nature were first discussed or how earlier accounts influenced later accounts is still quite murky”, it “would be rash” to use one to attest the other.\textsuperscript{106} Moreover, the evidence that Chen took from the \textit{Mencius} are not sufficient to falsify Mencius’ other reasoning and statements that are much more apparent than the “seeding” or the “course of development”. As a matter of fact, there is, if not more convincing, an equally persuasive way to construe what is the “beginnings” and what is the course of development.

First of all, the four virtuous minds are not “sprouts” of human nature, but virtue itself. We can’t identify the smallness of the beginning of virtues as the smallness of the beginning of human nature. Mencius never said that human nature has a size that could expand or shrink. On the contrary, Mencius did emphasize that “human nature” which is endowed by heaven can’t be changed by saying “That which a gentleman follows as his nature is not added to when he holds say over the Empire, nor is it detracted from when his reduced to straitened circumstances because it is allotted so.”\textsuperscript{107} It is crystal-clear in the statement that human nature is stable, and it can’t be changed by any means in that human nature is designed by Heaven. Now that human nature does not subject to any

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{107} See note 71.
\end{flushright}
change, how can we measure its size? In addition, Mencius more than once said that everyone has the same stable nature. For example, when he talked about the wood in Ox Mountain, he thought although the mountain became bald after it was lopped by axes, it’s not the mountain’s nature that tends to be bald;\(^{108}\) when he talked about the change of disposition of those young men, he did not owe it to their nature, either.\(^{109}\) Based on what we have just seen, it is clear that human nature is not something that could be changed or nurtured or detracted. Therefore, speaking of Mencius’ thought, to say that human nature is a diminutive thing or need to be developed is not right. Secondly, Mencius did say that there are virtues in human nature, but he never said that those virtuous attributes in/of nature are small in terms of measure. As a matter of fact, in Mencius’ picture, these virtues are perfectly accomplished in nature. “Benevolence, dutifulness, observance of the rites, and wisdom are not welded on to me from the outside; they are in me originally.”\(^{110}\) Mencius did not say that “it is the virtues’ germinations that are originally in me”, how can we deduce that they are only germinations?

In fact, Mencius emphasized strongly that “there is no one who is not good”\(^{111}\), which clearly shows the idea of Mencius that human nature is unconditionally good. Furthermore, logically speaking, Mencius held the idea

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\(^{109}\) See note 44.

\(^{110}\) See note 48.

“all the ten thousand things are there in me”\textsuperscript{112} and “there is only one root of the creation of the world”.\textsuperscript{113} Therefore, even we take the words that virtues in the nature have a course of growing from a germ, we can’t say that “the ripe virtue” is not in nature, nor can we say “there are two natures: one carries the baby virtue, while the other carries the mature virtue.” In other words, given that there is only one human nature; virtues, both baby and grown-up, are in the nature, and the nature with virtue germinations and the nature with full version of virtues are one, what’s the point to say that “virtue in the nature are only germinations”\textsuperscript{114}?

Therefore, to say that the virtues in nature are sprouts is not convincing at all.

What’s more important is that rather than human nature, what Mencius was actually and mainly talking about in this passage is the sprouts of virtue actions. This can be easily seen from his utterance. “The heart of commiseration is the beginning of benevolence; the heart of shame is the beginning of righteousness; the heart of keeping oneself back in order to make way for others is the beginning of observing ritual; the heart of right and wrong is the beginning of wisdom.”\textsuperscript{115} Mencius did not say, “The heart of commiseration is the beginning of nature”;\textsuperscript{116} nor did he say “the heart of shame is the beginning of nature”\textsuperscript{117} etc. Human nature is not an issue of a sprout or a full-developed thing, it does not need to be developed; what needs to be

\begin{thebibliography}{112}
\item 風子曰：“萬物皆備於我矣，反身而誠，樂莫大焉。強恕而行，求仁莫近焉。”
\item These two statements indicate that (1) there should be nothing out of human, (2) there should be only one Nature. Details of Mencius’ utterance see note 70.
\item See note 15, 16, and 18.
\item See note 105.
\item See note 105.
\item See note 105.
\end{thebibliography}
developed is the virtue in the form of partial human mind. To mix the four hearts with human nature is nothing more than interpreters’ misunderstanding. This misreading is derived from their mixing human nature with human mind. For example, Mencius’ big opponent once questioned him, “(if everyone is equally good in terms of nature) then what reason is there to pay any particular honor to Yao, Yu, or the gentleman?” This question is so typical that people can’t help but bringing forward generation after generation. According to Mencius, as I analyzed in former sections, there are three levels in human constitution; and the fact everyone is equally good in the field of nature does not ensure that everyone’s equally good in the human mind level. What Mencius advocated is not to “learn” Yao and Shun’s nature, but to learn how Yao and Shun acualized their nature. In short, the issue is not of nature, but of how to realize one’s nature. Xun Zi along with some other critics just failed to seize Mencius’ point which is clearly expressed in Mencius’ explanation of heart-mind and nature.

Another aspect might be helpful to understand this point is that the Chinese word Duan is usually rendered as sprouts, germinations or beginnings. In terms of human cultivation, it is correct because man needs to nurture his good virtue; meanwhile good virtues and inborn beginnings could grow. However, in terms of human nature, none of the translation is quite to the point because Duan, for nature, only means end. Like an end of a rope, it does not connote any meaning of immature nature.

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118 For details, see next section.
or incomplete. We can never say that there is a baby rope behind the door when we see an end of it. Then how can we assure that, by the word Duan, Mencius meant a little sprout of human nature? Or, because of grass, we only see an ear of a rabbit, but can we say that there is only an ear in the grass? That we did not see the whole picture is not because the thing in the grass is incomplete, but because our eyesight is blocked by other things. This is why Mencius used the allegory of a path blocked with grass.

To summarize, in this paragraph, by the term of virtue Duan, what Mencius was discussing is not the situation of human nature, but the situation of human mind. In other words, as minute as they might be, sprouts reflect the situation of heart, but not that of human nature. As I have analyzed above, human nature does not have the problem of expanding or shrink. However, human mind does have the problem of expanding and shrinking, nurturing and starving, losing and retrieving, etc., which I will discuss in the following section.

(3) The Nature of Bad Action

Above I have analyzed that partial mind does not have a root in human nature, rather, it results from sticking to small parts of the infinite mind. Therefore, the quality of action, despite its good or bad, is irrelative to human nature. There are plenty of utterances in Mencius that support and explain this idea. In Mencius’ conversation with King Xuan of Qi:
[Mencius said,] “If you consider my words well spoken, then why do you not put them into practice?”

“I have a weakness. I am fond of money.”

“In antiquity Kung Liu was fond of money too... It was only when those who stayed at home had full granaries and those who went forth to war had full sacks that the march could begin. You may be fond of money, but so long as you share this fondness with the people, how can it interfere with your becoming a true King?”

“I have a weakness”, said the King, “I am fond of women.”

“In antiquity, T’ai Wang was fond of women, and loved his concubines... At that time, there were neither girls pining for a husband nor men without a wife. You may be fond of women, but so long as you share this fondness with people, how can it interfere with your becoming a true King.”

People would think that in this message, Mencius employed a subtle technique to persuade King Xuan of Qi; but as far as I am concerned, Mencius was actually telling a fact, that is, with regard to action, selfish action is different from unselfish one, but in terms of nature there is no substantial difference between the selfish desire and the moral desire. People can change their “selfish desires” into “moral desires” by extending the extent. The transformation one’s mind from selfishness to unselfishness is an extension of quantity rather than a change of quality.

The possibility of the transformation from selfishness to unselfishness serves as an important basis for Mencius to claim that human nature is good. Van Norden takes this possibility of transformation from the selfish desire to benevolent deed as mere evidence that Mencius thought that “humans were capable of becoming good”,

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and he furthers his argument by asserting that Mencius insisted that “a human must seek what he desires the most”. According to Van Norden, one must distinguish selfish motivations and unselfish motivations. Wherein my point is different from Van Norden’s in that while he regards that Mencius takes selfishness and unselfishness as opposite concepts, I think that Mencius did not separate selfishness and unselfishness on the level of human nature. Both selfishness and unselfishness are of the same essence except that the former is “small” while the latter is “big”. In other words, the differences in motivations are not derived from the nature, but from the free intention, out of which one decides his action. Then, why different people choose different perspectives? The answer is that’s because their ability to tell what is better for them is different.

People tend to misunderstand Mencius’ idea by mixing Mencius’ will of encouraging people to do good with Mencius’ theory of human nature. This is because we can find here and there in Mencius that he tried to persuade people to carry out good deeds, we tend to imaginarily identify it with his theory. One of the conclusions arrived through this is the so-called good nature promotes people to do good. Philip Ho Hwang contends that Mencius’ theory was “particularly designed to meet the challenge” that why human “ought” to do good. His conclusion is, man have good seeds in his nature, and it is natural to “let the original nature grow naturally and the matter of ought disappears or becomes a matter of is”. “It is in a true way to say that man ought to do good and cultivate his nature, but it is also true

to say that it is his very essence of man to do good and preserve his nature.” 122

However, as a matter of fact, what those who insist on connecting good nature theory with the fact that Mencius took effort to promote his benevolence idea, can be safely drawn is nothing more than that the so-called good nature, serving as a basement, offers a possibility for good behavior. But, this does not justify their taking human nature as compelling just in the sense that it fits to serve as a ground of moral advocates. It’s similar to the case that we can’t conclude that water is only made to support boat because water is suitable to support boat. Actually, what Mencius said is,

Benevolence is the heart of man, and rightness his road. Sad it is indeed when a man gives up the right road instead of following it and allows his heart to stray without enough sense to go after it.123

According to Mencius, good nature is simply good nature, while quality of action is quality of action. Good nature does not compel man to do good; instead, it does nothing more than providing destined ways to carry out good. With this nature, man has the freedom to choose: he can choose to be conscious or be ignorant, he can choose follow their physical desires or sages’ way, and he can do whatever he wants. Human nature does not compel him to be what he should be; on the contrary, what he really is due to his own choice rather than his nature.


123 See 66.
This is an issue of choice. When one chooses the virtuous ends *Duan*, he is actually nurturing it and extending it; when he goes astray from the moral way, he is actually covering or losing it.¹²⁴ In chapter 7, Mencius talked about the content *Shi* of the four virtues:

The content of benevolence is the serving of one’s parents; the content of dutifulness is obedience to one’s elder brothers; the content of wisdom is to understand these two and to hold fast to them; the content of the rites is the regulation and adornment of them; the content of music is the joy that comes of delighting in them…¹²⁵

D. C. Lau here translates *Shi* as content, which is reasonable. But in my opinion, *Shi* also carries the meaning of “realization” or “practice”. My reading of this passage would be, “The realization of benevolence lies in serving one’s parents; the realization of dutifulness lies in obedience to one’s elder brother…” The so-called *Shi* is exactly the fact of realizing something. To choose the inborn moral way, one realizes the moral way; to abandon the inborn moral way, one carries out immoralities. This deduction fits perfectly into Mencius’ frame of human composition: as moral ways are there in the mind level, non-morals are there too. People have the freedom to carry out (*Shi*) whatever they want. Both proper ways corresponding to the complete mind and the wild field corresponding to the incomplete mind are theoretically there. One cannot avoid but to choose one and thus realize one. But, when one chooses improper ways, his nature is still good in that the

¹²⁴ Although the good mind is covered, the good nature never disappears.
improper way is out of the limited mind, which is still mind and has nothing to do with nature.

Chapter 5: Why Human Nature is Good

So far, through the above analysis, we have the ideas that human nature is the essential and unique part of human; that human mind embodies human nature, however, instead of reflecting the trait of human nature, the quality of human action only indicates the state of human mind (e.g. be complete or be partial); that the content of human nature is purely good, which could be manifested only when one exhausts one’s mind, but the fact that nature is not completely manifested does not mean that one’s nature is bad; that although most people’s mind takes a partial shape, virtues decided by nature do show up from time to time; that the so-called beginnings are the beginnings of virtuous action rather than beginnings of good
nature, on the contrary, good nature is the root and source of the beginnings. These five topics clear up the concept of human nature, the only question left is, why human nature is good?

1. In the Field of Human Nature

Good of nature is not a relative concept, but an absolute concept. We can’t find an opposite part of good in nature; furthermore, we can’t apply the general standard of good and bad to measure the good of nature. Or, to put it in another way, there is no contrast of good and bad on the level of human nature.

At the same time, the absolute character of nature decides and offers the form of virtue, which also turns out to be virtuous. Therefore, Mencius regarded it as good. One of the most frequently cited passages in *Mencius* is, when asked about by what he meant human nature is good, Mencius answered, “As far as what is genuinely in him is concerned, a man is capable of becoming good. That is what I mean by good”. 126 Hwang takes this statement as an evidence to prove that by “good nature”, Mencius only meant the possibility. 127 But, this is only one side of the story and thus not so convincing in that he failed to differentiate the level of nature and the quality of action, and thus applied a relative standard to the absolute thing. As far as the quality of action is concerned, it is equally

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capable of being either good or bad, why did Mencius not declare “human nature is bad”? According to the idea that human is consisted of three levels, we can easily explain this question away: human is capable of becoming good is because he has the good source (human nature) to resort to; human tends to do bad is because he fails to resort to the good source. The quality of action is not an issue of nature, but an issue of whether one can realize his nature. As far as human nature is concerned, what Mencius was talking about here, contrary to what most readers conceive, is not a possibility, but a reality. We can tell this from the utterance right after what is cited above, “As for his becoming bad, that is not the fault of his native endowment…Benevolence, dutifulness, observance of the rites, and wisdom are not welded on to me from outside; they are in me originally.”

Clearly we can tell that the “possibility”, although it’s too realistic and too often for us, is “do bad”; while the native endowment (才) is originally good, which, according to the logic in this passage, is the reality.

As for the reason of this misunderstanding, I think it related to the reading of the Chinese word “可以”. If we render it as “possible”, “be able to”, then the understanding will go as: “human is capable of doing good”; but if we take it as “可以以之”, as what is most commonly accepted in classics, then the reading should be “one might resort to this (性), and thereby be good.” Note, the subject of “be good (為善)” is not human nature, but human behavior. Therefore, my understanding of

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128 See note 48.
this passage is that human nature provides human with the ground of doing good if one resorts to it. The action of resorting to it is yi (以). However, one might choose to do so, might not choose to do so; in this sense it is ke (可). In other words, in terms of human nature, it is consummately good; but a specific person might not avail himself of it.

In sum, that human nature is good is not because it decides or compels people to do good; rather it is because it offers the possibility of doing good. To tell whether an action is good, we have to judge by the quality of his action; to tell whether human nature is good, our standard is simply “if human nature provides a potential for people to do good”. As analyzed above, human nature does offer such a possibility; in this sense, it is good, both unconditionally and stably. As for the bad action, they are out of the partial mind; as for the partial mind, it is not out of the infinite mind, but a part of the infinite mind. The case is similar to the case of water, the water in a cup can’t support a boat, but the water in a sea definitely can do that. It is not because the essence of these two “waters” is different; it is simply because they take different measures.

2. In the Field of Mind

I’d like to go over Mencius’ ideas about human mind in this section. There are two shapes that human mind can take, and these two shapes are transformable. The limited mind and the infinite mind are not essentially different things; the
complete mind manifests human nature; on the level of human mind, “good” is something that can bring benefits. Based on these readings, if we can get the conclusion that the complete mind is good, then, we can safely say that human nature is good. As a matter of fact, that’s exactly what Mencius talked about.

Mencius’ theory that human nature is good is associated with his ideas about human mind, among which the key idea is “to extend one’s mind”. A typical passage about extending mind reads,

For every man there are things he cannot bear. To extend this to what he can bear is benevolence. For every man there are things he is not willing to do. To extend this to what he is willing to do is rightness. If a man can extend to the full his natural aversion to harming others them there will be an over-abundance of rightness. If a man can extend his dislike for boring holes and climbing over walls, then there will be an over-abundance of rightness. If a man can extend his unwillingness to suffer the actual humiliation of the being addressed as ‘thou’ and thee”, then wherever he goes he will not do anything that is not right.

In this paragraph, there are several terms delivering the idea of extending and the relationship between extending and the four virtues. I will try to put these into the system of human composition.

Mencius was mainly talking about the impartial mind. For some reason, people tend to take the partial mind, which features: that cannot bear some certain things but can bear something even worse than the former; that unwilling to do

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129 There are many terms in Mencius that bear this meaning: 舉斯心加諸彼 (IA7); 皆擴而充之 (IIA6); 達之於其所忍 (VIIB31); 無欲害人之心 (VIIB31); etc.


131 I have discussed the reason in the former section.
something but tend to do something worse than the former, etc. Both of these two
tendencies are characteristics of the partial mind, which is, sticking to some specific
things while ignoring the whole situation. In this case, the partial mind is usually not
good. However, the partial mind could to be extended. When they are extended,
there will be “over-abundance” of benevolence and rightness.

In another passage about the four ends of virtue, Mencius said,

A man has these four ends as he has four limbs. To have these four
beginnings and to say to oneself that one incapable of being good is to do
harm to oneself, and to say that one’s prince is incapable of being good is
to do harm to one’s prince. If having these four ends in oneself one knows
to extend them, it is as if a fire is beginning to blaze or a spring beginning
to flow through. If one is able to extend them, one has all that is required
to maintain peace within the four seas. If one does not extend them, one
will be incapable even of serving one’s parents.  

As for the facts of extending one’s mind, Mencius said,

Treat the aged of your own family in a manner befitting their venerable age
and extend this treatment to the aged of other families; treat your own young
in a manner befitting their tender age and extend this to the young of other
families, and you can roll the empire on your palm….Hence one who extends
his bounty can bring peace to the Four Seas; one who does not cannot bring
peace even to his own family. There is just one thing in which the ancients
greatly surpassed others, and that is the way they extended what they did.

Are the actions of “treating the aged of other families as treating the aged of my own
family” good? The answer is positive. Then, we can safely say that to extend one’s

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132 See 46.
兄弟，以禦於家邦’，言舉斯心加諸彼而已。故推恩足以保四海，不推恩無以保妻子。古之人
所以大過人者無他焉，善推其所為而已矣。
mind is good. Furthermore, the extended mind is good. If the extended mind must be
good, then, the source that decides the forms of the extended mind must be good.

We can also attest this by other reasoning and parables. For example, in
Mencius’ discussion with Gaozi, who compared human nature to qi willow, and
integrity and benevolence to cups and bowls, Mencius refuted:

“Can you,” said Mencius, “make cups and bowls by following the nature
of the willow? Or must you mutilate the willow before you can make it
into cups and bowls? If you have to mutilate the willow to make it into
cups and bowls, must you, then, also mutilate a man to make him moral?
Surely it will be these words of yours men in the world will follow in
bringing disaster upon morality.”\textsuperscript{134}

According to Gaozi, as we know, there won’t be anything predestined in one’s life,
because his nature has no tendency. Moreover, in order to become virtuous, one
needs to break the original state of nature. What Mencius did in this refutation, is not
just telling Gaozi that “your metaphor is wrong” from a passive aspect. As a matter
of fact, what is indicated in this paragraph is the Mencius’ very idea about human
nature: benevolence and integrity can “grow up” in our mind by following one’s
nature. And if humans follow their nature, they will naturally all become virtuous.
We can see this point clearly by referring to the allegory of the Song farmer who
plucks the seedling. However, a point that demands our attention is that the “growing
benevolence and integrity” is not growing in nature, but growing in behavior. That is,
in nature, all the merits are all completed, and they don’t grow or wither; but as we

猶杞柳也；義，猶桮棬也。以人性為仁義，猶以杞柳為桮棬。”孟子曰：“子能順杞柳之性而
以為桮棬乎？將戕賊杞柳而後以為桮棬也？如將戕賊杞柳而以為桮棬，則亦將戕賊人以為仁義
與？率天下之人而誅仁義者，必子之言夫！”
all noticed, in our behavior, the merits are usually weak; therefore, it’s our mind from where our behavior derive that needs purification. Apparently, what humans need to do, instead of enforcing anything, is just to follow his nature. This is also a proof that wherein Mencius’ theory differs from Gaozi is by the definition of “human nature” itself. Without any condition, it is purely good.

Actually, artificiality and enforcement, in Mencius’ view, are exactly the source of humans’ pettiness. Note, in another passage that has caused so many guesses, Mencius said,

What people in the world mean, when talking about human nature, is origin. The root principle or origin is unimpededness. What is bad of cleverness is that it bore its way through. If clever men could act as Yu did in guiding the flood waters, then there would be nothing to dislike cleverness. The way Yu guided waters was to impose nothing on it that was against its natural tendency. If clever men can also do this, then great indeed will their cleverness be.\footnote{Mencius IVB26. Tans. Lau, D. C. New York: Penguin, 1970. p.133.}

This is one of the rare cases in which Mencius addressed human nature directly. Let alone if Mencius was talking about others’ opinion or his own opinion, his idea about human nature is clear enough: human nature is some “original state”. The principle of this original state is \textit{Li}. As to the understanding of \textit{Li}, A. C. Graham renders it as “benefit”\footnote{A. C. Graham, “The Background of the Mencian Theory of Human Nature”. p. 52.} and thus interprets that Mencius objects to this “benefit opinion”. However, this might cause a conflict with the statement at the end of this passage. A traditional interpretation of \textit{Li}, just as D. C. Lau does, is to take it as
“unobstructed”.137 According to Menicus, if everybody follows the principle of nature, everything would be fine. The problem is, humans have their “human cleverness” which features boring through. If one can carry out like Yu’s guiding flood, there is nothing wrong with cleverness. This paragraph serves well as a proof that humans can follow their nature to recover their goodness. The point here is, the way Mencius differed from Gaozi is not that “humans have an agency that compels them to do good” (which indicates that the realistic “good” is something to be attain); but “if humans follow their nature, they become good which is the original state of nature” (which indicates that the good state is originally one’s nature, to achieve realistic good is just to recover it).

In short, although partial mind could be bad, the complete mind is definitely good. Inasmuch as the complete mind is good, the essence that the complete mind embodies is good.

Conclusion

In order to discuss the quality of human nature, I have two clues in this paper: Mencius’ concept of human nature in a picture of human composition; and how to rule out the “bad part” that always goes with the “good part”.

The composition of human includes: a. physicality; b. mind; and c. nature. In terms of physical function, Mencius did not call it bad, but if it’s not under the control of conscious mind, it tends to mislead human; in addition, the uncontrolled function shed no lights on the difference between human and non-human. Therefore, Mencius did not take much account on it when he elaborated on human nature. In terms of mind, mind is the form by which humans can behave as human. Mind takes two shapes: the complete mind, and the limited mind. The complete mind is decided by human nature and is perfect; but if one does not choose (or exhaust) it, he cannot know it. The limited mind is a partial section of the complete mind, thus it usually causes trouble; and because common people tend to stick to it, they cannot see or carry out the complete mind. Thus people need to extend the partial mind. With regard to nature, it is something essentially confines humans as human. It is manifested by mind, carried out by body, but it never equals to body or mind.

In terms of “good”, there are also two types, one is in the level of human mind and the other is in the level of human nature. The good in the level of human mind is a relative one, which means, contrary to good, we can find something bad as its counterpart in this level, say, bad. The good in the level of human nature is an
absolute one, which means, no matter what action (to benefit others or harm others) one takes, it is still there, and unchangeably good. What we usually judge as good or bad is not human nature, but human action which is guided by the state of human mind. Again, the state of the partial mind can’t represent human nature; human nature can only be manifested in a fully realized state of mind, and this state, as an embodiment of human nature, is absolutely good. For a common man, even though his mind is usually partial, his partial mind is no other than the whole mind, which as analyzed above is unchangeably good; therefore, he still owes the whole mind (as embodiment of his nature, although not being illuminated), and thus, his nature is absolutely and practically good.

Therefore, we can arrive at three conclusions. The first one is that instead of merely a possibility, Mencius’ human nature is a real fact, because everyone has this nature (even when he does bad). Secondly, instead of something in its beginning and needs to be developed, human nature is accomplished, because it is not subject to the change of moral state. Finally, instead of something mixed with other bad elements, human nature is purely good, because bad elements do not have root in nature.
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1) Korea and Its History: Forming the Identity of the Korean Woman: *The Middle-Class and Upper-Class Primary Caregivers*

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Korea and Its History: Forming the Identity of the Korean Woman

The Middle-Class and Upper-Class Primary Caregivers

How does a nation form a woman’s identity? With the colorful and diverse history of Korea, can there only be one identity of the Korean woman? In 1981, the Korean GNI per capita was U.S$ 1,800. In 2004, it was U.S$ 14,162. In addition, the rate of education in Korea has been increasing, with the number of female students moving on to university to be 79.7% in 2004 and the number of female university graduates being employed to be 62.6% (Korean National Statistics Office, 2005). These are just a few numbers indicating how rapidly Korea has industrialized and modernized since a few decades ago. In this paper, we explore how the path of Korean history, especially since the Japanese colonial period when modernization took place in the form of rapid industrialization and influx of western ideologies, influences the nation – the social structure of Korea. The ‘legacies’ that have been left by these processes have produced an interesting outcome on the identity of Korean women. The focus is on the upper- and middle-class Korean primary caregivers of Korea today, whose perspectives on their own identity and marriage show clear distinctions. As we learn, these distinctions are due to the different impacts the modernization process had on the upper- and middle-class. Here, the perspectives of these women on their marriages and desired number of children, give us an indication of the difference between the identity of the Korean upper-class and middle-class woman. The degree of parental influence (both their own parents and in-laws) is the major factor that distinguishes the upper-class women from the middle-class women, thus forming strikingly different forms of the ‘Korean women’ identity. Both the upper-class and middle-class women live in modern Korea, a country that has developed at a rapid rate, following the foundations of ‘democracy’ and interacting more with the outside cultures, especially that of the West. However, for one particular class, this is an environment that lies outside the glass dome they live in – an old, traditional society that has not changed much from the ‘pre-modern Korea’.

Where Did Modern Korea Come From?
What is modernization? When we think of this word, we have a tendency to think of developed technology, capitalism, an influx of western trends, change in ideology (usually towards democracy), higher literacy rates and sometimes a stronger civil society. So when did Korea shift from being a pre-modern nation to a modern nation? If all the factors above are applied, the period when Korea stepped on the path towards modernization would be the same path that took the nation towards a past that would never be forgotten. The year 1895, when Queen Min of Korea was assassinated, was the year that gave way to a contradictory Korea – one that started to modernize, but under the rule of another nation. Korea had already been under the influence of Japanese power prior to this year, however, this was the turning point in Korean history, an event that is still strongly symbolized by Korean nationalists, which gave way to a very suppressed but developing country. Since the event, the Japanese policy makers started to plan projects for railroad concessions (Duus, p.136) which later yielded to the construction of a railway system in Korea. This may be seen as the initial stages of developed technology. As Japan’s hold on Korea grew fierce, capitalism was introduced – industrialization took place with many peasants moving from agriculture to factories, becoming industrial workers (Park, 1999). In addition, Korea’s education system was altered to fit the demands of the Japanese. The Korean language was prohibited in school, making Japanese the main language used in educational institutes. However, enrollment of students increased and the education inequalities between those residing in the country and those in the city are said to have narrowed (Tsurumi, 1984). Under all these changes in Korea, perhaps not completely initiated by Japan but at least influenced by Japan, was the driving force that served as a foundation for Korean modernization during and after Japanese colonization – western ideologies and the desire to be like the west.

The strong will of the Japanese to be acknowledged as a super power in the same right as those of the western powers was itself interestingly contradictory. While they look to the West for ideologies and education, the West did not look keenly towards the Japanese whom they believed were an inferior race (Dower, 1986). The racist remarks and discrimination must have been a devastating blow to the Japanese who had the strongest desire to ‘be like the West’ — be as industrialized and modernized, with western thinking. Thus began Japan’s own quest for legitimizing their nation in the modern world. While they were being looked down upon by the West for being the ‘yellow race’, short, with small eyes, the Japanese were constructing their own identity — a kind of immortalization of their race as more superior than others. At the same time, however, the Japanese were adopting Western ideologies and technologies, thereby
producing their own highly industrialized and westernized territories, both home and colonies. Korea, being a colony of Japan naturally having these principles forced upon them, started to become influenced by these very ideas and practices. These western ideologies that created capitalism, advanced technology and democratic social behavior gave way to a modernized nation. Korea had left the pre-modern era and was now embarking on a journey towards becoming a modern nation.

Korea’s Social Encounter with Japanese Colonialism and Modernization

Prior to the colonization of Korea by Japan, Korea had been a largely hierarchical agrarian country. Monarchies were the highest order, with yangban as the significant upper-class of society. Those outside these orders were considered to be ‘ordinary’ citizens or very low-level citizens who were usually employed as servants or even slaves of the upper-class. However, a new hierarchy emerged under Japanese rule. While the Japanese had ended the yangban system, an “overdeveloped state” as termed by Alavi, was formed where the power had shifted quite favorably to the state (Koo, 1993). This hierarchy can be seen in the Korean military, large conglomerate companies like Chaebol groups, at school, and even in personal familial relationships. An authoritarian, dictatorship-like rule became the highest order of this hierarchy, with the upper-class following, then the middle-class, and lastly the lower working classes such as the industrial workers and peasants. The industrialization of Korea thus brought about a new hierarchy – the presidents of a company would employ masses of industrial workers, usually as very cheap labor and from the countryside (ex-peasants) who would be exploited terribly by a few managers in the company factories. These industrial workers, forced to identify with one another start to distinguish themselves from the peasants they left at home, thereby producing a working class and peasant class. Like virtually every country in the world, Korea too, formed a modern hierarchy of upper-class, middle-class and working class, where usually there would be an authoritarian order at the very top of the pyramid, exploiting and discriminating against the lower classes while co-operating with the upper-class. Despite the end of the Japanese colonization of Korea in 1945, this ‘legacy’ left by the Japanese continued to thrive in Korea. The US military government that had occupied South Korea ironically adopted the very same system while preaching democracy to the people of Korea. The presidents that followed – Syngman Rhee, Chung-hee Park, and Doo-hwan Chun all revived this long-standing system of an overdeveloped state that suppressed civil society. With this political setting in mind, we must ask how this affected the social classes of Korea.

Like many rapidly industrializing countries, South Korea’s upper-class was
quite conservative and at times co-operative with the authoritarian state. For instance, Park Chung-hee’s government continuously co-operated with the large conglomerates (chaebols). This was a win-win situation for both parties, where the chaebols would be granted large loans by the government whilst the state was able to strive for an “international capitalist economy” through the developments of these industrial companies (Eckert, 1993). Therefore, the relationship between the upper-class society and the state was usually co-operative in the economic sense. The combination of an authoritarian regime and a conservative upper-class managed to keep the traditional hierarchy of power in place. Unfortunately for this relationship, the continuous dictatorship-like hold of power on Korean civil society started being questioned by the other classes – the intellectuals, working class and sometimes middle-class. What emerged was a struggle for democracy by these classes, often expressing their frustration through labor conflicts and demonstrations. Throughout the Chun regime, the state’s effort to convert civil society into a dormant one failed, and what resulted was an even stronger, more educated group of workers and intellectuals that formed strong solidarity (Koo, 1993, pp.131-162).

Thus, what resulted from the Japanese colonial era was a social order that has been revived throughout South Korean history – a highly conservative upper-class, sometimes radical but pro-democratic working class, and a middle class that stood in between the two, fluctuating from conservative to pro-democratic according to their interests. This framework is vital in understanding how Korean social order has shaped the identity of Korean women, in this paper, the Korean primary caregivers of the upper- and middle-classes. The cultural and social differences between women of these classes will be observed through their perspectives on birth and family relationships.

**Korean Primary Caregivers in the Upper- and Middle-Classes**

About 50% of Korean women are primary caregivers (also known as “housewives”). Here, we focus on the primary caregivers of the upper- and middle-classes – those who are financially stable and have usually completed tertiary education. Although the educational backgrounds of these two classes may be similar, we find that one particular factor – the relationship between the married couple and their parents (especially with the parents of the husband), produces strikingly different responses between the primary caregivers of the upper-class and those of the middle-class. These differences in perspectives are shaped by the contrasting values they possess, which affect many decision-making processes in their lives, especially those concerning the family. The argument presented in this paper, is that these differences are largely due to
the ways in which modernization has affected the social classes. Here, the upper-classes of South Korea remains highly traditional, holding onto values that derive from the yangban class of Yi Dynasty which persisted throughout Japanese colonialism as collaborative upper-class, and through authoritarian regimes in the form of highly conservative upper classes that allied with the state. On the other hand, the middle class of South Korea has welcomed the modernization process into their personal and social perspectives, by adopting a large number of westernized principles, thereby becoming personally more independent of strict traditional values, and leaning towards liberal ideologies and practices. Therefore, Korea has produced two very different concepts of a ‘Korean woman’. What is expected of them by society is also distinctive.

The Upper-Class Woman

“My husband doesn’t let me wear the things I want. I want to dress up nicely and wear short skirts, but he forbids it.” Ms. K (personal communication, October 20, 2006), an upper-class housewife in her mid-thirties who lives in an expensive district in Seoul tells me her husband does not let her even take dance classes, something she has wanted to do for sometime. A university graduate with a degree in science, Ms. K was an exceptionally bright student during her school years, being so studious that her friends always teased her. She is a beautiful woman, with an appearance younger than her years, and she gives off an air of sophistication and elegance. She married her husband after several years of courtship, had a lavish wedding and currently has two children. Despite this exterior appearance of perfection, Ms. K is currently unhappy with her marriage. As we talk, I find that the life of an upper-class Korean woman is startlingly different from that of a middle-class Korean woman. As implied in historical official nationalism (Moon, 1998), women of the upper-class contemporary Korean society are hardly different from those upper-class women during the authoritarian Korean governments. They are still expected to be subordinates in the existing social order, having primary roles as a reproductive organ and domestic housekeepers. This is more so for upper-class primary caregivers who take on a very similar role to that of their mothers and grandmothers. They have been part of an upper-class for generations, being educated on traditional values and roles that they must play – the exact roles their mothers took in their marriages. Therefore, if one was to look at how a modern day Korean upper-class housewife lived like, one would only have to flip through history books or records on past Korean upper-class housewives to see they have virtually a similar life. The lives of these upper-class women now are hardly different from those fifty years ago. The only differences may be that today, most do not live with their
parents-in-law, are able to drive their foreign-imported cars and are members of five-star hotel fitness clubs.

So how similar are the past and present Korean upper-class primary caregivers? Ultimately, it is the relationship between the upper-class couple and their parents that is clearly unchanged. Although most do not reside with their in-laws, during every conversation that takes place with an upper-class woman, the biggest burden and navigator of their married life are the in-laws. In-laws influence the lives of upper-class couples to an extreme extent. According to Ms. K, the biggest reason couples are giving into the continuous ‘guidance’ of the in-laws is because the in-laws are usually still wealthier than the younger couples. It is not only the in-laws who do not feel ashamed to offer ‘financial packages’ to their children in return for more grandchildren. The women themselves obey their in-laws commands in the hope that they would be granted some kind of inheritance later. Agreeing to give birth to another child in return for large sums of cash, guaranteed childcare expenses or even real estate, is not unheard of. This desire for the in-laws to have more grandchildren is usually interpreted as desiring more grandsons – another traditional concept that has recently started to decline among the Korean popular mass. During interviews, it was astounding to hear numerous accounts on how upper-class women view the importance of a son. One couple, a young couple in the mid-thirties pondered deeply on whether they should seek medical treatment in the United States that could guarantee them a son. How one may go about doing this is unclear, however, the constant pressure the woman received from her in-laws for having only two daughters daunted her. In another account, a woman describes how at a social gathering of upper-class women, one of them asked how many mothers present had only daughters. This particular woman who had two sons, declared how difficult it was to get along with mothers who only had daughters, implying that the ‘daughters-only’ mothers were too sensitive because they had not succeeded in giving birth to a son. This preoccupation with having a son is an old concept, deriving from the importance families placed on lineage. Throughout Korean history, this particular value has caused much pain to women (Cha, Chung and Lee, 1977). Women of all classes were affected in the past, however, in contemporary Korean society, it is the upper-class women who must carry on this tradition.

The influence of parents on a younger couple’s life does not stop at the desire to have more grandchildren. These parents are usually very influential from the start of the couple’s pre-marital relationship, often playing the deciding role on whether the couple may be married or not. Interestingly enough, nearly 50% of young singles in Korea do not mind a marriage with a spouse that was set up for them by a third party. The
majority of the rest prefer love match marriages, and a small percentage prefers a joongmae (introduced and set up by another party) marriage (Korea Marriage Culture Institute, 1999). In addition, when asked what they would do if their parents opposed to a marriage, a striking 35.3% of single females replied that they would end the relationship with the potential spouse without hesitation. 66% of single men and 55.3% of single women say they would continue to gain approval from their parents, but if this fails, would end the relationship. The importance of parents’ approval of marriages is therefore crucial to young Koreans. These couples adjust their decisions according to their parents’ opinions, often marrying at earlier ages and giving birth to multiple children. According to a study in Taiwan, another country that has industrialized at a rapid rate, and bears similar Confucian traits to Korea, couples who do not maintain such close ties with their parents have had 2.1 births on average, as opposed to those who have close relationships with their parents, and have had 3.6 births (International Family Planning Perspectives, 1985). So how much influence do parents have on middle-class women and couples?

**The Middle-Class Woman**

While the upper-class of Korean society embraced the rigid forms of tradition and values that have continued from the Yi Dynasty through Japanese colonialism and authoritarian Korean governments, modernization that evidently took place during the colonial period had a different impact on the other classes. The middle-class, who was less conservative and often open to democracy, accepted the ideologies of the West, such as equal rights, freedom of speech, feminism etc. and in combination with some existing Korean traditional values, synthesized their own form of ideology and values. Like the political stance of the middle-class, the perspectives middle-class women have on marriage and their identity as a woman is a hybrid of traditionally Korean and Western. These primary caregivers are not confined to a solid cut-out framework that has been established by their in-laws or husband like the upper class. Rather, they are quite independent from both sets of parents when making decisions. As the status of their class says, most are married to self-made husbands who usually may have to provide (financially) for their parents. This is very contrasting to the upper-class who would be more on the receiving side, depending on potential inheritance or other financial benefits given by their wealthy in-laws. Therefore, in the middle-class it almost seems as if the in-laws do not have any say in the decisions made by their children as they must rely on their children. To the middle-class women, having more children is not forced upon them and they are not constrained to the traditional values of
continuing on a family name. Whereas children have great bearing on an upper-
woman’s life, children does not seem to be the focus of the middle-class woman’s.
These women are not ones to dedicate all their energy to children and a husband, despite
their title as “housewife.” They are dissatisfied with this traditional stereotype (Kim,
1998) and place great importance on ‘lifestyle’. The relatively loose hold of the parents
on their decisions, starting with the freedom of spouse-choice allows the middle-class
woman to move away from identifying herself as merely a ‘baby-machine’ and
subordinate dedicated to the husband and household. Instead, she identifies herself more
as an individual (influenced by liberal ideologies), where she may carry out the roles of
a primary caregiver, but can make decisions according to her own desires and well-
being. . Mrs. Ko, a middle-class primary care-giver in her early thirties has one young
son, who is four years old. She graduated from university and was in graduate school
when she met her husband. Her husband is a professor in a prestigious university. When
asked if she had any plans to have more children, Mrs. Ko immediately replied with a
shake of her head. She shudders at the prospects of having more children because of two
reasons: the incredibly expensive private education costs and cost it will be on her
lifestyle. Mrs. Ko enjoys taking care of her son, but she feels sometimes her social life
is quite damp. She hopes to be more active in her social life and work after her son is
older. Like Mrs. Ko, many women are now feeling the presence of children are
hindering their own lives – perhaps it could be called a selfish perspective, but lifestyle
for oneself is now important in Korean society. Mrs. Lee, a woman in her mid-thirties
lives with her parents as her husband works as a coach to a sports team and rarely is
able to come home. Her child is 7 years old. She has no plans to have more children.
Having had an active social life before marriage, Mrs. Lee who is the primary care-giver,
earns her own income through private tuition with which she travels abroad several
times a year with her friends. Her son is usually left in the care of his grandparents who
also work, but have a flexible schedule as they are self-employed. When asked why she
does not desire more children, she immediately talks of how busy her life has become
after her son started elementary school. Now, she cannot travel much but rather spends
her time shuttling her son here and there for his extra-curricular activities. The
percentage of Korean women who traveled during the year between 2003 and 2004 was
9.2% compared to 11.3% of men (only 2.1% difference) and of these women 77.8% of
women traveled for pleasure (Korean National Statistics Office, 2005 Looking at the

In addition to traveling, many women are also spending more time going to
sports games and cultural performances such as the cinema, museums, musical concerts
and many have plans to take a course in a field they are interested in. Compared to 2000 where 39.3% of females aged 15 years and above spent time at sports games and art performances, the percentage rose 11.7% to lie at 51% in 2004. Of these women, those in their teens and twenties mostly went to performing areas, whereas those in their thirties preferred museums and exhibitions. Approximately 58.9% of women also say they have a particular area in which they would like to study further, for instance in computer education, languages etc. (Korean National Statistics Office, 2005 Looking at the Lives of Women Through Statistics). The impact of modernization of Korea has influenced the middle-class women to opt for a single child, rather than several in order to maintain their personal and social activities. Therefore, here, the presence of children is a hindering factor to the lifestyle of these women. However, it is important to note that the process of modernization did not directly influence the middle-class women of today. Rather, modernization has impacted the parents of the middle-class woman. Higher education, higher income, and the adoption of ‘modern’ ideologies by the parents influence their children who are brought up in a much less conservative atmosphere than the upper-class, who strictly adhere to tradition.

Conclusion

There has been too much concentration on the working women of South Korea and the relationship between female employment and the declining birthrate. The identity and role of primary caregivers has been given too little attention, considering they make up nearly 50% of married females in Korea. The focus of this paper, the primary caregivers in the middle- and upper-class have been influenced greatly by the process of modernization that started at a large scale during the Japanese colonial period. The results are startlingly distinct – the upper-class has held on to the yangban and Confucian traditional values where a woman is the domestic housekeeper and child-bearer who must make sure she produces sons to continue the family name. This tendency of the upper-class to be highly conservative has continued through the colonial period, authoritarian regimes, and even today where we see a Korea that although cannot be said to be ‘completely’ democratic, stands as a pro-democratic country. The influence of the in-laws, therefore, still remains to be vital in the decision-making processes between the upper-class woman and her husband, which we may observe through the number of children they are opting to have. Unfortunately, there are no statistics available that show the birthrate according to class, however, interviews conducted on upper- and middle-class women allows us to generalize the trends.

For the middle-class woman, the influence of their parents on the decision-
making processes in their marriage is weak compared to the upper-class. Most likely, the parents of these women, who were working class, or middle-class Koreans, embraced the democratic or liberal ideologies that came along with the modernization process. Their interference in their children’s lives were therefore low – as indicated by the fewer number of children they have or plan to have.

History, it seems, plays a critical role in not only the political and economic aspects of a nation, but even the personal relationships between family members. The impact of modernization that started during the colonial era produced a couple of very different classes that were not only different in political and economic position, but in ideological position. This then influenced the relationship they formed with their daughters and sons, leading to one class producing a relatively uniform number of children throughout the years, and another class giving birth to a much less number of children, that has contributed to the decline of the birthrate. To the upper-class Korean woman, therefore, she is not an individual, but one who must base all her decisions according to her family needs and obligations. She is the face of the Korean woman that we have seen since the Yi Dynasty. In contrast, the middle-class Korean woman identifies herself as an individual. She is not tied to a rigid framework of ‘traditional housewife’. She is the independent, free-willed, Korean woman whom we see in modern Korea. South Korea has developed at an immensely rapid rate, one that has alarmed the world. The concept of equal rights seeped into Korea sometime during this development, leading to both men and women to regard the two genders as close to being equal. This can be measured by the increase in female workforce – more women in Korea are working than ever, many delaying marriages or childbirth in the face of career development. However, it is also important to take a better look at the women ‘at home’. As we peer in, we see that only a portion of these women have been part of the ‘equal rights’ process. The rest have been left out by the resistant character of their class, becoming outsiders to the changing identity of their own sex.
References


Abstract:

“At the Intersection of Anthropology and International Relations”

Glenn Petersen

Although anthropology is by definition concerned with international issues, anthropologists tend not to deal with questions, problems, or ideas from the realm of international relations, especially in matters of theory. Nor have many in the field of international relations turned to anthropological knowledge and theory for insights. This paper seeks to point out several ways in which the two bodies of work might cross-fertilize. It draws in particular from perspectives on common patterns of organizing traditional, small-scale societies (that is, one of the time-honored spheres of anthropological study). Socio-political organization in these societies depends heavily upon overlapping, intersecting, and interacting groups focused, respectively, on the two distinct domains of kin ties and territoriality. On the other hand, modern notions of the state and the nation-state, which trace their roots back to the Treaty of Westphalia and the systematic legal theory of Grotius, emphasize the sovereignty of a territorial state over all its people, and underpin the presumption that the state, its physical territory, and the people residing within it constitute, or at least should constitute, an essentially unitary entity. This paper points to the many social systems, especially those of the Pacific islands, acknowledging that individuals and small groups tend to divide their loyalties between communities in which they reside and their kinsfolk who reside in other communities. These divided loyalties are not perceived so much as posing threats, as most theories of international relations would have it, as they are instead viewed as providing stable, constructive, and resilient ties that are to be cultivated during ordinary time and can be relied upon for succor during times of trial, including natural disasters and social upheaval.

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Title Page

Reinventing Lebanon: The Search for Lebanese Nationalism During Syrian ‘Occupation’ 1991-2005

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Reinventing Lebanon: The Search for Lebanese Nationalism During Syrian ‘Occupation’ 1991-2005

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Reinventing Lebanon: The Search for Lebanese Nationalism During Syrian ‘Occupation’ 1991-2005

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In 2005, following the assassination of former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri, a series of mass demonstrations known as ‘The Cedar Revolution’ erupted in Beirut. These displays, that eventually led to the end of Syria’s 29 year presence in the country, were contrasted by equally popular demonstrations from Damascus’ allies in Lebanon pleading for them to stay. Both groups waved Lebanese flags and were of a nationalist nature. In a country ravaged by civil war from 1975-91, where confessional ties outstripped any loyalty to the nation, locating a popular Lebanese nationalism has never been easy. However, with over a million protesting against the Syrians, and a further 500,000 supporting them, from a population of 4 million, evidently the Syrian question was something that could transcend confessional ties and unite the Lebanese on a political issue – albeit in two camps. The purpose of this paper is to consider the effects of these years of Syrian ‘occupation’ on popular Lebanese nationalism.

The principle aim of this study is to demonstrate that there has been a conscious effort by Syria and its Lebanese allies to dramatically ‘reinvent’ Lebanese nationalism after its civil war. Moreover, it will show that the 2005 demonstrations largely represent not only the failure of this reinvention to gain popular support but the success of a rival form of nationalism. A further aim is to examine the factors that have popularised Lebanese nationalism away from the elite declarations at Taif that ended the civil war in 1989 towards the mass displays of 2005. Additionally, wider theories of nationalism will be applied to this single case study, including raising questions about the malleability of any nationalism and its ability to be ‘reinvented’. These aims will be pursued by examining the hypothesis that Lebanese nationalism has been principally influenced by three factors: how Syria has tried to reinvent Lebanese nationalism; how Israel has affected Lebanese nationalism; and how anti-Syrian feeling has developed into mass nationalism.
Title
The loss of ecological knowledge as a consequence of livelihood diversity: Implications for the self-management of resources

Topic area
Cross-disciplinary area study (Asia)

Presentation format
Abstract

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Abstract

Specialised ecological knowledge on how to manage, utilise and sustain local natural resources is a product of generations of daily collection activities and traditional management techniques by resource-dependent communities. These knowledge bases are vital to the future of species-rich ecosystems with dependant local human communities and to date little is known about them. However local ecological knowledge is now being lost from resource-dependent communities with marketisation and economic development that does generate job diversity, but which subsequently leads to declining community resource management capacity. This study is cross-disciplinary in nature, and combines social and natural sciences to examine the interaction between communities and their ecosystems under current economic pressures. It analyses the effect that increasing job diversity on the remote island of Kaledupa in Wakatobi Marine National Park, Indonesia, has had on ecological knowledge and community capacity to manage local marine systems. This region was chosen for its continued resource dependence, remoteness and emerging development pressures. Two separate communities co-exist on and around the island of Kaledupa, the islanders (Orang Pulo) and the indigenous nomadic boat people (Bajo), the latter of which retain more traditional livelihood activities than the islanders. This study found a strong negative relationship between job diversity and ecological knowledge and a strong positive relationship between diversity of fishing practices and depth of knowledge. This demonstrates that with modern economic development, a level of important livelihood specialisation is being lost, which in turn is eroding local knowledge systems and capacities to manage natural resources. Where livelihoods are still centred on resource collection activities, and a wide variety of techniques are still practiced, local people still retain their specialist knowledge. With current rates of economic growth in the region, these changes will have implications for the ability of local communities to manage marine systems into the future. Wider lessons about community responses to economic development, particularly in terms of self-management of natural resources, can also be learned.
Redefining security:

Social Movements in the Philippines and Japan

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During 1945-2007, military globalization, an information and telecommunications revolution, international system transformations, political democratization and skillful local leadership in Asia and elsewhere have interacted with surprising outcomes. As a result, the playing field for social movements and their transnational allies has been reorganized. Among social movements demanding post-colonial withdrawal of U.S. military facilities, a redefine
d and increasingly refined concept of security has become a strategic social and political asset.

The Anti-Bases Movement in the Philippines and the Movement to Demilitarize Okinawa exemplify these developments. In opposition to American military bases, the power to redefine security as freedom from the threat of being targeted in unwanted interstate hostilities, sexual violence to women, destruction of the land, and disruption of harmony with the environment has triggered surprising international changes. Unexpected partial successes have been achieved with the communication of demilitarized notions of human security to local, national and transnational publics.

The summarized policy histories are also a resource for future generations in postcolonial societies sharing similar aspirations. If experiences of social movements in the Philippines and Okinawa are part of global democratization, they are at odds with objectives of the U.S. presidential administrations of “Bill” Clinton (1993-2001) and George W. Bush (2001- ), each of whom selectively advocated democratization backed by veiled and overt threats.

Claims and inferences in this research paper are documented with primary and secondary public sources. These include newspaper reports, television broadcasts, interviews, pamphlets, and scholarly publications, as well as once-secret, declassified U.S. Embassy cablegrams.
Shattering Fetters, Setting Standards, Restraining Radicalism:

Revolutionary Marriage Laws in China, 1931-1944

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During the Chinese Civil War (1927-1949), competition for the political loyalties of radicalized women sometimes centered on guidelines, goals and policies embodied in marriage laws. While China was increasingly convulsed with military combat, terrorism and social strife, the State intervened to regulate the heterosexual marriage contract.

According to incomplete records for the period 1931-1944, revolutionary marriage laws in areas under the control of the Communist Party of China reflected and experimented with contradictory elements of liberation, state security, bureaucratization and social control.

Interestingly, some of the more radical regional Chinese communist marriage, divorce child custody and property settlement policies are not reflected in the later *Marriage Law of the People’s Republic of China* (1 May 1950).

Sources include contemporaneous eye-witness accounts, retrospective interviews, translations of marriage laws and post-divorce regulations, and secondary scholarly analysis. Marriage contract prohibitions and requirements are summarized, as well as innovative rules for post-divorce property settlements and children’s rights in areas under the control of the incipient Party-State during eight periods from as early as 1931 and as late as 1944.
Title of the submission: "The Eumenides-versions of constitution, democracy and their secondary products";

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Within the scholarly works that analyze the classical Greek play the *Eumenides*, the traditional position is to consider the Erinyes as non-constitutional and non-democratic elements, primitive in their reaction and fortunately replaced in their action by the luminous force of democracy/constitution represented by the couple Apollo-Athena. The Erinyes are seen as earthy and instinctual deities, incapable of thinking and creators of chaos, while Apollo, the true power of the mind and solar order is (together with Athena) the creator of a real constitution/democracy. In the present paper we propose a different form of reading of Aeschylus’ play. Using mainly concepts from S. Wolin and M. Griffith’ articles on modern theory and Athenian socio-political systems, and occasionally those of J. P. Vernant, D. Nelson and P. Euben\(^1\), we will show that the Greek political thought expressed within this play does not necessarily dismiss the character of the Erinyes as chaotic or non-constitutional. On the contrary, they belong to a very organized system. The fact that this system pre-existed the new order introduced by Apollo or that it is based on violent retribution does not make it less well-structured or primitive. According to Wolin’s theory we will prove that the Erinyes are actually the perfect constitutional forces while Apollo, contrary to the common opinion, is actually a turbulent agent. Nevertheless, his perturbing potential is not incompatible with democracy. He is actually a democratic leader. Moreover, the god’s affinities with democracy do not hinder in our vision the Erinyes’s capability to represent

constitutionalism. Why? Because according to Wolin’s theory a constitution represents attachment to conservative principles while democracy, contrary to the common opinion, is actually a short term rebellious movement that intervenes between two constitutional structures. The second constitutional momentum in this play will be represented by Athena, a political force who actually has the last word. Her part is different from Apollo’s role. She will introduce a hybrid form of government which is conceived during the transit between the former constitution and the emerging democratic movement. This is the reason why, instead of the traditional dichotomy Erinyes-blind forces of a primitive, chthonian ruling system vs. Apollo-promoter of a democracy/constitution, we suggest the dichotomy Erinyes-constitutional forces vs. Apollo-democratic rebel, and a final congruence of both these forces.

**The Erinyes-deficient constitution or other variation?**

Within the play the character of the Erinyes oscillates between constitutional authority and anarchic instincts of blind chasing. First of all they define their own attributions in terms of instinctual behavior. They look like dogs, with their deformed and aggressive faces and they act like ones, following the blood traces and their irritating smell (vv. 245-248: εἰςν: τὸδ’ εἵτε ταῦταρ, εἴρανες τέκμαρ/ἐπον δὲ μηνυτῆρας αφθέγκτον φραδαῖς/τετραυματισμένον γὰρ ὡς κόνων νεβρον/προς αἶμα καὶ σταλαγμον εἵματεώμεν). Nobody seems to be able to integrate them in a permanent and coherent system. At the beginning of the text, the Pythia is making an excursus about the venerable divinities of the places, about their attributions and signs of power (prophetic power most of all): vv. 1-8) προσεϊν μὲν εὐφη τηδε πρεσβεῖον θεοῦ· τὴν προτομάντην Γαίαν: εκ δὲ τῆς Θέμιν,· ἃ δὲ τὸ μιντρίς δεύτερα τὸδ’ ἐξέθο/μαντεΐον, ὡς λόγος τις: εἰν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ//λόγει, θελούσης,
Old and new divinities seem to coexist within this system based on gentle succession: Gaea, Themis, Phoebe and Apollo. The priestess even mentions local minors (Pleistos v.27) and even “newer” and more turbulent forces, like Dionysos and his bloody hunting of Pentheus (vv. 24-29). The Pythia’s system does not include the Erinyes and she actually does not seem to have any idea of them. When she meets them, she is both scared and confused, and more than this, she is unable to identify them. Her description follows strictly their physical appearance (no other more subtle defining terms) and she has difficulties in naming them. Actually her only image about the Erinyes comes from a graphical representation and seems partially contradicted by their actual physiognomy (vv. 47-52: εὐδει γυναικῶν εὖ θρόνοισιν ἡμένας/οὐτόι γυναῖκας, ἀλλὰ Γοργόνας λέγω,/οὐδὲ αὐτῇ Γοργείοισιν εἰκάσω τύποις εἰδὼν ποτ' ἦδη Φινέως γεγραμμένας/δειπνὸν φερούσας: ἀπέρετοι γε μην ἰδεῖν/αὐτῶ. μελαιναῖ' εὖ τὸ πᾶν ᾠδελίκτροποι. She does not recognize them, because she is unable to associate them with anything plausible within her coherent (and limited?) universe. She is aware of the system of retribution, penalties and purification, she can recognize a repentant suppliant when she sees one (she does not know Orestes but she recognizes the branch with white wool and his kneeling position vv. 403-45: ἐροτε' εἷλαις θ' νήψανθην κλάδον/λήνει μεγίστῳ σωφρόνος εὔσεβην/ἀργῆτι μαλλον: τιθε γάρ τραγωτ' ἐρω). but she is unable to associate these creatures with any form of functional divinity. They are simply abominations. A similar thing actually happens to Apollo. He knows them but he refuses to integrate or credit them. He denies their natural relationship with the superior sections of the Justice system (governed by the Olympian hierarchy
where Dike serves a constitutional guiding principle\(^2\) and keeps banishing them at the level of mere executioners driven by sick impulses and cruelty in a sector where *dike* is synonymous with the physical punishment: vv.185-193: \(\text{ou}/\text{toi} \text{ do}/\text{moisi} \) 
\(\text{toi}=\text{sde} \text{ xri}/\text{mptesqai} \text{ pre}/\text{pei}/\text{a} \text{ll}' \text{ ou(= karanisth}=\text{rej} \) 
\(\text{o)}\text{fqalmwru}/\text{xoi} / \text{di}/\text{kai} \text{ sfagai/} \text{ te} \text{ spe}/\text{rmato}/\text{t} \text{ t}' \text{ a)}\text{pofqora=}\) 
\(\text{/pai}/\text{dwn} \text{kakou}=\text{tai} \text{ xlou}=\text{nij}, \text{h})\text{d'} \text{ a)krwni}/\text{a}, \text{/leusmo}/\text{j te, kai} \) 
\(\text{mu}/\text{zousin o}i\text{ktismo}/\text{n polu}/\text{n} \text{ /u(}\text{po}\text{ r(a/xin page/ntej. a)}=\text{r}' \) \(\text{a)}\text{kou/ete} \text{/oi}/\text{aj e(orth}=\text{j e)}/\text{st' a)}\text{po/ptusto}i \text{ geoi=}\) 
\(\text{/ste/}\text{rghqr'} \text{ e')/xousai; pa=j d'} \text{ u(fhgei}=\text{tai tro/poj / morfh=j} \) 

Instinctuality is one form of behavior that fails integration in any constitutional system, since the latter represents order by excellence and is incompatible with any anarchic elements. In exchange, they appear to be compatible with democratic movements. As Wolin suggests, "democratic politics appeared as revolutionary and excessive, irregular and spasmodic."\(^3\)

Apollo also has alternative solutions that could substitute their presence both in terms of procedure and in terms of iconic representation. He opposes to their hideousness and thirst for blood the luminous icon of Athena and the protection (escort) of some Olympian presences (solar equilibrium against their turbulent power) and instead of their perpetual chasing, he proposes lustration, and sacrifice. From Apollo’s point of view, the Erinyes are outcast, primitive forces unable to adhere to any coherent system or to sustain any forms of relationship; therefore, their jurisdiction is deniable. 69-74: : \(\text{γραι απαί παλαι} \) 

\(^2\) Wolin, *op.cit.* p.47.

\(^3\) Wolin attributes this instinctuality to democracy and rebellion which oppose essentially in his theory, the constitutional concept, *op.cit.* p.48
παιδές, αἰτὶ οὖν μεῖναι θεῷν τις οὐδ’ αὐθροπος ουδ’ θήρ ποτε./κακὸν δ’ ἐκατ’ καφένοντε, εἶτει κακὸν/σκότον νέμονται Ταρταρὸν θ’ ὑπὸ γθονος/μισήματ’ αὐθροῦ καὶ θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων.

Actually, everything that has been ever attributed to them was a negative form of attribution: it was based on tacit acceptance on the part of the others, without any previous integration and without any form of mutual respect. Even more, the Erinyes are surrounded by the others’ disgust and fear (not veneration, typical for constitutional system of consecrated and revered functions4). Even at the end, Athena will accept them out of concern for her beloved city and not as a necessity within the new system that she intends to create (vv.829-831). As Griffith sets out, there is not hetaireia for them, no functional network: they are “metic”, “barbaric”5.

Still, they exist, and their presence is not superfluous. Their origin as daughters of the Night is undeniably old. This could be a sign of venerability, but also another emphasis on their isolation from the Olympian system, the only “ruling” system which remained after the re-structuring performed by Zeus. Still, their belonging to the older generations does not necessarily mean automatic exclusion. The mythology offers an early compromise solution that would speak in their favor: for example, the supreme divinity offered positions to the previous divinities and to Hecate6, the Titanid, reintegrating the less turbulent forms within the new world of order. Nevertheless, in this case, the compromise Zeus made to them was not to offer them a function by positive investiture,

4 Wolin, see op.cit. p. 36-37.
5 Griffith, op.cit. p. 107; according to Griffith they do not participate within the game of hetaireia; they are exterior and defeated.
6 Hesiod and his Theogony, vv.410-415 will be the basis for what the scholars considered to be his treaty with the previous divinities, within his reorganizing process.
but by restraining himself from any contact with them and their field of influence (v.365-
Ζεὺς δ' αὐτὸσταγεῖς αἴξιόμισν ἐθνὸς τοῖς λέσχασι/ας αὐτηξιώσατο).

Withdrawal is still a form of acceptance and investiture, within a system in which the
field of punishment is left almost completely to them. Not everybody knows them,
because, in a perfect constitutional way, their action is restricted to a field (which here is
represented by murder) and does not intersect with other fields (Pythia). They definitely
have a function and they are almost obsessed with their “office”. As a notion, “office” is
perfectly compatible with the idea of constitution, as it uses particular groups and creates
specialists: As Wolin says “(institutionalization) tends to produce internal hierarchies, to
restrict experience, to associate political experience with institutional experience, and to
inject an esoteric element into politics.” Also, “constitution might be defined as the
theory of how best to restrain the politics of democracy while ensuring the predominance
of the social groups and classes represented by ‘the best men’.”

The Erinyes are the most conservative form of this bureaucratic, constitutional specialization. Even more, the
office itself seems to be a natural calling: they were born for this job of punishing. The
Fates spun their thread for this purpose (v.322-324: μοντερ α' μες, ομοτέρΟν Νύξ,
αλαοίην και δεδορκόσιν/ποινάν, κλαβ'); see 335: Μοιρ' επεκλουσαν επιπέδος είχειν) and their
mutilated faces and anti-social behavior is another testimony of their competence within
this field of fear and torture. Their loyalty to their function is also impressive and pretty
coherent. From the point of view of their attributes, their specialization is perfectly
compatible with the constitution. Their initial inability to define their job within the trial,
their tendency more to describe the procedure than to explain the legitimacy of their role

7 Wolin, op. cit.both quotations at p.36.
8 According to our main theorist (Wolin, Ibidem), “natural rights” are what a constitution encourages and a
democracy challenges.
and their predilection to keep mixing psychological, religious, and social elements in their exposition is not a problem that should create the impression of deficiency in their function\textsuperscript{9}. This phenomenon does not necessarily signify that their institutionalized “office” is scattered, non-circumscribed enough, or with a tendency to accumulate other functions and to invade other fields. The problem of “definition” comes from the novelty of the concept which is closely linked to the novelty of the trial itself. The Erinyes’ punitive function, being more or less genetically inherited and performed out of birth investiture was never subject of any contestation and need of definition. They have a problem of adjusting to other forms than their own (like the trial), but this is just a natural result of their over-specialization which is, in fact, perfectly compatible with a constitutional system. This reason could also explain their isolation and lack of necessity to mingle or establish relationships with the others. They are what Griffith\textsuperscript{10} would call “socially inept” beings, but this inability is functionally motivated. Their hyper-specialization is the one that requires a certain degree of reclusion within a cell, reclusion that is not at all incompatible with a constitutional settlement. This does not mean that they are unaware of the system itself and the other functions, network and functions that might exist within. They understand that the Olympians avoid their presence. It is a normal consequence of their specialization in revenge and punishments. They also know and ratify the network (another potentially constitutional form, as it deals with

\textsuperscript{9} Their natural tendency does not go in the direction of definitions. It is more directed towards action. The verses present their predilection for describing more their procedure of chasing than the motivation of their legitimacy in this aspect.

\textsuperscript{10} Griffith, \textit{op. cit.} p. 82, “Aeschylus presents his citizens with a parallel and interlocking structure of elite and international relations, in which the brilliant dynastic families of Argos, Phokis and Athens, together with the supremely ‘aristocratic’ family of Olympians, first to victimize the foreign and decadent Trojans, and later to restore and confirms one another’s power and prestige (at the expense, chiefly, of the transgressive usurpers, Klytaimnestra and Aigisthos, and of socially inept and uncouth Erinyes), while at the same time assuring their respective communities a mutually profitable and honorable outcome”.
established aristocratic traditions\textsuperscript{11} and they have no problems in recognizing Athena and her birth from Zeus. They just do not participate, as their efficiency does not come from participation, but from withdrawal, lack of contact with the lustral and apparently from chaotic violence. They serve the system by being outsiders. They do not exceed their sphere of influence and this is also in accordance with a constitutional structure. Their office requires residency below the Earth and perpetual contact with the impure ones, or with Tartaric principles, closer to their nature. They actually have a better view over the system, unlike Apollo who denies them and Athena who needs them to define and identify themselves, as she initially ignores this presence within the divine system.

Another constitutional predisposition is their affinity for concepts. Their entire vocabulary is dominated by conceptualization and abstraction: “office”, “honor”, “guilt”, “bloodshed”, “motherhood”, all this terms comes perpetually within their vocabulary. It is a constitutional tendency, since constitution is seen as “the means of stabilizing a way of life according to certain principles” (Wolin).\textsuperscript{12} Their confidence in the semantics of these terms is also one of the Erinyes’ constitutional tendencies. If Euben affirmed that within tragedy “the mistakes are … linguistic and epistemological as well as political” and Vernant\textsuperscript{13} considers that the ambiguities of all kinds and lack of definition of concepts are, together with other tensions, among the sources of tragedies, then the Erinyes are tragic figures, because of all their excessive confidence in the “natural” semantics of their concepts. For them, the terminology they use has inherited venerability

\textsuperscript{11} Griffith. \textit{op. cit.}, p.102: “If this reading is correct, the outcast Erinyes appear to be acknowledging (rather clumsily?) the respectability of the Olympian family-in terms that unwisely echo their earlier remark about Zeus’ disrespect for them (366) and thus draw attention once again to their own déclassé status.”

\textsuperscript{12} Wolin, \textit{op. cit.} p. 47.

\textsuperscript{13} Vernant, \textit{op. cit.} Chapter II \textit{Tensions and Ambiguities in Greek Tragedy}, p.36-38. Also see Euben, \textit{op. cit.} p.158.
and once set, they do not need redefinition. Still they are able to define their “apportioned part” when they are pushed to do it, even if their definition is initially scattered and comes in steps, by help of Athena. Even this slight hesitation proves their loyalty to the system and their lack of interest in being questioned and questioning, a pretty obvious tool of democracy and democratic movements: As Wolin sets, “a disposition to change the laws, which is one of the most persistent charges leveled against democracy from ancient to modern times, allegedly undermines the power of law and the habits of obedience to government”.  

Their only moment of questioning and interest for definition is when they are in front of the new concept of trial, an Athenian innovation they do not comprehend. This “misbalance” is provoked only by novelty of concepts and it is not functional within their previous systemic equilibrium. Questioning (only this time) is here a way to show inflexibility towards change or invasion of their attribution by new representatives that come as parasites and change their old functions. Opposed to them, the newcomers’ investigation, their claims, and their tendency to regenerate the system, are all forms of a movement to deny their old attributes, a movement which is essentially democratic and rebellious.

Apollo—or the beginning of a democratic motion

If the Erinyes are attached to fixed/established concepts and are only occasionally inquisitive, Apollo represents the questioning source par excellence. He is not only displaying his lack of reverence for the Erinyes, but he also tries to compete, and redefine, and even to annihilate their office. As Wolin writes “democracy is a rebellious

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14 Questioning is a very discreet form of denial. It goes with the regularly admitted undermining power of democracy. Wolin op.cit.p. 48 and op.cit., p.56.
moment. It involves the taking back of one’s power, not just revocation of legitimacy”.\textsuperscript{15} Apollo’s revolutionary/democratic potential, in Wolin’s terms, comes from his overly-critical response to the old principles. Within the tragedy’s force of ambiguity\textsuperscript{16}, in which Erinyes are the victim, Apollo is definitely the engine. His entire attitude is both openly aggressive and subtly undermining. His contestation of the old authority, his initial ambiguity and refusal to define are parts of a design in which he expects the Erinyes to make their definitions and provide him the territory for redefinition. “Lord of prophecy” and “oracular ambiguity”\textsuperscript{17}, he masters the power of polysemantism and its opposite: the power of definition. He represents the critical moment that is assaulting the constitutional settlement by his denial, challenge and ultimately his counter-point discourse, which is also a democratic exercise. Apollo has what the Erinyes usually lack: appetite for agora, disputes, energy of discourse and argumentation. If for these old telluric forces the trial, with its coherence of speech, definition and self-justification is new and a little bit disturbing, for Apollo it is a welcome exercise that he encourages. His appetite for cross-examination is also one of the traps in which he catches the open-hearted Erinyes, in their frank hate and “unfolded” grudge\textsuperscript{18}. With the help of Athena he will assign layers of guilt and responsibility upon human deeds, opposed to the uniform and almost mechanical hate these goddesses display (vv.425: \textit{άλλαις ανάγκαις, ἥ' τινος τρέων κότον}, versus vv.355 357:\textit{εὴ τὸν ὤδ' ἑμεναι/κρατερὸν ὄνθ' ὁμος αἰμαν'-/ρωμεν ψ' αἵματος νέου}).

Nevertheless, Apollo still deals with attributes that pushed him back within a constitutional field. His succession at the oracle of Delphi was actually non-turbulent and

\textsuperscript{15} Wolin, \textit{op. cit.} p.56.
\textsuperscript{16} See the previous note 13 on Vernant.
\textsuperscript{17} Vernant, \textit{Ibidem} as we mentioned in the previous reference.
\textsuperscript{18} See Griffith, \textit{op. cit.} p.96-98 for this kind of behavior (Appolo’s attitude) and for the dual game (Athena); also for their “network” and patrilinial affinities.
non-revolutionary. It was a quiet, benevolent gift from the previous divinities. He was entitled with the prophecy and, under a certain aspect he was also (constitutionally) endowed to receive wrong-doers and suppliants for eventual purification. Apollo’s power to absolve guilt seems actually so well-anchored in the reality of the place, that Orestes is even shocked when he cannot escape from the Erinyes by use of this absolute remedy against guilt.

The conflict does not consist in him following his allotted authority, but in crossing territories in a way in which he could even be associated with Hermes. It is no wonder that he actually entrusted Orestes to this one (vv.89-93). The Erinyes are really the ones that remain in their very circumscribed field of action. They pursue a particular type of murder, in which they posses the complete and exclusive jurisdiction, and they do not interfere with other types. As mentioned before, their hesitation of speech should not be taken for confusion, or ignorance of their role. When they refused to pursue Clytemnestra for her murder, they were actually acting in conformity with their strictly allotted power (vv.211-212: Apollo: τί γὰρ γυναικὸς ἦτις ἀνδρα νοσφίσῃ; Erinyes: οὐκ ἄν γένοιτθ ὁμαμος αὐθέντης φόνος). The only one who tries to undermine and trespass “territorial” boundaries is Apollo. As Athena later admits, they are entitled forces that govern the specific field of matricide. They are also important because they are ferocious: vv.476-478: αὐται δ’ ἐγὼσι μοιραν οὐκ ευπέμπελον/καὶ μὴ τυνουσαι πραγματος νικηφόρον) As the play will later show, by the necessity itself of the trial’s introduction, the jurisdiction of Apollo is limited to “partial” lustration, a practice that coexists with, but does not substitute for, that of perpetual pursuit. We should not consider his capability to purify to be superfluous or revolutionary. It was ratified by other divinities and endowed with the
venerability of detailed sacred rituals. Athena admits its usefulness and legitimacy. It is effective when a suppliant needs to purify his hands in order to touch a sacred image (vv. 473-474: ἀλλοις τε καὶ σὺ μὲν κατηρτυκώς ἐμίοις/ικέτης προσηλθός καθαρὸς αφλαβής δόμοις), but it does not work to absolve a matricide of his guilt just by means of this ritual. This is why the Erinyes do not cease to follow Orestes. Here comes the revolutionary and trespassing potential of Apollo: when he tries to use his purifying ritual to substitute for their function. His attitude is therefore either an abuse or a revolutionary signal that restructuring is necessary. It cannot be ignored, nor can it coexist with the other form of expiation.

Interpretation is his most obvious form of trespassing: he fights by means of definitions; he uses apparently consecrated concepts with slightly different senses and, when necessary, even chameleonic changes of his roles within the trial. He is all together accomplice, advocate, host for a suppliant, and tentative judge, until the Erinyes manage to protest, forcing him by their denial to look for a new solution. Only then, does he entrust this task to Athena and to the Areopagites.

This actual polymorphism is more democratic than constitutional, even when Apollo uses (and abuses of) weighty concepts and venerable principles (a “constitutional” territory). He will always try to re-determine them (see the definition of the maternal womb:vv.658-659: οὐκ ἐστι μήτηρ η’ κεκλημένου τέκνου/τοκεύς, τροφὸς δὲ κύματος νεοσπόρου).

Polymorphism itself enters the democratic vocabulary. Democracy tends toward plurality since, according to Wolin “far from evoking images imitative or monochromatic, mass society, is diverse and colorful. Democracy is unique in being
related to all constitutions; it is not so much amorphous as polymorphous”\textsuperscript{19}. Within his rapidly adjustable behavior, Apollo combines and uses alternatively all methods in order to save his favorite: physical protection (the shelter space defined by his altar and by Ayhena’s statue: vv.79-80: \textit{molw} \textit{de} \ Palla/\textit{doj poti} \ \textit{pto/lin / i(/zou palaio} \textit{n a)/gkaqen labw} \textit{n bre/taj}), verbal support (vv.81-83: \textit{ka)kei= dikasta}\j \textit{tw=nde kai} \ \textit{qelkthri/ouj/ mu/qouj e})/\textit{xonte}j \textit{mhxana}\j \textit{eu(rh/somen,/ w(,/st' e)}j \textit{to/ pa=n se tw=nd' a)palla/cai po/nwn}), and the network influence (vv.88-93: brotherly network; he entrusts him to Hermes; and in vv. 723-724 the Erinyses are complaining about his tendency to use influence: \textit{toiau=t' e)/drasaj kai} \ \textit{Fe/rhtoj e)n do/moi}j: /Moi/raj e)/\textit{peisaj a)fqi/touj qei=nai brotou.}) He prefers to change masks and avoid uniformity and frankness. He switches functions, he adjusts and reinterpret gestures and speeches (vv. 202-205: \textit{Xor: e})/\textit{xrhsaj w(,/ste to\n ce/non mhtroktonei=n./ 0Ap:e)/\textit{xrhsa poina}\j \textit{tou= patro}\j \textit{pra=cai. ti/ mh/n;/ Xor: ka)/peiq' u(pe/sthj ai(/matoj de/ktwr ne/ou./ 0Ap 0:kai\ prostrape/sqa}i to/sd' e)pe/stellon do/mouj./ Xor: kai\ {ta}\j \textit{propompou}\j \textit{dh=ta ta/sde loidorei=j;/ 0Ap: ou) ga'r do/moisi to/sde pro/sforon molei=n.}) and he permanently shows his predisposition for changing, reversing and extending, both in his acts of encouragement and in his biased redefinitions. His use of precedents within the trial (vv.664-665: \textit{πατὴρ} \textit{μὲν ἀν γένοιτ' ἀνευ μητρός: πέλας/μάρτυς πάρεστι παίς} \textit{Ολυμπίου Διός, /ουδ' ἐν σκότοις νηθός}

\textsuperscript{19} Wolin, \textit{op. cit.} p 50.


\[\text{τεθραμμενη}\) has the same undermining power. In his concept it is not the venerability of the rule that wins credit, but the novelty of the vivid example, its potential to alter and innovate within a stable system of customs and rules. Apollo is definitely an anomalist in his speech, always looking for an alternative to the uniform. Its metamorphic potential is also obvious in his predisposition to rely in his discussion more on persons than concepts. Even if he talks in a formal theoretical way, his speeches are bringing “personalized” arguments (like the case of Athena or Zeus, brought in discussion vv.660-666 and in where he opposes to the Erinyes speech on principles the power of Zeus who does what he pleases). What he does is coherent with the democratic power set by Wolin, power that opposes to the constitutional question “what should rule”, the problem of “who should rule”\(^{20}\). This view opposes the constitutionalism since “the essence of the contrast, which became, as well, the essence of constitutionalism, was between depersonalized principles and partisan politics”.\(^{21}\) Apollo is convinced that non-abstract instances have more power than the governing abstractions and this is why he keeps bringing the image of Zeus father and all the emblematic figures that could support his authority.

In Griffith’s terms, Apollo is a (disgusting) “aristocrat”, since he uses hetaireia as a tool of bribery and doryxenia as its associated arsenal. “We have already noted how, in the first two plays, Zeus is presented as Agamemnon’s ‘spear-friend’ (doryxenos) in the capture of Troy, and how Apollo and Hermes operates as Orestes’ ‘sworn companions’ in his return from exile and conspiracy for revenge.”\(^{22}\) Griffith has an entire beautiful theory about hetaireia and doryxenia among gods and the protagonists of Aeschylus’

\(^{20}\) Wolin \textit{op. cit.} p.46.
\(^{21}\) Wolin \textit{op. cit.} p.46 and 47: Law is according to him defined by “depersonalization and objectivism”, concepts that Apollo defies by his personalized and subjective examples of authority.
\(^{22}\) Griffith, \textit{op. cit.} p. 98. He also will demonstrate in a very useful way for us, how democracy is eluded by the end of the play by this aristocratic elite and its networking.
trilogy that extends to his entire article. In a different system, in Wolin’s terms, Apollo would be actually called a “democratic demagogue”. The Erinyes are pretty aware of his previous ”disrespectful” actions of insubordination and predisposition to work subtly and opportunistically to arrive at the end he desires. (vv.198-200: οὐναξ Ἄπολλον, οὔτακουσον εν μέρει/αντίς σὺ τούτων όν μεταίτιος πελὴ ἀλλ ἐι τὸ πάν ἐπιραξας όν παναιτῖος). He accumulates both the qualities of a culture hero (protective, trespassing and trickster with his enemies) and those of a democratic agitator. His noble lineage should not surprise us as unusual for the democratic game. Often prominent elite figures were agents of democracy (see Wolin on democratic demagogues, p. 41-42).

His demagogic skills are actually pretty coherent with his non-constitutional predisposition. As Wolin was underlining, democracy, as opposed to constitutional government likes to focus more on persons than on concepts and this is exactly what Apollo’s predisposition is: to interfere, to agitate and impose his presence within the political practice. He also uses images of personified forces, when he tells Orestes to go in the “safe” company of Hermes or to hold onto Athena’s image that could protect him. He is combating the Erinyes’ force of gnomic concepts with the refreshing power of personifications.

Athena- a compromising presence

If Apollo is showing by his polymorphism a more obvious orientation towards the democratic moment, Athena has an innate predisposition for compromising and partial reconciliation with the old principles. Although acquitting Orestes, she will actually take care of the Erinyes and reform them into fertility forces, honored by the city and established at its foundations. The question asked here is: does Athena have a
predisposition for a “democratic rebellion”? It is a quite complicated argument, since
according to the text, she shows both democratic and constitutional characteristics in a
more balanced form than her brother. She is highly subjective and she admits it, stepping
beside any sterile concepts to affirm her position within a speech in which she uses the
example of her biological father (subjective argument) to solve a conceptual problem
about paternity (vv. 736-738: \( \mu	hetaηρ \gammaιρ οντις \varepsilonτιν \eta \mu \varepsilon\iota\iota\nu\iota \tauο \delta' \alpha\rho\sigma\nu \alpha\iota\iota \\piα\nu\tauα \pi\lambda\nu \nu\alpha\iota\nu \tauυ\gamma\iota\nu \alpha\'\alpha\nu\nu\tauα \\thetaυ\muο\nu \kappa\alpha\tauα \delta' \varepsilon\iota\iota \tauο\nu \pi\alpha\tauρο\zeta \)). Contrary to Apollo, her
final message is non-hesitant and less sinuous. She does not use tricky definitions and she
firmly prefers “palpable” relationships to concepts (her lineage to Zeus). Still, during the
trial she shows similarities with her brother’s polymorphism and tendency inward
questioning, as she interrogates the Erinyes leading them to develop their personal view
and explain their position in terms of abstract notions and venerable concepts.

Again, her attitude remains inconsistent when she decides to use a positive form of
reconciliation, instead of a brutal and more “according to democracy” solution of crisis,
like ostracism\(^{23}\), a method that was unsuccessfully used by her brother when the Erinyes
juridical field and the physical space of his altar (temporarily used as a shelter) were
intruded upon (in both geographical and semantic ways: vv. 208-209: Erinyes: \( \alpha\iota \iota \varepsilonτιν \eta\mu\iota \tauο\nuο \pro\sigma\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\mu\epsilon\iota\nu \). Apollo: \( \tau\iota \eta\iota\deltaε \tauι\mu\iota \kappa\omicron\pi\alpha\sigma\omicron \gamma\rho\omicron \kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron \).). Athena’s
method, less radical than the absolute denial used by Apollo, is based on negotiation and
compromise. She is still disposed to vote without any further hesitation, a gesture that
makes her a rebel against the Erinyes’ authority. Nevertheless, she does not totally deny
their prerogatives, but actually tries to reshape them, according to the democratic crisis

\(^{23}\) See Wolin, *op.cit.* p. 46.
she just witnessed, but in view of a new form of constitution. Settlement of honors is in fact a constitutional gesture for her, even if it is filtered through a democratic movement of rebellion and fraternization with the opposite force, represented by Apollo.

She actually shows a slight discomfort towards the democratic moment, first of all because she is related to what is stable yet endangered in this game of political practice: the city of Athens. She definitely understands the political importance of the reform, but, unlike Apollo who is satisfied with the acquittal and ready to leave the scene, Athena tries to push the democracy to a new form of constitution in which the opposing forces and sides will be more or less neutralized and integrated within institutions. She is the only agent of this play who looks for a compromising form, still without showing any preoccupation for consensus: what she is actually looking for is not total satisfaction from all points of view (this would be actually impossible since there are already “losers” in this game) but a form of stability and a pact of mutual non-aggression. Here, as anywhere else, “the need for consensus, for unity, is demonstrated to be structurally ‘false’, procedurally unnecessary” 24.She is actually combining the form of constitution and democracy within a system, in which, if the forms are not perfect, they are at least “perfectible”25.

Even before her ballot, Athena showed a predisposition to use concomitantly both forms of democratic vocabulary and constitutional terms. Even her redefinitions were dealing with already existent structures and institutions. She defined the trial as a confrontation of two opinions that should be equally heard; she talked about Justice and Injustice, and she asked about the proper purification that was necessary for Orestes

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25 Nelson, op.cit. p.236. Contrary to our expressed principles, Nelson integrates this concept into one of her democratic models, that of the “imperfect” Davisonian democracy: still, a form of democracy.
before touching her image. Within a double game of “political correctness”, she admits
the traditional function of the Erinyes (475-479) and their malignant potential and also
acknowledges the purifying function of Apollo. Griffith noticed her dual game, even later
in the play, when she summons the jurors: "So Athena, in creating and supervising (and
voting with) the Court of Areopagos, operates correctly and impartially as chief
magistrate of the city. But she also, in personally offering protection to Orestes and
representing him at law, is in effect serving as proxenos in Athens for the Argive royal
family."²⁶

Her opening speech of acknowledgement for the Erinyes and her implied fear are both
forms of ratification of their office. She even conducts the trial in a constitutional way.
This newly created institution is from very beginning endowed with ancient practices
(oath taking) and weighty concepts (Truth, Justice); nevertheless, she will still play the
undermining role, by gently substituting the leading abstract principles with more
concrete forms of relationship, based on personal acquaintances. She asks both the
Erinyes and Orestes about their lineage, and according to their answers she delicately
gives them more or less credit (vv.418-420 and for Orestes 436-437). Griffith is right
when he notices that Athena tends from the very beginning to be biased. “Although
Athena does not know why she has been summoned, and is unaware of the identity of the
suppliant crouched on the stage, her opening speech has neatly reminded the audience
(and, if he needed reminding, Orestes, too) of the connections established earlier in the
trilogy.”²⁷ Her interest in lineage is actually both a non-constitutional form (it substitutes

²⁶ Griffith, op. cit. p. 97; about her apparently impartial form of interrogating both the Erinyes and Orestes
see the following notes and references.
²⁷ Griffith, op. cit. p. 100.
concepts with persons) and an aristocratic practice operating within the patrilineal network (so, in a way, profoundly undemocratic).28

The inconsistencies and ambiguities can go even further in her final interaction with the Erinyes. She has just taken away their power and they enter into a form of crisis, which, paradoxically follow the “democratic” pattern of rebellion: in verse 978-their angst and fury is called plainly stasis by the Erinyes themselves (after they have been pacified). It is an apparent inconsistency, an “embrace” of a democratic moment, pretty surprising for these elements that belong to a constitutional realm. Still, if we look closer the Erinyes destructive tendencies are sufficiently motivated. By Athena’s ballot, they have been dissolved as representative of the punishing institution and, outside the constitution that was circumscribing carefully their action, their destructive potential runs wild and is exacerbated. They loved longevity, stability and authority. Once deprived of all these, they are also deprived of their constitutionality that was keeping them on their allotted territory: they will not pursue now just murderers, but they will infect with their venom entire Athens. They have always been violent by their nature, but at this point their violence is no longer contained by any office, institution, legislation and they “mutate” under the influence of this invasion.

Athena is wise enough to understand that what will restrain their force is a new form of constitution. Banishment, as a radical and democratic method, does not work for these forces. It can only irritate them. Her negotiation offers them a new constitutional realm, a mutated one in which they will instantaneously adjust themselves to their new function and become…benevolent. By investing them with fertility potential and by naming them

28 Depending on theory (Wolin’s or Griffith’s), this gesture could be integrated in opposing systems. It is not unusual as the gesture itself is interpretable and polyvalent.
(within a constitutional act) as benevolent, Athena appeals to their constitutional
tendency to “serve” and follow with total devotion their allotted “office” whatever this
might be. She tries to talk in their language from the very beginning and she uses her
intelligence to persuade them and adjust her speech to their needs. She knows that
Persuasion itself is going to be on her side. Apparently a notion that serves democracy,
used in the disputes of agora, it becomes here a capital accredited concept for an incipient
institution. Therefore, a democratic practice (demagogical also?) will be reinterpreted in
terms of a constitutional territory.

**Final ambivalences and possible solutions**

Athena’s initial problem with the Erinyes follows one more time Vernant’s pattern. She
needs to learn how to speak their language, to understand that between her use of terms
and theirs, there is a gap and a problem of definition. She keeps telling them about
exterior signs of their future honor, about “seats”, and adornments, without realizing at
the very beginning that they need a description of their “office”, more than of its exterior
signs (804-807: εἴρο γὰρ μὴν πανόικος νώσομαι/έδρας τε καὶ κενθμοῦνας ενόδου
χθονος/λιπαροθρόνοισιν ἡμένας ἐπὶ εὐχάραις/ἐξειν υπ’ αότων τοῦτο τιμλοφομένας while
they still complain about their lack of “honor”: 821-822: μὲ μεγάλα τοι κόραι
dιστυχεῖς/Νυκτὸς αἰτίμωθεν θεῖζ.). Both sides use time, with a different sense, but
fortunately, she will finally translate her thoughts into their own system. They will only
be mitigated when they will understand their functional, not just formal, reintegration
within the new hierarchy.

Another problem of ambivalence is that of the use of persons and weighty names of
gods and goddesses. As we mentioned before, this could be both non-democratic
(“aristocratic network”- in Griffith’s terminology) and non-constitutional (undermining of the prevalence of concepts). Apollo and Orestes use Zeus, Athena and Hermes as persons, in a demagogical form. They appeal to their influence and weight to undermine principles. Athena is a little bit more subtle. She uses persons to defy concepts, too, but she also creates concepts and abstractions out of persons. She reduplicate herself within an iconic image (the statue that Orestes embraces), but in that very moment her image detaches itself from her physical person, becoming an abstraction of herself and even an institutionalized new form. Similarly we could interpret the oracle of Apollo as an institutionalized abstraction of his person. We never totally denied his belonging to a constitutional system. Zeus can also be seen as a personification of a concept of power, rule and order therefore, any reference to him is sometimes ambiguous, as we do not really know if he is mentioned for his personal influence or for the influence of the supreme concept of authority he embodies. Actually, when Athena’s lineage from Zeus is mentioned, the Erinyes chose to credit her (vv.434-435: Athena: ἤ καὶ εἰμὶ τρέποιτ’ ἀν αἵτιας τέλος; Erinyes: ποι δ’ οὐ; σέβονσαί γ’ αξίαν καὶ αξίων.), possibly, because they see in Zeus a proof of a centralized system that gives them comfort in their thirst for constitutional order. In the same way can be interpreted also the problem of the Erinyes after their “restructuring”: they are mitigated, apparently stripped of their malefic potential and power and buried underground within a new beneficial form (vv.1022-1023: πέµψω τε φέγγει λαµµάδων σελασφόρων/εἰς τοὺς ἐνερθὲ καὶ κατὰ χθονὸς τόπους/ζῶν προσπόλοισιν, αἴτε φρουροῦν βρέτας τοῦ μόνον δικαίως.). Are they actually attracted by this act of mitigation, trapped to accept a solution of compromise that strips them of all their energy and basically eliminates them? Is the democratic power of speech so
overwhelming that even its enemies are controlled and neutralized by it\textsuperscript{29}? The principle of institutionalization might help us to redefine this thorny problem: the apparent gentle banishment of the Erinyes underground is a form of conceptualization. They are not dissolved but transferred to abstract beneficial principles. Their agreement and joy (all the last chorus lines in processional escort) is not necessarily a product of deceit. They are re-institutionalized and reintegrated (in proper and figurative sense) within the land of Athens. They are given a form of power, compatible to their values. They have never complained before, for their isolation or for the avoidance from the part of the Olympians. So, this “burial” underground is not something incompatible with their previous and natural predisposition: they have never been too social. A more delicate matter will be their inactivity and benevolence, incompatible with their innate tendencies of hyper-mobility and aggressiveness. Still, within a context of redefinition of functions, they will gently mutate to whatever is apportioned to them. Their innate (constitutional) predisposition for obedience in front of authorities, and “offices” will overcome any possible resistance in front of the mutation.

Wolin will come again in our help to clean a little bit the ambiguity that dominates the stage. According to his theory, we do not need to use pure concepts as “democracy” or “constitution”. We can therefore reintegrate this mass into extended principles of “democratic constitution” and “constitutional democracy”. Wolin uses “‘constitutional democracy’ and democratic constitutionalism” to signify alternatives rather than similar. The first term refers to a situation in which constitutionalization has priority over

\textsuperscript{29} The articles quoted in this paper and especially the arguments of Mark Griffith created an interesting dispute during the Greek literature seminar lead by Dr. Victoria Wohl. The question that was raised then and we point out here, is: “Are the Erinyes tricked by the final deal, by being seduced to hand over their power?”
democracy; the second, to a situation in which democratization dictated the form of constitution.”30 Therefore we are able to define the Erinyes as an initial more “pure” and therefore deficient constitution, in need of revitalization of principles. Here comes the democratic momentum/revolution, sustained by a polymorphic centrifugal force that requires reform: Apollo. The trial moment accumulates strongly democratic elements (speech, argumentation, ballots and “equalitarian” freedom of opinion31). Still it is a transitory moment of democratic victory, as it is meant to end with a new establishment and a new balanced form (democracy cannot survive, as it is unstable, and it can never constitute a form: ”Democracy … lapses ‘in course of time’. Democracy is a political moment, perhaps the political moment, when the political is remembered and recreated.”32) Therefore the trial moment is a combination and it can be called an attempt at “democratic constitution” in which we see the investiture of the jurors with equal rights, but also their silence in front of the elite, that ultimately will have the power to cast the decisive ballot33. We deal with what Griffith calls “a discourse produced by the elite, but licensed and approved by the citizen masses”34. As a corpus, jurors are amorphous and they basically neutralize each other’s power and permit Athena (the elite) to impose her

30 Wolin, op. cit. p.39:”The democratic practices of rotation, lot, and ostracism, by emphasizing ‘taking turns’ in office or banishing those whose power or prestige seemed to threaten democracy, struck directly at the debasing effects of rule conceived as a superior-inferior relationship”, also: “Democracy does not complete its task by establishing a form and then being fitted into it. A political constitution is not the fulfillment of democracy, but its transfiguration into a ‘regime’ and hence a stultified and partial reification.”

31 Casting lots and ostracism are democratic principles according both to Wolin (op. cit. p.46) and Griffith (p.109).

32 Wolin op. cit. p.55. He also added that democracy has an improbable realization (p.38-“impractical scheme of government”). As Euben said, “real politics requires that things, events and people be or become measurable and commensurable, and action be or be made calculable”, op. cit. p. 158

33 For all the problems and solutions in this paragraph see also M. Griffith’s article, mostly the quotations from the following notes.

34 Griffith, op. cit. p. 111; again we see at Griffith this fine analysis of biased behavior cleverly disguised.
non-democratic view. 35 This trial is controlled by democracy but has a certain centripetal motion towards a centralized authority.

Therefore, what she will install in the end, as a new constitution creator and mediator will be a “constitutional democracy” (construction “designed not to realize democracy but to reconstitute it and, as a consequence, repress it.”-Wolin, *op.cit.*, p. 32) in which even if in impossibility of consensus 36, the forces will balance each other. As Wolin considers, in fact, democracy, rebellion and constitution do not necessarily exclude each other, but in a way, succeed chronologically and eventually install each other in more or less “normal forms” :”When they (revolutions) succeed, most of the constitutions subsequently adopted were characterized as ‘democratic’. Yet, a vast change had taken place in the character of politics from the revolutionary to the constitutional moment.”37.

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35 See Griffith, *op. cit.* p. 97, also present at p.103 and 111 “neither elite nor demos probably realize to what extent they are collaborating in the affirmation of social hierarchy and inequality.” In a slightly different key-code Griffith affirmed the same thing about this victory of non-democracy: “no less interesting, I suggest is the process whereby within the new apparatus of democratic government, the old families are revealed as continuing to find ways to maintain their prestige and integrity through the old channels”.

36 This would probably fit what Nelson calls “the ugly democracy”, as opposed to the utopist/ideal form of consensus. See also Griffith-“solidarity without consensus”-p. 110, talking about the political “happy ending” in *Oresteia*.


Mark Griffith, *Brilliant Dynasts: Power and Politics in Oresteia*, Berkeley, 1994,


J. Peter Euben, *Corrupting Youth, Political Education, Democratic culture, and Political Theory*, Princeton University Press,


Electronic Assessment Tools and the Use of Digital Media in Education

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Abstract

Computer assisted learning (i.e., Lasarenko, 1995; Levine & Moore-Diaz, 1996) and the use of multimedia materials (i.e., Eastment, 1996; Turner, 1992) in classrooms have been found to be effective on teaching and learning practices. Although there is a still-developing industry on educational software, some researchers suggest that the use of digital media and internet as tools for learning may enhance learning and teaching activities (Chapelle, 1997).

This workshop will provide a hands-on experience on how to create simple and inexpensive video materials for the classroom and how to share it with colleagues, teachers, and students on WorldWideWeb. Furthermore, several electronic assessment tools to enhance the teaching/learning practice will be introduced and their uses for educational purposes will be demonstrated with examples. Participants will learn how to easily create their own multimedia materials, engage in collaborative learning activities on the internet, collaborate with other teachers and learners all over the world, and enhance their learning and teaching experiences with the use of digital media and the electronic assessment tools.
THESE ARE THE TIES THAT BIND:

BONDS OF INTELLECTUAL AND EMOTIONAL INTIMACY WITHIN POLYGYNY IN SOUTHERN OMAN.

A PILOT STUDY.

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THESE ARE THE TIES THAT BIND:

BONDS OF INTELLECTUAL AND EMOTIONAL INTIMACY WITHIN POLYGyny IN SOUTHERN OMAN. A PILOT STUDY.

Profanter Annemarie, Cate Stephanie Ryan

This pilot study using social science methods of community based participatory research explores the intimate bonds associated with polygynous marriage in the southernmost region of the Sultanate of Oman, Dhofar. The target population is derived from traditional tribal society. The study centers around the inter-generational and cross gender experiences of marital partners involved in polygynous marriage. A combination of quantitative measurements and in-depth interviews was used to investigate the hypotheses. The variables investigated include marital arrangements, emotional impact, and intellectual validation. A highly significant effect on the variable parental involvement is overall found for gender. Statistical analysis shows a high percentage of parental involvement for daughters' marriages but no significant difference of the involvement in relation to their marital position. Parental involvement for sons' marriages is comparatively lower and significantly different in relation to their marital precedence. The analysis reveals further that there is a highly significant gender difference on the variables emotional impact and intellectual validation of polygynous marital arrangements. The statistical findings are further supported by the categories emerging from the qualitative analysis: “fertility”, “marriage as a reward for men”, and “marriage as a protective institution for both genders”. These findings raise issues of freedom of choice, justice and equality of rights for husbands and wives in polygynous marriage arrangements.

Introduction

The cultural context of marriage in this primarily tribal society of Dhofar, Oman, is significantly different than that experienced in more industrialized and urban societies. Cultural factors shape the formation of basic societal structures such as marriage and influence human behaviour within these social constructs. Factors such as tribal beliefs and artefacts, as well as values and ideas surrounding the concept of marriage are taken into consideration during the study and in data analysis. This cross cultural interpretation of an indigenous marital tradition allows a stronger comparison to be made to those marital systems more common in western environments.

Polygyny as a marital custom in this region is regulated by both tradition and Sharia law, which limits the number of wives per husband to four. The marriage process in this society involves numerous family and tribal members. Extended family and their involvement in the procurement of a suitable union through extensive use of the tribal connections, as well as the ongoing development of
the new family are embedded thoroughly within the traditions of polygyny in Dhofar.

The developmental processes which form the basis of this polygynous marital tradition are investigated as they relate to the variables arrangement of marriage, emotional impact, and intellectual validation. The researchers explored these impact factors holistically, taking into consideration the societal conditions surrounding such unions. The emotions, beliefs and values that are reflected in the participants’ responses highlight the impact of long standing traditional mores as well as the collision with the phenomenon of globalized mass culture and the changes occurring in this traditionally tribal and slow changing area. The goal of this paper is to analyze parental involvement in coalitions for mate seeking in Dhofar and the emotional impact and intellectual validation reported by polygynous partners within those coalitions.

Theories around Polygyny

“Cultural relativism […] cannot condemn any culture as a whole and hence no outsider can condemn any cultural practice […] If assessments or values are always derived from some culture, and there are no universal moral principles, then no culture can itself be assessed, because there could be no transcultural values to stand in judgment over any particular culture” (Windschuttle, 2004, para. 25). Cultures are dynamic sites of compromise, exchange, and incorporation. There has been extensive discussion within the academy, especially with regard to the phenomenon of cultural encounter as it relates to cultural exchange and acculturation. There are many marital systems and reasons for such unions, some of these are universal in nature and others culture specific; thus, in studying the ways in which the intimate bonds of marriage in this region are reflected in the polygynous practice in Dhofar the researchers attempt to expose some of the differences associated with the ideas and symbols of marriage and the various perceptions surrounding the system itself. The processes that are at the centre of cultural encounters have largely been explored outside the cultural context; however, the researchers of this study were intimately involved in the culture as both participants and observers over a five year period.

Polygyny, as understood by people from more monogamous sociocultural milieus, is often associated with exotic isolated societies where geographical conditions have influenced the variations in the form and frequency of polygyny. “Indeed a wide range of otherwise very different societies allow a man to be married to more than one wife simultaneously, and polygyny is even today a quite viable form of marriage in large parts of the world” (Bretscheider, 1995, p. 11).

The study of marriage and family interactions has formed a large part of anthropological and sociological research; thus, many theories have developed to support statistical data and expound upon these findings. Common theory holds that polygyny is often associated with two primary factors; one economic, associated with pastoralism or a combination of pastoralism and farming, and the other internecine fighting, which leaves greater numbers of unwed women due to
the loss of life of fighting age men. The first theoretical model regarding economic constraints has been detailed by many researchers; most recently with Low’s statement “[…] Developing nations today are undergoing demographic transitions to smaller families, as the West did in the 19th century (Low, 2005, p. 78). Martin and Voorhies (1975, p. 349) found that pastoralists who practice some agriculture tend to marry polygynously while those pastoralists who farm extensively tend to marry monogamously. This study’s findings tend to corroborate their results in that the Jibbali people of Dhofar who are pastoralists practicing some limited agriculture also have a general pattern of polygyny. The division of labor along gender lines can often indicate the incidence of polygyny. White (1988, p. 558) states that polygyny cannot be seen as “a single syndrome but is produced by diverse strategies and […] comprises different systems of meaning and function”.

The second theoretical model regarding warfare has been much less thoroughly examined (Bretschneider, 1995); however, in the region of Dhofar tribal warfare has been consistent and ongoing for centuries over territory, water rights, and herd animals; yet, since Sultan Qaboos took the throne in the early nineteen seventies such warfare has diminished substantially. However, the tendency to strengthen the tribe through polygynous bonds has continued until the present day.

Conventional sociobiological theory regarding polygyny states that there is a direct link connecting the diversion between male and female reproductive imperatives (Hartung, 1982; Symons, 1979; van den Berghe, 1979) that lies in the desire of males for more sexual diversity (Symons, 1979; Betzig, 1992). Kanazawa and Still (1999) argue in favor of “female choice theory” and disagree with the “male compromise theory”. Thus, they stress females’ role in determining mates. However, criticism put forward by Sanderson (2001, p. 330-331) states that the authors “ignore the importance of male choice, which surely must be at least as important as, and possibly even more important than, female choice”. In the Dhofar pilot study it was shown that the male dictates the lineage of the prospective spouse, whereas numerous generations of females influence the spousal identification and arrangement of the marriage. This is accomplished using communal ties involving tribal ceremonies such as birth, engagements, marriages, funerals, and visitations.

Religion, Culture and Polygyny

The ties that bind in the tribal society of the southern most region of Oman are multitudinous and far ranging. They extend through many layers of society and incorporate all generations. It is important to remember that Islam, unlike many other religions is a socio-political, socio-religious, socio-economical, educational, legislative, judicial and militaristic system. “The Qur’an mentions Shura as a principle governing the public life of the society of the faithful rather than a specifically ordained system of governance. As such, the more any system constitutionally, institutionally, and practically fulfills the principle of Shura—or, for that matter, the democratic principle—the more Islamic that system becomes” (Sulayman, 1996, para. 17). This principle acts as the guide for
determining aspects of public life that, in the West, are often associated with individual rights and family choice.

One tenet of Islam is that each Muslim must be able to read the word of God as it has been dictated, in standard Arabic, therefore this is a prescription that tightly binds all those who profess to be Muslim. In Oman there are 13 living languages; thus, many Dhofaris' first language is not Arabic; for example, the Jebbali people of the eastern Dhofari mountain region are raised speaking Jebbali and the Mehri, who inhabit Eastern Yemen up through the border of Oman, a desert area near Thumrayt, communicate in Mehri as their first language (Gordon, 2005). This requirement reinforces the pervading element of the Shura which is found within each Islamic society regardless of native culture, although the interpretation and application are often regionally shaded.

The societal approbation provided by the Sharia system of Islam affords each male the right to four wives at any given time (Yusuf, 1983, Sura 4, Verse 3), as well as an unlimited number of divorces, if called for, and is found throughout the Qur'an and Hadith etc. The process of polygynous marriage is embedded in the tribal culture of Dhofar and today prescribed and overseen by the parameters assigned by Islam. Cultures are liminal spaces within which transformation and concession are constantly taking place and stimulating evolutionary change at an idiosyncratic pace. Pastoral and agricultural societies often reflect the need for societal stability through a process of slow acceptance of change and rigid hierarchical structures.

Religion has traditionally been associated with revelatory processes and those who receive such revelations (Honderich, 1995). Yet, in this light Islam fulfills the cultural functions. Culture encourages reflection on human opportunities as they relate to a specific set of values regarding a perception of what life could be. So in this interpretation culture is seen as that mechanism which exerts control over the direction that the species is taking (Honderich, 1995). Thus, the religion-culture polarity/dichotomy (Bonney, 2004) might be readdressed in light of the argument as it relates it the contemporary and historical practice of Islam. “The Qur’anic philosophy of gradualism is predicated upon the fact that fundamental changes in human consciousness do not usually occur overnight. Instead, they require a period of individual or even social gestation” (Al-Hibri, 2000-2001, pp. 55-56). The cultural landscape of Oman is strewn with historical tribal affiliations which have often been renewed through the process of consanguineous polygynous unions which have been condoned and incorporated through Qur’anic interpretation. Thus, this region, isolated through both geographic locale and later through political intervention, has retained a strong semblance of cultural traditions present since the advent of Islam. Studies have shown that “there is a strong effect of geographic region on many variables such as parental proximity and degree of polygyny, even after controlling for other variables like mode of subsistence, stratification, and political organization, which suggests culture may be as important as ecology” (Marlowe, 2000, p. 56). In keeping with gradualism the effects of cultural inertia are easily observable through the collected data.
Cultural Construction and Individual Experience of Polygyny

Polygyny is inscribed within the cultural logic of the Dhofari people and is a subject of varied discussions. These arguments and ongoing dialogues are found within same sex interactions, between inter-generational communication, transversely cross gender encounters and cross economic lines. They are occasionally addressed as humorous, or as the state of being, and at times unavoidable conflicts that relate directly to the process of living. “There is every indication that polygyny is a highly problematic institution, surrounded by a considerable degree of ambiguity. The strongest criticism of polygyny is put forward by women, and in some cases a polygynous marriage might even be dissolved because of irreconcilable conflicts among co-wives” (Wittrup, 1990, p. 118). This is not necessarily the case for all women as seen in Dhofar: the situation is complex and full of cultural nuance. The societies in this region have utilized this form of marital system for centuries with few changes and as such there are many cases where it has proven itself to be an effective social structure. The following quotes, by wives in the study, represent some of the perspectives held by participants on polygyny: “The other wives are very nice, they helped me in the house with their children, to the extent where I almost never did anything anymore in the house. Also, my children were happy with them and helped them also”; “Advantages are the love that can be created between the wives and the support they can be for each other in housework. Also, lots of children is an advantage”.

The kinship system, a fundamental variable in this study, is essential to studying nuptiality patterns in Dhofar. One of the prime incentives for this study was the lack of research in the region regarding marital systems and these particular variables. However, the outcomes of other researchers in polygynous societies, often centered on the African continent, give insight into the manifestation of these variables cross culturally. For this study attention is paid to the interpretation of such data as it relates to the variable parental involvement in coalitions for mate seeking as well as emotional and intellectual investment those coalitions retain in the marriage itself. For example, according to Assimeng (1981) in a polygynous society of Ghana, marriage is seen to be relational between two lineages and not just a personal matter but communal in nature.

Historically, the strength of the tribe has been associated with the birth of more children; thus, one of the primary reasons stated for remarriage is a need for more children as well as offspring being seen as an Islamic imperative. Effah’s (1999, p. 382) finding support the statements of the Dhofari study participants: “Remarriages may be seen as not only a sign of dissatisfaction with one’s marriage but also as a quest for children”. Western assumptions predicate unhappiness with subsequent marriages due to perceptions related to martial satisfaction based upon a societal predilection for monogamous marriages. However, Small (1992, p. 146, 148) notes that “often marriages are arranged, but there is no reason to assume that the interests of females in an arranged marriage are necessarily different from the interest of the families involved […] Thus, arranged does not necessarily mean the woman is forced or coerced”. In this study some participants’ experience echoed Small’s statement: “His first wife
convinced him to marry me because I'm her best friend and she was not able to have more children so she saw that I was the best choice. But his first son didn't like me at first but now he is just like a son to me. We do a lot of activities together and we almost don't separate”.

In line with this study’s findings Buss’s (1994, p. 91) position is that, “even where matings are arranged by parents and kin, however, women often exert considerable influence over their sexual and marital decisions by manipulating their parents, carrying on clandestine affairs, defying their parents’ wishes, and sometime eloping”. The marital coalitions’ decisions regarding appropriate mates are also bounded by economic factors and differ depending upon the spouses’ relationship within the tribal system. As these research findings have highlighted, “African marriage is, to be sure, more than just a substitute for a tenancy contract. Traditional marriage is a transfer of woman’s sexual and reproductive rights, in addition to her labor, from her family to her husband, usually in exchange for money or gifts” (Jacoby, 1995, p. 942). These findings apply to Dhofar as well: the institution of bride-price is universal among Dhofars’ many ethnic and linguistic groups. One possible motive for polygyny, described by Posner (1981), is tribal stability through networks of kinship: “A man might marry several wives to form lasting ties of exchange among a large set of in-laws, thereby compensating for a lack of credit or insurance markets” (Jacoby, 1995, p. 942). This refers back to the economic model of polygyny cited above. The foundations of nuptial kinship coalitions in Dhofar are often organized around the patriarchal line with the females instigating the initial searches and the parents of the prospective spouses being involved extensively in almost all levels of negotiation. These coalitions reflect the shared tribal identity of the region and enhance the unity between those affiliates, thus reinforcing historical patterns of alliance building.

“Socioculturally speaking, consanguineous marriages are favoured in populations in which marriages are mostly organized within the geographical boundaries” (Padez & Abade, 1995; Naidu & Mascie-Taylor, 1997). However, Sueyoshi and Ohtsuka’s (2003) findings show the strongest influence upon closely consanguineous and polygynous marriages coming from Islamic teaching focused on traditional interpretations of the Qur’an. Thus, Dhofar’s demographic chart falls within their prescriptive outline as it has been a bastion of traditionally integrated Islamic Sharia. Research in Ghana has shown that “unable to prevent their husband’s second marriage, women are more concerned with their relationship with the new ‘rival’. Women often see the husband’s new marriage as an addition of potential burden, as the wives in polygynous marriages are expected to help each other, especially with childcare” (Agadjanian & Ezeh, 2000, p. 434). In Dhofar, first through fourth wife participant responses to their husbands’ subsequent marriages encompasses a spectrum of emotional expressions. For example, one first wife participant stated: “Husband starts paying too much attention to the new wife and neglects the old wife”. Study participants’ negative emotional responses are often bounded by: feelings of abandonment, a loss of trust in self, and frequently, the breakdown of normalized relations between husbands and wives:
“A woman is forced to share her husband, money, love, appreciation, with the new wife. That is horrible”; “I needed to marry again because I wanted more male children, because in my family I was the only man. I don’t want my children to grow up alone and lonely so, my wife was the one who encouraged me to marry again”. Both genders interviewed eloquently express their commitment to and understanding of, what is seen as both tribal and Islamic duty, which consistently override individual inclination. This coincides with the previous study’s findings; however, as reflected upon earlier the situation is multi-faceted and multi-textured.

The numerous opportunities for inter-relational connection and intra-familial ties expand exponentially when the numbers of polygynous partners increases. “In polygynous societies, cowives may be important reciprocators. If cowives are able to cooperate, collectively they may be able to gain more control over resources. […] However, conflicts among an individual woman, her husband, their joint offspring, and her cowives and their offspring can arise over allocation of resources as interest diverge (Yanca & Low, 2004, p. 11). “But simply to argue that women are ‘against’ while men are ‘for’ polygyny oversimplify a rather complex matter” (Wittrup, 1990, p. 118). This study found that positive emotional responses reflect an abiding sense of duty to the tribe and the sociocultural Islamic norms for more children and the husbands’ greater satisfaction as well as the need for single woman to find fulfilment within the social accepted structure of marriage.

In addition to the variable emotional impact, the variable intellectual validation as used by the participants for continuing the polygynous tradition was investigated. Ukaegbu and Ahmed delineated these reasons for men’s choice of polygyny in Muslim regions of Nigeria: the desire to reflect growing social status through subsequent wives (Ukaegbu, 1977; Ahmed, 1986); to marry consecutively in order to achieve status and social standing as well as to produce more labor for agricultural purposes (Ukaegbu, 1977). Dorjahn and the van de Walle’s both adhere more closely to the sociobiological theory referenced above and outline the following rationales for the practice: to meet the reproductive imperative due to infertile wives (Dorjahn, 1958), as well as to meet sexual needs due to societal norms regarding the taboo of sexual relations with breast feeding wives (van de Walle & van de Walle, 1989). One of the Dhofari male participants gave this motive for his move into polygyny: “She had a caesarean and it became dangerous for her to have more children and I didn’t want to risk her life because she’s the most precious person to me and because we understand each other”.

Women participants expressed intellectual reasoning which has both negative and positive connotation regarding the practice of polygyny. Some research on women’s intellectual responses outline that “in the higher-polygyny setting, polygyny is by no means an appealing option, but they also admit that ‘the man would go on to do what pleases him’” (Agadjanian & Ezeh, 2000, p. 434). This Dhofari participants’ experience reflects the finding outlined above: “Because men require attention all the time in every way and he is a selfish man and loves himself a lot and more than he loves his wife, so he is always looking
for renewal in his own life, by having a new woman to change his routine a bit". Intellectual responses are often expressed fatalistically and with a sense of duty and adherence to tribal custom but also with a sense of adaptability within the confines of these structures: “Of course the idea of multi-marriage is wrong to me, but circumstances forced me to accept it and I now consider the new wife as a sister and more.”; “It is therefore necessary to look into the nature of polygyny as it is culturally constructed and individually experienced” (Wittrup, 1990, p. 118).

Methodology
During a five year period from 2001-2006 the researchers were embedded in the sample communities and actively engaged in collecting data. Quantitative and qualitative data was collected by using observational and participatory social science methods. The parameters of the target population are reflected in the sample which consists exclusively of Muslims but includes Dhofaris of different ethnic and linguistic groups. For the variables analyzed in this paper, questionnaires, in-depth interviews and analysis of canonical secondary material were used as well as correlation coefficients and chi-square analysis to explore coalitions for mating strategies, intellectual validation and emotional impact. Questionnaires were devised using both open-ended and closed ended questions tailored to the target population and following cross cultural guidelines a back translation technique was used. Open-ended questions prompted subjects to investigate their own experiences of polygynous family arrangements and the social issues surrounding it, such as: familial involvement, kinship ties, and tribal influence. Interviewees were interviewed privately and questionnaires were also handed over on the same occasion. Participants were asked to list all marriages they had entered into and elaborate on the form of marriage arrangement for each marriage; furthermore, they were invited to elaborate on the coalitions for mate seeking encapsulating the tribal nuptial traditions. Moreover, the intellectual validation and emotional impact of remarriage on wives and husbands were assessed. Confidentiality was maintained at all stages. It is hypothesized that participants’ responses, both intellectually and emotionally, to the impact of polygyny, a foundational component of tribal life, and its effect upon and development of inter-tribal coalitions would be distributed across a broad range of reactions.

Results
1,192 people were involved in the field study on polygynous marital arrangements, the breakdown being 231 wives, 459 children and 103 husbands, all of whom were involved in polygynous unions and 399 from the local university’s student populace. The wives involved in polygynous relationships represent a cross selection of the general populace of women in the region. The ages at which these women first married range from 11 years old to 46 years old (M = 19.65, SD = 5.67) and the numbers of children they bore vary from 0-15 (M = 5.62, SD = 3.60). The various marital positions of the wives are as follows: 39.6% were first wives, 38.7% were second wives, 14.8% were third wives, 5.2%
fourth wives, and 1.7% were outside the sample parameters. The sample was analyzed by taking into consideration the composition of the individual polygynous families and the coalitions they formed, for example, the second wife could actually be the last married wife in a polygynous grouping—hereafter referred to as “last wives”—, and also first cousin to the first wife and second cousin to the husband.

Inter-generational assessment of potential marriage partners is conducted by both genders including such relatives as: aunts, uncles, grandparents, older siblings, mothers and fathers, and cousins on both sides, but primarily the patrilineal side. However, parents have a crucial role and will therefore be the main focus of this analysis. The search for suitable partners often occurs as early as childhood when local cabals of extended family members gather and begin assessing prospective spouses’ personality traits, societal behaviour and learning strategies, over tea or “ghawa” (local Arabian barley coffee) at a local matriarch or patriarchs living room or “estraha” (a resting place or picnic spot) often frequented by relatives. Female respondents commented on the opportunities for spousal evaluation afforded them because of tribal familial bonds: “I used to see him when he visited the family because he is related to us and from the same tribe. I also used to hear his news through family members”; “Yes I have seen my husband before the marriage, because he was my sister’s husband and my first cousin, and we live in the same village”; “He was a cousin so it was ok to see him and visit with the family”.

In general 63.5% of the participating wives stated that their marriage was arranged by parents but 36.5% stated that their parents were not involved in arranging their marriage. More precisely, 70.3% of first wives and 59.6% of second wives stated that their marriage was arranged by parents; moreover, 55.9% of third wives and 58.3% of fourth wives declared that their marriage was arranged by parents. Parental involvement in the arrangements of marriages does not differ whether daughters are married as first, second, third or fourth wives. The statistical calculations show no significant difference for first, second, third and fourth wives regarding the involvement of parents in the arrangement of their marriages ($\chi^2 = 3.406, df = 3, p = .333$).

The breakdown for the husbands, however, reveals a distinctly different picture: in general, 72.7% of husbands claimed that they chose their spouse without parental and family involvement, whereas 27.3% alleged that their marriages were arranged by their parents. More precisely, 48.5% of the husbands stated that their first marriage was arranged by parents, 14.7% declared that their second marriage was arranged by parents. Furthermore, 10.5% of husbands regarding third marriages and 7.7% of fourth marriages stated that their marriages were arranged by parents. The statistical calculation shows a highly significant difference for parental involvement in men’s first, second, third and fourth marriages ($\chi^2 = 37.806, df = 3, p = .000$). Parents are significantly more likely to arrange their son’s first wedding and less likely to arrange their second, third or fourth weddings. Consequently, parental involvement in the arrangement of their son’s marriages differs according to marital precedence.

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The results obtained are supported by the husbands’ statements in in-depth interviews. The following quote belongs to a husband in a long term polygynous marriage; he illustrates a solid understanding of his position and ability to choose a spouse: “I have married the one that I have chosen and loved from the bottom of my heart and not my parents’ choice”. Moreover, the next quote exemplifies that after fulfilling tribal and family demands through the communal choice of the first and second wives, the subsequent marriage is associated with personal choice: “The first wife I married because of family pressures and so was the second wife but the third wife was of my choice”.

A cross gender comparison reveals interesting results: a significant gender difference is found for parental involvement in the first marriage of daughter and son ($x^2 = 9.350, df = 1, p = .002$). Thus, it is significantly more likely for parents to arrange their daughters’ marriage as first wives than their sons’ first marriages. Moreover, it is significantly more likely that parents arrange their daughters’ nuptial as second wives and significantly less likely that they arrange their sons’ second nuptial ($x^2 = 39.856, df = 1, p = .000$). Moreover, the same results can be found for daughters marrying as third wives and sons’ third marriages ($x^2 = 16.980, df = 1, p = .000$), as with fourth wives and sons’ fourth marriages ($x^2 = 7.354, df = 1, p = .007$).

The statistical outcomes support the findings revealed by the qualitative data; that is, the dominance and acceptance of male choice over women’s ability to choose for themselves, as shown in the following interview extract: “My family married me off to my cousin without asking for my opinion, because they saw that he was my cousin, so he has the full right to marry me”. One wife commented on her husband’s remarriage as follows: “Asking for my approval before they married me off was not important to my family. If they felt that the man was suitable for their daughter they arranged the marriage without asking their opinion”. The quotes emphasize the role of the family in nuptial arrangements of daughters which is based on the principles of the collective society structure rather than on personal choice.

The emotional impact of polygynous marital arrangements is related to the variables gender and marital order. As a consequence of the husbands’ remarriage(s) wives frequently mentioned having faced emotional problems: in particular, 63.3% of first wives, 22.4% of second wives, and 12.2% of third wives. Moreover, 2.0% stated that they didn’t know whether or not they faced emotional problems due to the remarriage(s) of their husbands. The statistical calculations show no significant difference on this variable between the wives in relation to their particular marital positions. Specifically, no difference is found between first and second wives ($x^2 = .003, df = 1, p = .960$), first and third wives (two-tailed Fisher exact $p = .344$) or second and third wives (two-tailed Fisher exact $p = .293$). In addition to the emotional impact faced by first through third wives due to their husbands’ remarriage(s), 46.7% of last wives reported facing emotional problems due to the particular polygynous family arrangement they were marrying into.

The percentage of husbands who report having faced emotional problems related to their remarriage(s) is only 5.2%, comparatively quite a bit lower than
for wives. Husbands being married to four wives, however, show the highest percentage of emotional problems faced after re-marriage(s). The inter-gender analysis reveals a highly significant difference in the emotional impact of remarriage on wives and husbands. Wives (first, second and third) are highly significantly more likely to face emotional problems due to their husbands’ remarriage than husbands themselves ($\chi^2 = 36.100$, $df = 1$, $p = .000$).

The qualitative data support the statistical findings as shown in the following interview extracts from first through third wives: “I have huge emotional problems. I often begin questioning my husband’s love for my children and I”; “In the beginning I suffered from emotional problems. I was devastated because he preferred another woman to me, but in the end I got used to it”; “I faced emotional and psychological problems because I am a wife who cannot stand to have a co-wife”. The following statements by husbands outline the range of emotional impact for them: “I faced emotional problems because I felt guilty towards my first wife”; “My life changed for the better because I was emotionally happy after my new marriage”; “I feared to lose my first wife emotionally because no woman feels okay if her husband married again but my wife was okay with it and me too”.

An analysis of the intellectual validation of polygynous marital arrangements likewise reveals an interesting picture: only 11.6% of wives indicate that they approve of polygynous marriages as a good marriage choice as opposed to 37.3% who do not approve; a total of 51.1% limit it to specific situational circumstances. A more detailed analysis shows that only 8.4% of first wives compared to 12.4% of last wives consider polygynous marital arrangements to be a good marriage choice. However, 39.8% of first wives disapprove of it compared to 33.0% of last wives. 51.8% of first wives and 54.6% of last wives limit approval to certain situational circumstances. The statistical calculations show no significant difference between first and last wives on this variable ($\chi^2 = 1.292$, $df = 2$, $p = .524$).

29.6% of the husbands validate multi-wife families being a good marriage choice as opposed to 19.4%. 51.0%, however, confine their intellectual appreciation to specific situational circumstances. The statistical calculations show a significant gender difference in the intellectual validation of polygyny: husbands are highly significantly more likely than wives to claim that polygyny is a good marriage choice ($\chi^2 = 19.861$, $df = 2$, $p = .000$). This result suggests that women’s intellectual validation of polygynous marital arrangements differs significantly from men’s, which raises issues of: freedom, equity of choice, and gender related power differentials as well as many others.

Among the situational circumstances mentioned above, the following three were most prevalent across genders and generations: “fertility”, “marriage as a reward for men” and “marriage as a protective institution for both genders”. The following interview extracts exemplify the three categories, for example, the following quote from a first wife shows her reasoning in the light of her husband’s remarriage in relation to the category “fertility”: “I am the one who insisted on his remarriage because I discovered that I had a sickness where I couldn’t give birth to children and because my first child was a test tube baby so I asked my
husband to marry my friend. We are one family and we live together and work together and we are waiting for a new baby from the third wife”; “[Polygyny] gives the man a chance to have more children if his wife cannot give birth”. The following statements demonstrate intellectual validation of other wives related to the category “fertility”: “He had already decided to marry and there was nothing I could do about it. To be honest, I encouraged him because he wanted more children”; “I agreed because I didn’t want to be unfair. I still hadn’t had any children by then and it had been ten years”. The next statement by a second wife relates to the category “marriage as a reward for men”: “He is his parents’ only child, and he had heart problems and was forced to undergo a dangerous operation. Due to the operation’s success, he decided to celebrate by remarrying. I didn’t feel anything negative because I am a second wife and I shouldn’t complain. In the beginning, I was horrified at his idea of marrying the third wife but when he explained his situation I understood and wished him happiness”. The subsequent statement from a first wife shows her intellectual validation for remarriage which is focused on the protective mantle of marriage: “He was studying abroad and needed someone to serve him and help him”; “Wanting to raise the children of his deceased brother”.

The following statements are examples of husbands’ intellectual validation of remarriage(s) related to the three categories “fertility”, “marriage as a reward for men” and “marriage as a protective institution for both genders”: “I married the second wife because I wanted more children”; “I told the first because she is my cousin and she knew my reasons for remarriage, which are raising the children of my brother who died”; “I told my first wife that I loved a woman, I want to get married so that I didn’t have to commit adultery and look for excitement outside marriage and I told her that I needed renewal in my marriage”.

Discussion

This study breaks new ground by investigating participant responses to polygyny in a cross generational and cross gender approach, shifting the focus from a feminine perspective to a more inclusive study of both genders’ responses to polygynous marriages, intellectually as well as emotionally.

The results could be interpreted as a first indication of what the interviewees have observed: apparently wives are more likely than husbands to observe or talk openly about the emotional impact of polygynous family arrangements. In the interpretation of these results, however, some possible bias has to be taken into account: reason for the bias could be that females are more sensitive towards the issue and therefore observe and report more precisely. On the other hand, it could also be that females want to provide the “expected” results to the researchers. In particular, considerations of “social desirability” could have affected wives’ answers and they could have been motivated to answer in line with what they believe the interviewers wished to hear, perhaps in order to please or to be helpful to the interviewers. Furthermore, it could be that the answers of males are purposely biased due to a moral or emotional conflict so that a tendency to under-report emotional impact factors could have been come into play and, therefore, reveal a biased picture of family reality. This opens
a broader discussion regarding problems with interviewer bias (Wimmer & Dominick, 1997) and raises issues about the validity of the information gathered with interviews in general (Robson, 1993). However, the researchers made every effort to attain clean data and use social science research methods which were culturally appropriate from both an ethnographic and statistical standpoint.

The study population has maintained traditional Arab marriage norms, represented by high rates of parental involvement in nuptial arrangements as well as in coalitions for mate seeking. The bonds which exist prior to consanguineous polygynous marriages are further reinforced and strengthened thus ensuring a continuation of traditional practice which continues fairly undiminished to date; however, the preceding sections show the breadth of response from a comparatively homogenous sample of Dhofari tribesmen developing the hypothesis that intricate and elaborate rationales are often employed to validate polygyny in today’s world.

The principle of Shura that provides the societal web of jurisdiction in conjunction with tribal tradition remains an integral facet of Omani life. The Sultan’s commitment to more gender integrative workplaces has at times called into question his commitment to more traditional interpretations of Sharia. Hilsdon and Rozario (2006, pp. 333-334) argue that “At the international level, the shari’a as a code of laws underpins the Universal Islamic Declaration of Human Rights (UIDHR). However, as Mayer (1995, pp. 79-92) and Bielefeldt (2000, p. 105) argue, the notion of equal rights in UIDHR is not the same as in UDHR (Universal Declaration of Human Rights) or CEDAW [Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women]. Rather it is underpinned by ideas of male and female complementarity. This brings it into conflict with CEDAW, which precludes treating women differently on the basis of their sex. In fact, Muslim feminists have formed alliances with secular feminists to protest against the gender biases of law derived from the shari’a (Mir-Hosseini, 1996, p. 318). The 1993 World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna and the 1995 Beijing United Nations Decade for Women Conference, for example, exposed the exclusion of the family from the definition of human rights (Kazi, 1997, p. 143; Bielefeldt, 2000, p. 111), and provoked considerable debate about laws that govern relations between men and women in marriage, divorce, inheritance, guardianship and custody of children (Kazi, 1997, p. 141). Historically, in the West “[…] the Christian Church in the 4th century AD imposed the regulations that made the monogamous nuclear family the predominant family form (i.e. […] condemned polygyny […] and remarriage” (Korotayev & Bondarenko, 2000, p. 204). Goody (1983), made the suggestion that the church was motivated by more than spiritual principals in its efforts to obtain property from couples without legitimate male heirs. As seen in the study’s results the emphasis placed on offspring in this region negates or minimizes that concern.

The net of development has encircled this historically tribal and traditional region with a fast growing economy, an influx of tourists from around the world and a fast growing media with a strong Muslim focus. These impact factors are slowly encouraging a reassessment of embedded cultural behaviour patterns; however, the insights gained from this study reflect this areas strong identification
with its historical cultural identity and its commitment to retain as much as
possible of that identity while adapting components of mass global culture to its
own advantage. “Culture may be thought of as a causal agent that affects the
evolutionary process by uniquely human means” (Bonney, 2004, p. 31); thus, this
study’s glimpses into the ways in which traditional tribal marital coalitions are
negotiating a path through these new influences while retaining their position as
the arbiters of marital success reflect that evolutionary process.

The individual responses to, the need for, or rationales to polygyny reflect
these negotiation strategies as reflected in the categories outlined above:
“fertility”, “marriage as a reward for men” and “marriage as a protective institution
for both genders”. These categories highlight the perceptual differences in the
East and the West regarding male and female needs and responsibilities and
even base natures, which are supported by traditional values and Islamic
guidelines. Indeed, “in Islam, fertility is highly prized and children are seen as a
gift of God to bring ‘joy to our eyes’ (Q.25:74)” (Bonney, 2004, p. 28). Dhofar
remains concerned with the productive alliances which can be established
through polygynous marriage and are supported by sections of the Hadith and
the Qur’an. “Among those norms, females’ […] lack of freedom in choice of
marriage or divorce, and their subordinate position in the family” as being closely
related to high fertility, are outlined by Sueyoshi and Ohtsuka (2003, pp. 521-
522). Their findings are confirmed by the significant gender difference in the
intellectual validation of polygynous marital arrangements found in this study
which, indeed, raises numerous issues, some of which are: freedom, equity of
choice and gender related power differentials. Moreover, the qualitative
categories emerging from the study—with the category “fertility” clearly being the
strongest argument for intellectual validation—, encompass further evidence for
this line of discussion.

To conclude, children are an omnipresent facet of the polygynous marital
debate and provide both validation and continuity of line and tradition in Dhofar.
The coalitions that form to facilitate their arrival, as well as to ensure marital
status for all, are ones that derive their roots from long held traditional patterns.
This region’s experience of its ethnicity and shared racial identity continues to be
evincing in these strong bonds which have stood the test of time and continue to
form the basis of familial support and stability.
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AN “EDUCATIONAL EMERGENCY” HAS BEEN DECLARED:
CORPORAL PUNISHMENT AND ITS IMPACT ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN PAKISTAN.

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AN “EDUCATIONAL EMERGENCY” HAS BEEN DECLARED:
CORPORAL PUNISHMENT AND ITS IMPACT ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN PAKISTAN.

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Children throughout the world from Asia to America are exposed to domestic violence; however, the prevalence and forms of violence differ from society to society (Save the Children 2001). The process of officially and internationally outlawing corporal punishment of children has been supported by such international organisation as the United Nations. And although a number of nations have officially banned corporal punishment of children and youth by signing and ratifying the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations, General Assembly 1989)—one noticeable exception is the United States of America which has signed it but not completed the ratification process (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights 2007)—, the issue is a matter of public concern due to the importance of the signee, and as such on the global agenda. From the moment this international document entered into force in September 1990, non-negotiable standards for all governments have been applied to protect and ensure the rights of children of signatory states: “state parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child (United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child 2003, article 19).

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan—“Pakistan” in Urdu means the “land of the pure” (Reference Library Encyclopaedia 2001)—was one of the first states of South Asia to sign and ratified the convention in 1990 (United Nations, International Children’s Emergency Fund 1998b; 1998c). The implementation of legislation and of impositions stipulated by the convention, however, are a major concern repeatedly pointed to by
The Committee is deeply concerned that the State party’s Penal Code (sect. 89) allows for physical punishment to be used as a disciplinary measure in schools and at the fact that physical punishment is widely practiced, especially within educational and other institutions and within the family, many times resulting in serious injuries. [...] 43. The Committee recommends that the State party, as a matter of urgency: (a) Repeal section 89 of the Penal Code of 1860 and explicitly prohibit all forms of physical punishment; [...] Undertake well-targeted public awareness campaigns on the negative impact of physical punishment on children, and provide teachers and parents with training on non-violent forms of discipline as an alternative to physical punishment. [...] g) The code of conduct for teachers does not prohibit physical punishment, nor does it deal with the problem of violence against children in school. [...] (h) Introduce, strengthen and systemize human rights education, including on the rights of the child, in school curricula, beginning in primary school; (i) Take proactive measures to eliminate violence against children in schools, notably by including in the code of conduct for teachers the prohibition of physical punishment and by limiting the role of school counsellors to those functions that help the pupil and revoking their disciplinary functions” (United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child 2003, pp. 8-9, 13, 14).

Although this report details straightforward recommendations, its impact on the social life of children and youth as well as on the legal status of children was barely noticeable. National legislation, e.g. section 89 of the Pakistan Penal Code, allows for “moderate” and “reasonable” punishment: “acts committed in good faith for the benefit of children under 12 years of age by or with the consent of the guardians” (Khan 2003, para. 26). Conditions for legal actions against adult-offenders rely on the principles of: a) it being administered in bad faith and b) causing severe injury. This regulation clearly conflicts with articles 28.2 and 37 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child which protect children against all types of corporal and psychological violence from adults: “[...] no child shall be subjected to torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment” (United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989, p. 10).
The United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child (1994; 2003; see also United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child 2000) pointed to the need for alignment of provincial legislation especially in tribal areas where the situation appears to be worse, such as in Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA), Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), Kashmir and Northern Areas (United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child 2003; cf. Raza 2004). However, through various actions the government demonstrated willingness to tackle the problem: for example, in December 2003 Federal Education Minister Zobaida Jalal launched an attempt to outlaw all forms of corporal punishment in educational institutions (Daily Times 2003) following news reports of thousands of runaway children due to mistreatment by teachers and parents (OneWorld South Asia News 2003); moreover, particular provinces such as Punjab attempted to outlaw corporal punishment but implementation fell short (Bitensky 2000; Khan 2004), a “Relief and Complaint Cell” for reporting incidences of corporal punishment was launched (Daily Times 2003), an official letter by the Ministry of Education was sent to all teachers addressing the issue and at the same time the formation of 80 laws dissenting the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child was designed (OneWorld South Asia News 2003). Also in the North-West Frontier Province corporal punishment was outlawed in 2003 and through an educational campaign application of alternative educational methods was promoted (Khan 2004; United Nations, International Children’s Emergency Fund 1998a).

Although judicial foundations would promise a confinement of incidences of corporal punishment, the “blue reality” in Pakistan’s provinces appears not quite as bright (SPARC 2004): “Corporal punishment remained prevalent at the vast majority of schools, and students reported being violently beaten with rods, rulers, shoes, iron bars and shoes. In a number of cases, students suffered serious injury as a result of such beating—meted out for offences such as failing to complete homework, giving an incorrect answer to a question or not having the right textbook” (Human Rights Commission of Pakistan 2003, p. 308). Repeatedly reports of corporal punishment in the N.-W.F.P., where data for this study were gathered, highlight that legal provisions have little impact on the educational and social reality. For instance, research shows that the majority of school heads in that province consider corporal punishment as inevitable (United Nations, International Children’s Emergency Fund 1998a).

Another study carried out in the province by UNICEF and the National Coalition on Child Rights demonstrates that commonly corporal punishment in primary schools is justified as the most appropriate means of keeping discipline, building character and facilitating learning, that headmasters are scarcely aware of any code or regulation concerning corporal punishment by the Education Department, that a range of methods are used to corporally punish students from pulling ears to beating with sticks, and that severe injuries of students such as the following reported by a head teacher of a governmental primary school in Jalala, in the District of Mardan, proved to be no rarity: “A boy fell unconscious as a result of severe beating. Next day the boy’s uncle came to school. The concerned teacher had brought a loaded pistol with him. I intervened and sent the man back. Next day, I circulated an order, prohibiting physical punishment. The teacher involved in the incident, refused to sign the order. Instead he put the pistol’s magazine in the order book” (NGO Coalition on Child Rights–Pakistan 2001, p.15). Moreover, the study reveals corporal punishment being endorsed by the majority of parents in a belief that it facilitates learning and builds character. Likewise, severe incidences of corporal punishment of children are reported, for example: “My son lost consciousness as a result of severe beating. He was taken to hospital for treatment” (NGOs’ Coalition on Child Rights–Pakistan 2001, p. 20).

Following alarming reports like this, the author makes an attempt to provide some insights behind the curtain of statutory provisions by studying the issue of corporal punishment in Pakistan. The issue is analysed by using student and teacher data obtained through a combined structured and semi-structured interview technique in a study carried out in one of Pakistan’s traditional strongholds: the North-West Frontier Province. Within this province the focus of the analysis is limited to the District of Peshawar. The daily experiences of children and youth at home and in formal educational settings is one major study focus. Furthermore, the twofold involvement of teachers, firstly, as potential victims during their upbringing, and secondly, as potential punishers due to the fact that they are now working as professionals in the
educational field, is analysed. Contemporary attitudes and personal feelings of former victims and current punishers are analysed and presented along with personal experiences of the issue.

In summary, the results support previous findings on the high prevalence of corporal punishment of children and youths. Likewise, results support the frequently found gender imbalance with regard to the practice of corporal punishment and in relation to fundamental beliefs. The controversial nature of the issue is discussed by taking into account traditional beliefs with an aim to identify some basic recommendations in order to effectively deal with the problem in the future and to contribute to the dispel of the conservative and culturally motivated idea of childhood and education prevalent in the country. One major aim of this research is to increase understanding of the basic educational and social realities in Pakistan and to build awareness in the community for this issue which—in the clutter of precarious issues which warrant attention and further study—tends to be underrepresented internationally.

To conclude, the Human Rights Commission and other International Organizations have declared an “educational emergency” for Pakistan in terms of the effectiveness of its educational system and the educational methods utilized by teachers and parents (Human Rights Commission of Pakistan 2003, pp. 326-327). The country’s educational system ranks among the world’s least effective in terms of its ability to educate its citizens. This article highlights one of the major challenges posed to the educational system and attempts to give some insights into the educational reality of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

This paper is one of an ongoing series addressing corporal punishment in Pakistan as the country is trying to cope with this increasingly prevalent issue. A more detailed illustration of the findings and the impact of corporal punishment on children and youth can be found in the following monograph: Profanter, A. 2007. “Che Charta Dab Dey, Halta Adab Dey” A Pushto Saying Meaning “Where There is Physical Punishment, There is Order and Respect”. Frankfurt am Main et. al.: Peter Lang Verlag.
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Personal Advertising: Building Trust in a Distrusting Society

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Personal Advertising: Building Trust in a Distrusting Society

Abstract

This paper addresses personal advertising as an example of trust-building and describes the various ways in which personal advertising is used to engage in building interpersonal relations in U.S. society. The paper frames the discussion of personal advertising within the larger framework of social trust, restating the impact of technology and globalization processes on interpersonal relations. In a period when issues of diminishing trust, attenuated social ties, and the collapse of community are being touted, personal advertising represents a mode of trust-building embedded within various constraints (lack of face-to-face interaction or the screens of family and friends). The liberating aspects of personal advertising are also highlighted along with the ways personal advertisers build trust so that anonymous others become acquaintances, friends, and even significant others. Other postmodern forms of courtship (speed dating, coffee-mating, safari flirting, video dating, “just lunch” or “eye contact”) are also described and recommendations are made regarding the impact of technology and the ways in which persons negotiate, innovate and meet the challenges of the postmodern world.
Study in Training the Communities in development socio-productive initiatives.
Ramos, Niurka*; Da Silva, María de Fátima** y Libretti, Gianfranco**

May, 2007
Study in Training the Communities in development socio-productive initiatives.

Sustainable Urban Neighborhoods

Poster sessions

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RESUMEN

The report purpose is to show how grow up one community when is oriented to improve themselves by non formal capacity program. This is a study in progress support by strategy alliance between “Simón Bolívar” University, “Technological Park Sartenejas Foundation and Citibank Foundation. In this moment, the planning phase and execution phase are ready. The program is designed to provide knowledge, tools, strategies and motivational elements to encourage the socio productive initiatives of the populations in Naiguatá (Vargas State, Venezuela). This region was damaged in December 1999 by flood. The population of that region had very difficult to live, was to leave behind poverty, destruction, misemployment and a lot of difficulties. Now each aspect social-economical are enhancement, but is necessary built a new social-productive net.


** Fundación Parque Tecnológico, Carretera Nacional Hoyo de la Puerta-Baruta, Municipio Baruta, Estado Miranda

INTRODUCTION

Camurí Grande is a small town located in the east side of the Vargas State, Naiguatá zone, Venezuela, has been lowered by two processes of mudslides, one in December 1999 and another one in February 2005. After these natural events the conditions of the region have been very fragile, some of the characteristics that describe the present situation are: destruction of broad part of the populated center, important damages on university and recreation zones; destruction of the social net, many of the social networks were dismantled, since many people had to migrate to other regions; loss of the employment and occupation sources, related fundamentally to the tourism area; important damages in the public services, there is not white and served water network, and there is not telephone service. This region includes in its space a campus of the Simón Bolívar University.
Figure N° 1. Area photography of Camurí Grande and the USB-Litoral (1999’s mudslide)

It has been very difficult and expensive to recover the infrastructure of the zone, nevertheless already today important advances can be observed, has been constructed a canalization to the Migueleno and Camurí Grande rivers, those that originated all the damages, the Camurí Grande Club has restored and its operatives after repairing the damages, the Simón Bolívar University decided to make a new physical infrastructure on the hill, far from the valley, the buildings of vacation apartments little by little have been recovered and the State Government has constructed a new beach facilities.

All these works are surrounding to the populated center, also is necessary to recognize that it has not been made enough to recover the life conditions for a community that resists leaving the zone, although they were being recognized like a risk zone. So far the feature is they are “a town that refuses to die”. Serious problems they oppress, lack of occupation for the young people, lack of sport spaces, drug consumption, delinquency, nonexistence of a ordering urban plan that delimits the zones that could be occupied with the smaller possible risk.

From the beginning, the neighboring University as seriously affected by mudslide (it lost 90% of its equipment and 80% of its building); in the next months the university installed its academic community and its programs in the other campus that it has in the Miranda State, but it decided to contribute to the recovery of this community. In order to reach that goal it integrated to Civil Association Camurí Grande (ACCG) along with the neighbors Associations, the Camurí Grande Club, the Vacation Buildings Condominium, the Retailers Associations and the Church.

The University assumes the social responsibility trying to help the communities. UNESCO (1998) established on the Art. N° 1 the Higher Education mission like “b) to constitute an open space for the upper formation that favor the permanent learning, offering an optimum range of options and the possibility of entering and to leave easily of the system, as well as opportunities of individual execution and social mobility in order to forming citizens that participate actively in the society and they be open to world, and to promote the strengthening of the endogenous capacities and the consolidation in a of justice of the human rights, the sustainable development the democracy and the peace”
For this reason the University designed with the support of Technological Park one plan to recovery the surrounding zones of the University with the purpose to improve the life conditions of the people, the plan is considered a echo-technological model of development for the region, with possibilities of being applied in other communities (M. Da Silva, G. Libretti and N. Ramos, 2006). Of the diverse initiatives to diminish the desolation atmosphere of the zone, the last one has been to undertake a training program oriented to the communitarian leaders and the entrepreneurs, in a program of strengthening of the socio-productive initiatives.

This report have like objective synthesized qualitative and quantitatively the information derived from the execution of the program of “Strengthening of socio-productive initiatives for the communities of the Naiguatá zone, State Vargas” (FISP-Naiguatá) during October 2005-December 2006 period. It is a pilot program promoted through a strategic alliance between the Simón Bolivar University, the Technological Park Sartenejas and the Citibank-Venezuela Foundation.

**OBJETIVE**

The objective of this study is to estimate the impact of the Strengthening of Socio-productive Initiatives Program on the communities, in order to improve the life’s conditions of the population.

**THE PROGRAM’S ORIGIN**

During the active participation of the University in the construction of actions for the communities, a series of formation necessities and qualification were detected, as in aspects related to the communitarian organization, in order to helped them to be more effective in the resolution of the common problems; in subject like entrepreneur skill, that allowed to be developed them like a self sustainable community, considering they have a tourist vocation. It is possible to emphasize in this last aspect, that this populated center is located in a zone with high possibilities of recreation and rest, its counts with an exuberant landscape sea-mountain-river, which turns it a privileged region. These necessities were analyzed, selected and discussed within a profile that it looked for to integrate them in a single program, with specific objectives and scopes. In this way begin the program “Strengthening of socio-productive initiatives for the communities of the Naiguatá zone, Vargas State” (FISP-Naiguatá). The mayor limitation for implantation was the financing founds.

In October 2005, the university was invited to participate, along with other institutions, to access to Citibank Foundation (Venezuela) founds, it had destined to the recovery of the Vargas State; these economic resources came from a series of donations, including those of the employees of the bank, collected after the 1999 tragedy.

In 2006 first months this program was approved by the Citibank-Venezuela Foundation and in April an agreement between the parts was signed, immediately the activities summarized in this report began and the work team was organized in order to assume the responsibility.
THE PROGRAM’S STRUCTURE

The program “Strengthening of socio-productive initiatives for the communities of the Naiguatá zone, Vargas State” (FISP-Naiguatá) is constituted by four components that are described next.

- Component 1: The entrepreneur: tools for the action (Productive Projects, PP)
- Component 2: Formulation and evaluation of social projects of communitarian organizations (Social Projects, SP)
- Component 3: Training in local financial formation (Local Financial Organization, LFO)
- Component 4: Successful management of communitarian organizations (Communitarian Organizations, CO)

THE PROGRAM’S STAGES

Promotion
The promotion was developed through meetings with the social actors of the zone, generally in the University facilities; guests as much by communications written customized as by social mass media. In spite of it the attendance was low, if it considers that the expectation was to catch 105 participants and the attendance average was around 25 people. There was a promotion by journals and radio with it program reaches, their objectives and to who were directed.

Registration
A registration form was designed and it was distributed during each informative meeting. This registration form permits to collect useful information about how to organize the groups. The registration period was in July 2006 and it received 110 requests. The Graph Nº 1 show the interesting by each component and the Graph Nº 2 the wish of each participant, it is necessary clarify than some people wished to take two or more component.

![Graph Nº 1. Applicants number by each component](image-url)
Selection

In order to optimize the time, to balance the groups and to try organizing the best match course-selection by participant who offered greater probabilities of success, the four groups organized themselves; guarantee that each aspiring was registered in a course. Diverse criteria was take in account to distributed the 135 requests; finally, they were organized like follow: 40 people for component N° 1, 35 people for the component N° 2 and 30 for components N° 3 and N° 4. This selection considered accepted 5 additional applicant to compensate the usual dropout rate in each course.

Execution

The operative activities, whose details appear down, are defined like those where the participants was taken part with directly. They can be classified in: courses, technical attendances, monitoring actions and oral presentations. This section displays information on the form as it were made. The activities were planned and executed according to the following chronogram (See Table 1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Initial Date</th>
<th>Final Date</th>
<th>Days (Per week)</th>
<th>Schedule</th>
<th>Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. PP - Classes</td>
<td>17-Jul</td>
<td>25-Jun</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>2:00 - 6:00 pm</td>
<td>Trapiche-USB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. PP - Assistance</td>
<td>23-Oct</td>
<td>06-Nov</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. SP - Classes</td>
<td>20-Jun</td>
<td>28-Jun</td>
<td>Monday - Thursday</td>
<td>2:00 - 7:00 pm</td>
<td>Trapiche-USB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. SP - Assistance</td>
<td>18-Jul</td>
<td>Continue</td>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. LFO - Conformation</td>
<td>19-Jun</td>
<td>09-Nov</td>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>3:00 - 6:00 pm</td>
<td>Centro iniciativas productivas Camurí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. LFO - Accompaniment</td>
<td>initial</td>
<td>Continue</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. CO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Redesign</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Technical attendance
Each component included several sessions of technical attendance with the intention of complementing with more customized attention the activities than they were developing. The definition of technical attendance varied between the different components.

Monitoring Activity
Therefore, the monitoring activity was centralized in two people and it became a activity based in interviews to the teachers and some participants, another technique was the observation, it permits to compile excellent information in order to determine the quality of the courses and its possible impact.

Complementary Lectures
A complementary lecture was made by the voluntary personnel of CITIBANK, the only one in this period, entitle “Financing of micro-enterprise projects, understanding like extending the possibilities of obtaining it”. Said to char it I concentrate in a presentation of motivation and information for the entrepreneurs and in a session of questions and answers. Of the commentaries of the participants it is extracted that there was good reception.

PARTICIPATION
The participation study will help to design the strategies and to determine the scopes of application of other similar programs. It is clarified that in the following lines deserter was defined as “that person who, after to be enrolled and to have selected, attended less of the 2/3 of the total sessions” and “spontaneous participant” was the people who participated in the activities without to be registered or to be selected.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Components</th>
<th>Introductory Meeting</th>
<th>Classes</th>
<th>Assistance Visits</th>
<th>Totals</th>
<th>Canceled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. PP</td>
<td>4/7, 2:00pm</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. SP</td>
<td>13/06, 2:00pm</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. LFO</td>
<td>11/6, 10:30am</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. CO</td>
<td>4/7 y 3/10, 2:00pm</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the Graph Nº 3 and the Table Nº 3 shows that only 21% of the participants culminated the activities in satisfactory way.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Components</th>
<th>Register</th>
<th>Selected</th>
<th>Selected Approved</th>
<th>Selected Deserters</th>
<th>% Desertion (respect a inscriptions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. PP</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. SP</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. LFO</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. OC</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
However, it is necessary to clarify that the desertion was calculated solely with respect to the participants selected initially, without including the spontaneous participants, whose his or her participation was not rejected nor diminished in any case. In Graph Nº 4 and Table Nº 4 one can observe the effect of this type of participants on the final approval score was significant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Approved</th>
<th>Selected</th>
<th>Participant Spont. Appro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LFO</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
<td><strong>105</strong></td>
<td><strong>17</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of component Nº 4 one was due to cancel by interest lack by the participants initially registered, this course must be redesigned.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Components</th>
<th>Goal</th>
<th>Approved Totals</th>
<th>% Accomplishment</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LFO</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CO</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>105</strong></td>
<td><strong>43</strong></td>
<td><strong>41%</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As much as the factors that motivated the participation, the following ones were detected:

- a) “The fulfillment of the dreams” of many participants with personal or collective ideas and projects, some of them are old person.
- b) Secondly, the good valuation of the knowledge offered to them motivated the participants to go at the courses.

As far as the factors that discourage the participation stands out fundamentally:

- a) “The necessities of the current day”, they had many economic difficulties; this situation made many participants had to invest their time and effort in order to obtain their subsistence resources.
- b) The lack of final incentive like a possible financial sponsor once completed the effort.
- c) Additionally, the competition by other paid programs like Government Missions, executed simultaneously to this program, was one of the reasons to some participants was not concurred any more.
d) Finally, one detected that another desertion factor was the obtaining of short employments during the course period.

PARTICIPANT’S SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

Next section describes the participants according to their socio-economic characteristics (considering solely those that indeed approved the component that attended). This gives a general panorama about the population that has been hit by the program and gives one possible measure of its effectiveness.

![Graph Nº 5. Participants approved according type of employment](image)

a. In the first place, an analysis relative to the kind of employment of the participants, which is showed in Graph Nº 5. Of this one stands out that the great majorities of the participants are unemployed or are independent worker. This proportion stays more or less constant in all components.

b. The following factor considered was if the participants are associated to some community organization, as they can be the communal organization, neighbors associations, local cooperatives with communitarian work, etc. It is evident that the most of the participants indeed are on this type of organizations.
c. Another measured factor was the gender. In the components Nº 1 and Nº 2 the men predominated, whereas in the component Nº 3 are women. Finally, this gives a proportion balanced enough.

d. As far as the age of the participants it is possible to be noticed that the great majority was people greater to 40 years. In this respect it is mentioned that a great amount of them are retired or unemployed people with desires to initiate an independent productive activity or to improve their community.
e. Although it was not measured with the initial instruments, another reviewed element was the previous qualification. It is known that the great majority of the participants have secondary studies, a good proportion is superior technicians and single few have university qualification.

f. On the execution of the program it was made a diagnosis on the weaknesses and strengths of the projects displayed by the participants, in components N° 1 and N° 2, which gave like result the following thing:

Weaknesses:
- Deficiency in the elementary mathematical calculations, especially financier operations.
- Lack of knowledge on the details related to their projects, like requirements of investment, operative, market and handling of the human talent.
- Lack of knowledge on the land location for the projects (the project is had but it is not known where to install it).
- Lack of qualification on the information systems (use of PC and its programs, electronic mail, etc.)

Strengths:
- One detected that, although with deficiencies in the quantification, greater part of the projects had good definition of the market or the beneficiaries (in the case of social projects), knowing itself to use in some cases the survey and other studies.
- The greater strength detected when the programs culminated was a great motivation to continue with their proposals
- They demonstrated a great capacity of assimilation of the technical contents presented.

RESULTS AND IMPACTS
It is even premature to measure the impacts, because these will be considered to more long time; nevertheless, already some results can be commented. In general, one is due to emphasize that all the participants showed to a remarkable improvement in the handling of terms or professional lexicons, numerical and organizational abilities, methods and formats of presentation and increase of the motivation to crystallize its proposals or initiatives. Qualitatively, the results of components Nº 1 appear in first term and Nº 2 in the form of projects, whose status before and after the activity, is in Graph Nº 9. In Table Nº 6 one lists the titles and people in charge of such.

![Graph Nº 9. Projects status before and after Training Program](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Comp.</th>
<th>Titulo</th>
<th>Promotor</th>
<th>Sector Economico</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Creacion de Fabrica de hielo</td>
<td>Larry Dominguez</td>
<td>Industrial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Creacion Centro de Arte - Ritmico - Audiovisual</td>
<td>Federico Araujo</td>
<td>Cultural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Creacion Lancheria Express</td>
<td>Ana Lugo</td>
<td>Servicios alimentos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pesca con nuevas tecnologias</td>
<td>Liuba Valero</td>
<td>Agropecuario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Creacion de Agroposada - pista de baile</td>
<td>Darryn Silva</td>
<td>Turismo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Creacion de Ruta de Transporte Turistico</td>
<td>Abilio Escobar</td>
<td>Turismo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Creacion de Granja Integral Costera</td>
<td>Elio Perez - Coop. Innovar</td>
<td>Agropecuario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Creacion de Restaurante - Cafe</td>
<td>Victor Piazza</td>
<td>Servicios alimentos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Manufactura de Trajes de Baño</td>
<td>Maryelly Pulido</td>
<td>Industrial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Creacion Fabrica de calzado</td>
<td>Douglas Collina</td>
<td>Industrial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Introduccion de la Pira en la dieta escolar</td>
<td>Willman Echarry</td>
<td>Asistencia Socia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Creacion de Club de los Abuelos</td>
<td>Ramón Rodríguez</td>
<td>Asistencia Socia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Creacion de Servicio de alojamiento y restaurante</td>
<td>As. Coop. Turistica Naiguatar</td>
<td>Turismo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mejora de viviendas de 36 familias en sector San Antonio</td>
<td>Org. De vivienda <em>unidos por S. Antonio</em></td>
<td>Construccion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Merceria</td>
<td>Anarelys Merentes</td>
<td>Turismo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Procesadora de Pescado</td>
<td>Celia Ramos</td>
<td>Industrial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Construccion de Parador Turistico Montaña Fresca</td>
<td>Coop. Montaña Fresca VA2</td>
<td>Turismo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Creacion Centro Comunitario de Animacion social y cultura</td>
<td>Consejo Comunal - Anarelys Merentes</td>
<td>Cultural</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE Nº 6 - PROJECTS (Components 1 y 2 only)
These projects were classified according to the economic sector or influence area. This is in the Graph Nº 10, which it is possible to be noticed that the tourism and light industrialist sectors predominate. Despite it is important to emphasize all the projects have certain positive impact on the community, in special those cultural and welfare ones. Also, the technological innovation is pronounced in productive projects related to the fishing and agriculture areas.

As far as a component 3, stands out that the Local Financial Organization formed satisfactorily. This account with 17 shareholders and a total of 20 placed actions creating an initial capital of versus. 600,000.

**ACTIVITIES TO EXECUTE**

Summary next the following activities necessary to culminate the program:

- Preparation, promotion and execution of new component Nº 4 “Successful Management of Cooperatives” directed to 30 participants

- Preparation, promotion and execution of the second group with the component Nº 1, directed to 20 participants, orienting the same one to the participation of young people. Also it is hoped to improve the execution on the basis of the experience of the first application.

- Phase of attendance and support to the Local Financial Organization (component 3) recently established.

- Deepening and complementation of the monitoring, analyzing all factors but indicating it impact.

- Precise attendance to the projects elaborated in components Nº 1 and Nº 2
- Preparation and accomplishment of at least one new lecture with voluntary service of Citibank workers

- Incorporation into the training program of the students like tutor, according to the Communitarian Service Law for the Superior Education Students (2006), with support of an ONG Venezuela Option.

CONCLUSIONS

Factors that affected the execution of the program:

- Attributable to the external factors: difficulties in the communication roads with rains time, vacations seasons that jeopardized the participants to take advantage of the opportunity to work in beaches, lack of payment of scholarships to the participants (what they will receive if participate in training programs by the government), participant’s external activities made difficult the organization of the schedules.

- Attributable to the course and the professors: also several of the used materials affected the execution the lack of update, lack of didactic tools in some professors to maintain the attention and motivation of the participants, among others.

- Attributable to the participants: it was stated a great deficiency in the use of information tools and communication (Excel, Word, email, etc.).

- Attributable to the organizers of the Program: Lack of experience to anticipate and to take care appropriately about situations that appeared around the component Nº 4, in which a factors combination oriented to make the decision to cancel it and to redesign it to attend other formation necessities.

The monitoring activities had to be adapted on the execution, because contracted personnel to make this activity could not participate by the communication difficulties between Caracas - La Guaira, by the fall of Viaduct Nº 1; this activity was assumed by the program coordinators.

There was a great difference between the number of awaited participants and the number that finally participated, but it is usual in programs of this type, in which everything depends on the intrinsic motivation of the applicant, since we are not offered economic, labor or academic incentives.

As far as the enthusiasm of the participants, those that continued until the end demonstrated great quality, motivation and an enormous capacity to assimilate information and to grow intellectually.

Unlike the hoped situation, it emphasizes as the people retired and more age are the main ones interested on this type of programs, looking for to create occupations and income additional to assure their present and immediate future. Call the attention how the younger people exclude themselves from this training program.

It could be inferred that the promotion was not absolutely successful, since by the type and number of participants who got up themselves, it was let take care of an important segment
of the population that could contribute more long-term social and productive networks over time.

**RECOMMENDATIONS**

The promotion of this program must improve to try to include the different groups that conform the community, special attention deserve the young people, calls perhaps focused through the neighbors associations could help to obtain this objective. To maintain speech introductory but to turn it a motivation and promotion activity, that it maintains and even it increases the interest, instead of concentrating itself in the look for a consensus schedule.

Associate to the previous point, a factor important to obtain a satisfactory result could be a possible financing (grants to scholarship) or another type of compensation or stimulus, or recognition by assertive plan or concluded project or better presented/displayed project, to design the courses with this aim could be the more effective. Another option could be an academic incentive, organizing a set of formation components that give to them a Continuous Educational Certificate.

To program in better way the technical attendance activities, this would have to be oriented to resolve in a few sessions the weaknesses that can have been detected during the development of the course and to promote that the participants obtain tangible and feasible objectives.

With the acquired experience, to design information instruments (surveys, observation scales and interview guide) to be applied to participants and professors, that would be facilitate the monitoring activity. To promote a global monitoring form, planning this activity to evaluate each component separately and the execution and effects of all program (although also it would be necessary to analyze particularities of each component). For this it is recommended to establish an interdisciplinary and general equipment that can be alternated in the participation in each one of the components and make analysis altogether.

To define with sufficient advance the availability and the subjects, that the specialists of different institutions and the volunteers from Citibank can give, to organize a series of talks in correspondence to the necessities and interests of the general public and candidates, this will contribute to suitably program and to promote the lectures cycle.

To make more emphasis in obtaining strategic alliances with private or public organisms of the country in order to obtain financial support to micro-industrialists, social and/or enterprising promoters, if they have a feasible and sustainable project. To take advantage of the public policies the national Government destined to support through to the public and private companies, that they must investment in social responsibility. The Law of Science and Technology (2001) in is good opportunity, which the Universities can take advantage to identify funds in order to invest on the organization and execution formation programs in areas related to the communitarian development.

Due to the weaknesses detected during the training, it becomes necessary to include technological formation elements (use of computational and communication tools) in the
different training activities, must be part of the formation the handling of some programs and the electronic mail.

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1. Title of the submission.
Buddhist Human Communication of peace, happiness of mankind and the trend of communication in the future.
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6. Full paper
Buddhist Communication for Peace and Happiness of Mankind:
The Future Trend in Human Communication.

By Asst. Prof. Dr. Pratoom Rerkklang.

Communication Arts Faculty, Bangkok University.

Abstract

Buddhism is the religion which was founded over 2547 years ago. It is certain that Buddhism has influenced the way of life of eastern world people. Buddhist principles cover the teaching of human communication, interpersonal communication, intrapersonal communication, spiritual communication and psychic communication. This doctrine emphasizes the practice of perceiving, talking, listening, exposing, thinking, and believing. In other word, it is a means to purify oneself to perceive one’s original soul. The Buddhist human communication principles can be applied in various circumstances. These principles aim to increase effectiveness, good relationship, ethical communication, that provides peace and happiness to humankind, therefore, Buddhist communication is the future trend in human communication.

Introduction

Einstein (1954) have said that "Buddhism has the characteristics of what would be expected in a cosmic religion for the future: it transcends a personal God, avoids dogmas and theology; it covers both the natural & spiritual, and it is based on a religious sense aspiring from the experience of all things, natural and spiritual, as a meaningful unity." A widely cited, but spurious quotation attributed to Albert Einstein. (www.religioustolerance.org)

Buddhism is one of the largest religious in the world and also is philosophy and psychological science. Buddhism is the fourth largest religion in the world, being exceeded in numbers only by Christianity, Islam and Hinduism. It was founded in Northern India by the first known Buddha, Siddhartha Gautama. In 535 B.C., he attained enlightenment and assumed the
title Lord Buddha (one who has awakened). As Buddhism expanded across Asia, it evolved into two main forms, which evolved largely independently from each other: (www.religioustolerance.org)

**Theravada Buddhism** (sometimes called Southern Buddhism; occasionally spelled Therevada) has been the dominant school of Buddhism in most of Southeast Asia since the 13th century, with the establishment of the monarchies in Thailand, Burma, Cambodia and Laos. **Mahayana Buddhism** (sometimes called Northern Buddhism) is largely found in China, Japan, Korea, Tibet and Mongolia. Mahayanna Buddhism, wisdom (prajna) plays a central role. It is the wisdom and enlightenment that the bodhisattva seeks rather than nirvana. These are the virtues in which one can realize their true Buddha - (the giving of gifts, moral behavior and belief, patience, zeal, meditation and wisdom.)

**Tibetan Buddhism**, which developed in isolation from Theravada and Mahayana Buddhism because of the remoteness of Tibet. **Modern Buddhism** has emerged as a truly international movement. It started as an attempt to produce a single form of Buddhism, without local accretions, that all Buddhists could embrace.

**Core beliefs of Buddhism**

Buddhism, like most of the great religions of the world, is divided into a number of different traditions. However, most traditions share a common set of fundamental beliefs and practice (www.religioustolerance.org). One fundamental belief of Buddhism is often referred to as reincarnation, the concept that people are reborn after dying. In fact, most individuals go through many cycles of birth, living, death and rebirth. A practicing Buddhist differentiates between the concepts of rebirth and reincarnation. In reincarnation, the individual may recur repeatedly. In rebirth, in a person does not necessarily return to Earth as the same entity ever again. He compares it to a leaf growing on a tree. When the withering leave falls off, a new leaf will eventually replace it. It is similar to the old leaf, but it is not identical to the original leaf. After many such cycles, if a person releases their attachment to desire and the self, they can attain Nirvana. This is a state of liberation and freedom from suffering.
The Three Trainings or Practices consist of Si la, Samadhi, and Prajna.

1. Si la: Virtue, good conduct, morality. This is based on two fundamental principles: the principle of equality—that all living entities are equal—and the principle of reciprocity. This is the "Golden Rule" in Christianity— to do onto others as you would wish them do onto you. It is found in all major religions

2. Samadhi: Concentration, meditation, mental development. Developing one's mind is the path to wisdom which in turn leads to personal freedom. Mental development also strengthens and controls our mind; this helps us maintain good conduct.

3. Prajna: Discernment, insight, wisdom, enlightenment. This is the real heart of Buddhism. Wisdom will emerge if your mind is pure and calm. The first two paths listed in the Eightfold Path refer to discernment; the last three belong to concentration; the middle three are related to virtue.

The Four Noble Truths: The Buddha's Four Noble Truths explore human suffering which may be described as follows:

1. Dukkha: Suffering exists: (Suffering is real and almost universal. Suffering has many causes: loss, sickness, pain, failure, the impermanence of pleasure.)

2. Samudaya: There is a cause for suffering. It is the desire to have and control things. It can take many forms: craving of sensual pleasures; the desire for fame; the desire to avoid unpleasant sensations, like fear, anger or jealousy.

3. Nirodha: There is an end to suffering. Suffering ceases with the final liberation of Nirvana. The mind experiences complete freedom, liberation and non-attachment. It lets go of any desire or craving.

4. Magga: In order to end suffering, you must follow the Eightfold Path.

The Five Precepts are rules to live by which describes behaviors to avoid.

1. Do not kill. This is sometimes translated as "not harming" or an absence of violence.

2. Do not steal. This is generally interpreted as including the avoidance of fraud and economic exploitation.
3. Do not lie. This is sometimes interpreted as including name calling, gossip, etc.

4. Do not misuse sex. For monks and nuns, this means any departure from complete celibacy. For the laity, adultery is forbidden, along with any sexual harassment or exploitation, including that within marriage. The Buddha did not discuss consensual premarital sex within a committed relationship; Buddhist traditions differ on this.

5. Do not consume alcohol or other drugs. The main concern here is that intoxicants cloud the mind. Some have included as a drug other methods of divorcing ourselves from reality -- e.g. movies, television, the Internet.

The Buddha’s Eightfold Path consists of Panna, discernment, wisdom:

1. Samma Dtiithi: Right understanding of the Four Noble Truths.
2. Samma Sankappa: Right thinking; following the Right path in life

Sila: Virtue, Morality

3. Samma Vaca: Right speech: no lying, criticism, condemning, gossip, harsh language
4. Samma Kammanta: Right conduct by following the Five Precepts
5. Samma Ajiva: Right livelihood; support yourself without harming others

Samadhi: Concentration, meditation

6. Samma Vayama: Right effort: promote good thoughts; conquer evil thoughts
7. Samma Sati: Right mindfulness: become aware of your body, mind and feelings
8. Samma samadhi Right concentration: meditate to achieve a higher state of consciousness

Meditations

Meditation is the way or method that helps persons to purify their mind from the unreality of the world and it the way for a person to consider the life that can help people reach nirvana or enlightenment. The basic understanding of meditation comes from the Eight-fold Path: the first two steps, right belief and intention. The next steps focus on the preparation of a proper life; these are right
speech, actions, and livelihood. The last three focus on the meditation itself: right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration. This brings one to wisdom or prajna, which can be seen as the right belief and right intentions.

In Theravada Buddhism, the goal of nirvana is achieved through two forms of meditation (www.uwacadweb.uwyo.edu/religionet/er/buddhism/Belief.htm)—Samadhi and Vipassana. Samadhi meditation stresses on controlling the mind/soul or concentrating on the original soul by thinking outside the world. Vipassana meditation is the realization of existence. It is a way to seeing life as suffering (dukkha), the impermanence of all things (anicca), and the non-existence of the soul (anattaman).

Human body consisted of 4 elements (tat) which are soil, water, fire and wind, and the five aggregates (or Khun 5) which are corporeality, feeling, perception, mental formations or volitional activities, and consciousness. These will help you to not commit to yourself, and to be free from desire, and suffering.

**Buddha’s viewing on communication process**

The teaching of Buddhist principles can be related to human communication. It can be classified into two types; lay person and person who want to reach nirvana.

The Buddha stated that individual or human body consisted of form and name which have five aggregators;

1. Corporeality or physical: the whole of human body.
2. Feeling: human emotions as happy, suffering, sad.
3. Perception: The meanings that human interpret circumstance. These is similar to perception process in communication arts theory.
4. Mental Formations or Volitional Activities: the mind that bring to expression behaviors both in verbal and actions.
5. Consciousness: the perception which occur through 5 perception organic which are eyes, tough, nose, ears, skin and mind.
The model of Buddhist human communication process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stimulus</th>
<th>organic</th>
<th>aggregate of perception of human (form &amp; nam)</th>
<th>effect of perception</th>
<th>response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.form(rub)</td>
<td>1.eyes</td>
<td>1.form/corporeality</td>
<td>1.Vinyarn</td>
<td>1. verbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.tough</td>
<td>2 nam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.smell</td>
<td>3.nose</td>
<td>2.1 feeling</td>
<td>2.Sanya(memory/ 2.action interpret)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.sound</td>
<td>4.ears</td>
<td>2.2 perception</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.tactile object</td>
<td>5.physical perception</td>
<td>2.3 Mental Formations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.dhamma 2.action</td>
<td>6.mind</td>
<td>2.4 Consciousness</td>
<td>3.Vettana (emotion)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This concept of human communication are explain how human perceive stimulus from the outside world and the process of information in human mind and body including the output or effect of human communication. Buddha’s concept of human communication do not stress on source and receiver like western’s model.

These expansions are similar to the concept about channel of human communication of Berlo’s theory which compose of eyes, ears, nose, tough, and touch (Berlo, 1960). However, Buddha’s concepts of exposure goes beyond Berlo’s theory by including mind as one of organic that make human expose to the circumstance. By these components make human perception and brought to consciousness (Vinnarn), memory and meaning (Sanya) and emotion (Vattana). Vinnarn, Sanya and Vettana are the basic of your verbal or talking and behaviors (Vichaenchot & Vichaenchot; Puriwattano, 2005).
The above statements show that Berlo’s explanation of communication channels is very similar to Buddhist perspective of five aggregators. However, Berlo’s communication channels (i.e., seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, and touching) are basically in the physical level, while Buddhist perspective of five aggregators go beyond such level to the spiritual level--mind or soul. These show that Buddhist perspective perceive communication channels in a deeper level. As Buddhist perspective pays much attention to human communication, this article will be discussing mainly on intrapersonal communication and interpersonal communication.

**Buddhist Interpersonal Communication Principles**

1. **Principle of speaking**

   According to the five precepts mentioned earlier, the first precept is “not to lie,” which also include gossip, picking on other people’s name, saying bad thing etc. Buddhist interpersonal communication states that one who lies can do every sin. Lying can easily be seen through verbal and action. Through lying, one can make up false report and false evidence to mislead other people. The concept of lying can be identified as follows (Auttapat, 1980 : 162-163):

   1. Lying
   2. Swearing
   3. Making up story
   4. Pretending or overacting
   5. Misleading
   6. Exaggerating
   7. Saying half truth in order to undercover bad thing

   The aforesaid concept of lying has also been mentioned as unethical issues in many fields of communication, such as public relations, adverting and news reporting.

   1.1 Person should not talk too much.

   Buddhist interpersonal communication states that one should not talk too much as it might cause harm in five manners--lying, satire, rude word, nonsense
speaking and go to bad position in the future life. Instead, one should speak with wisdom to protect no harm (Mahamongkut University, 1996).

1.2 Person should talk less but do more.

One, who talks more, tends to forget to walk his/her own talk, while one, who talk less, has more time to concentrate on his/her own saying and acting. Consequently, such person will be able to reduce his/her own need and desire, create no misconception, reduce anger, develop right living, purify mind, attach to nothing, and be able to enlighten oneself (Mahamongkut university, 1996).

Buddhist interpersonal communication poses that most scholars/intellects deliver their speeches through their four good manners (Auttapat, 1980: 162-163):

1. Speaking truth
2. Speaking to create and maintain good wish and good relations.
3. Speaking from the bottom of one’s heart, and
4. Speaking good/proper words based on solid evidence

In addition, Buddhist interpersonal communication describes the way to deliver “the right speech,” the basic law for individual as follows:
(Dhamapittaka, 1995. p. 769)

1. No lying, only speaking the truth, and walking one’s talk
2. No satire, only speaking for harmony or love.
3. No improper words, only speaking proper ones.
4. No useless word, only speak useful one.

Buddhist principles of speaking can help maintain good relations, love, and common/ understanding which are the hearts of communication.

2. Principle of Listening

Buddhist interpersonal communication teaches people to “listen to all good things,” or dhammma. By listening to good things, one will be able to (Mahamongkut University, 1996):

1. Increase opportunity to learn new things.
2. Increase right understanding
3. Reduce suspense
4. Make right opinion.
5. Establish and Maintain happy mind

The principle of listening also covers the following matters:

(Dharmapitakka, 1995 p. 647)

1. Do not listen with underestimated felling.
2. **Do not listen with challenge mind.**
3. **Do not listen by watching bad thing or guilty.**
4. Do not think you understand every issue that has not been stated clearly.

Some Buddhist principles of listening have already been presented in Berlo’s theory, as it is said, the way to increase effectiveness in human communication is to have good attitude toward oneself, receiver and message, and to provide good knowledge via good communication process, to good receiver, culture and social system.

**Principle of listening and communication exposure.**

Buddhist principles of listening also teach about how to expose. People perceiving through seeing, hearing, smelling, touching and tasting can create unhappiness and suffering. In the same manner, people will have a chance to expose to good things like dhamma or morality that can turn into happiness. In other word, to be happy one should learn when to close his/her eyes, mouth and ears, to prevent him/herself from seeing, hearing, and speaking bad things--see no evil, hear no evil, and speak no evil. (www.en.wikipedia.org). By doing these, one will be able to communicate with original soul, and will eventually help increase one’s power of mind.

3. **Principle of believing.**

Buddhist principle of believing can be described as follows; (Attapat, 1980; Puriwattano, 2005)

1. Do not believe anything just because you listen to it for such a long time.
2. Do not believe anything through tradition.
3. Do not believe anything just because it is a rumor.
4. Do not believe anything just because it was written in canon.
5. Do not believe anything just because it is logical.
6. Do not believe anything just because it is inductive.
7. Do not believe anything just because you think it is reasonable.
8. Do not believe anything just because it is conform to your former opinion.
9. Do not believe anything just because it looks credible.
10. Do not believe anything just because the teacher said.

In other word, it means that one should think, analyze, and use judgment before believing anything. It is also taught that one should believe when consider that it is good, show no harm, offer benefit, and make us happy.

4. Principle of audience analysis

Buddhist principle uses dharma to analyze the audience. According to the Buddhist Doctrine, there are four kinds of audiences.

1. Person who is very intelligent and easily to be taught
2. Person who can understand dhamma from the very first start.
3. Person who can understand dhamma only if he listen it more often.
4. Person who never understand dhamma at all

These are Buddhist communication principles for individual and households. Next is the practice of Buddhist communication for those who want to purify mind and nirvana.

Meditation as a means to communicate

Theoretically, mediation is a means applied by monks, and those who want to enlighten themselves. Buddhist principle categorizes things into two levels: physical matters (Rub) and psychic matters (nam). People will reincarnate because of their own doing and their own deed in the previous life. Buddhist teaching believes that rebirth is suffering. The highest goal of Buddhist teaching is to nirvana or not reincarnate. The way to reach nirvana is to ignore or not to attach to your ego or yourself to do such will help to empty your desire. The Noble Eightfold is the way to the cessation of suffering, the fourth path of the four Noble Truths, which consists of the right viewpoint, the right value, the right speech, the right actions, the right livelihood, the right effort, the right
mindfulness and the right meditation. These principles can be summarized into three practices steps: (www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/buddhism)

1. Sila or morality or ethics. It refers to moral purity of thought, word, and deed. Sila refers to principle of ethical Behaviors. There are several levels of sila, which correspond to basic morality or five precepts, basic morality with asceticism (eight precepts), novice monkshood (ten precepts) and monkhood (vinaya or patmokkha). Lay people generally undertake to live by the five precepts which are common to all Buddhist schools. The five precepts are training rules in order to live a better life in which one is happy, without worries, and can meditate well.

2. Samadhi or meditation. Buddha taught two types of meditation, Samathi meditation and vipassana mediation. Samathi help one’s mind become purified of defilement, peaceful, calm, and shining. When the meditator achieves a strong and powerful concentration or Jhana, his mind is ready or penetrate and gain insight (vipassana) into the ultimate nature of reality, eventually obtaining release from all suffering, physical and psychic. The cultivation of mindfulness is essential to mental concentration, which is needed to achieve insight. Samadhi can do in natural way by think put – tu (Buddha) every breath. Put when inhale and tu when you exhale. Some schools may use word yub nho – pong nho.

After your mind go to Samadhi, mediators should step to Vipassana stage by consider your physical body. Meditator should Consider that human body compose of four materials, soil, water, wind, fire. It is not we or he. It will destroy and back to earth. Only mind or soul are everlasting, that collect goodness and Khumma from life to life.

3. Panya or wisdom is the wisdom that is able to extinguish afflictions and bring about bodhi. When person get enlightenment, he attain in nirvana, through its revelation of the true nature of all things. Nirvana will make human free from samsara and not born again.

People who practices Buddhist principles to achieve the nirvana goal can be classified into four levels according to potential in reduce desire and the close to nirvana, which are:

1. Sodabun, will born 7 or 5 times.
2. Sakitakamee, will born 3 times.
3. Anakamee, will born 1 times.
4. orrahuttapol, not born anymore.

In Thailand, Buddhism can prove orrahuttapol level from their bone after death. Their bone goes to crystal since the effect of meditation which have insight in their body.

All stage of meditation, are the method of communication which may called intrapersonal communication. Intrapersonal communication means language use or thought internal to communicator. The individual becomes his or her own sender and receiver, providing feedback to him or herself in an ongoing internal process. Intrapersonal communication can encompass: dreaming, writing, speaking, communication between body parts. (www.answers.com)

Meditations can classified to be interpersonal communication which is deeper than western knowledge. When practice meditation, someone see vision or nimit. Nimit is old record phenomenal of the meditator. Beside these, meditation help to increase awareness of inner potentialities, to fortify will power, increase self-confidence, provide mental calm and free mind from restlessness, agitation, fear, and worry. More over, meditation promotes mental health, positively influence physical health and help the mind to concentrate and become better organize. Meditation also promotes virtuous qualities like compassion, good will, confidence, wisdom, energy, perseverance, determination. Meditation helps to purity the mind of defilement such as greed, selfishness, hatred, jealousy and free from delusion that prevent proper insight into reality. Meditator practices can get power of mind or supernatural or psychic which called magic ears and magic eyes. These people can see and talk to god, ghost.

They can tell future phenomenon, previous phenomenon. (Chanchamnong, 2003). The effect of meditation also make someone can send message, talk and watch another person whom are far away by telepsychic or power of mind. Some guru can live for 1000 years and young forever. In Thailand, you can read and hear all these unbelievable happening. Someone may have experience by own self. But all effect of meditation are different from one
to one and can not prove show exactly. Buddha called these are Put Jut Tug or can known only by yourself. Some event you prove by your own. Although It is difficult to prove by quantitative research but it can do by qualitative research.

So if we concentrate on effect of meditation, we can classified meditation as the tool or mean of telecommunication by use telepsychic and spiritual communication. Buddha taught his follower not fascinate in these magic and prohibit to show these power because no one believes. Including, should not fascinate in happiness in samathli. Because it will be obstacle of nirvana. Follower should use psychic power to eliminate desire and yourself to reach the nirvana.

**Conclusion**

Buddhist Communication means the theory and practice of human communication of Buddha which are different from current principles of human communication. Buddhist communication teaching cover both interpersonal and intrapersonal which stress on how to communicate to make yourself and others to be happy and peaceful. Buddhist communication stress on finding original spirit and make it purify in order to accomplish nirvana. The important for normal person is that on the way to practice can make effect person to have spirit, physical power and happy mind.

So practicing as Buddhism meditation are very interesting to study, practice and prove as the new tool for communication of mankind. Since it can give the miracle power in communication like spiritual communication, telepsychic communication, intrapersonal communication. Beside these, it can convey happy mind, happy life, good health, good relations, peace, wisdom in mediator and expand to society. So the principles of Buddhism communication will be a significance tool of communication of mankind in the future. Buddhism are science religions that everyone can practice to prove truth by yourself. So try it and you will experienced, touch, feel all of information in this article.
References


Pitfalls in Understanding Some Feminist Issues in Africa

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Pitfalls in Understanding Some Feminist Issues in Africa

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It seems that Igbo women in a traditional society enjoyed economic autonomy to a substantial degree. They were able to purchase and then own the land, although they could not inherit it. They not only had a right to sell the product of their labor for money but also were able to acquire a title according to the reputation and wealth they earned. Flora Nwapa also supports this view in an interview with Marie Umeh. Igbo women also seemed to wield political influences collectively. The wonderful documents on the Igbo gender relationship corroborate Leopold Sedar Senghor’s and Ali Mazrui’s views that women have always been liberated in Africa. Have women indeed been liberated in Africa? The wide disparity between the testimonies and representations concerning African women’s rights puzzles both non-African scholars and laymen. This paper focuses on the issue of African women’s autonomy under the colonial and postcolonial periods. This paper brings to light diverse perspectives on and responses to these thorny issue by delving into related interviews and documents, including this author’s personal interview, and then moves on to pointing out what kind of pitfalls an outsider’s interpretation of these testimonies may fall into.

One of the first images that is most likely to occur to the literati outside Africa, when asked about their impressions of African women in a traditional Igbo society, will be one of Okoknko’s wives, the one who, as depicted by Chinua Achebe, gets beaten up by her mighty domestic ruler for trifles like killing a banana tree or failing to cook for him in good time. Yet, such ethnographical reports as Male Daughters, Female Husbands portray the situation in such a way that offsets the somewhat conventional conception of male and female relationship in a traditional Igbo society. Even some African-origin feminists and female writers join in obfuscating non-Africans’ general outlook on the status of women in a traditional African society. This paper focuses on the issue of African women’s autonomy under the colonial and
postcolonial periods. Among the vital and sensitive issues concerning African women’s autonomy are marriage, polygamy, inheritance, education, and female circumcision. This paper brings to light diverse perspectives on and responses to the thorny issues of polygamy and inheritance by delving into related interviews and documents, including this author’s personal interview, and then moves on to pointing out what kind of pitfalls an outsider’s interpretation of these testimonies may fall into.

It does not take a lot of strenuous efforts to find local testimonies in support of polygamy in Nigeria and Kenya. The old tradition has certainly revived in contemporary Nigeria and Kenya and, unlike in the old days, apparently involves women’s right of choice. Certainly there are good reasons for this new revival of the old custom that this paper intends to illuminate. To quote Flora Nwapa, the first African female writer, from Marie Umeh’s 1995 interview with her:

In my own language we say, “No matter how beautiful one is, if she doesn’t get married she’s nothing.” It’s left for us who have received a Western education to de-emphasize this tradition. However, you discover that a woman who has gone to college, who is working, who has a profession, who is a lawyer or a doctor, who doesn’t have a husband, then she will not mind being a second wife. In fact, polygamy is becoming very fashionable in Nigeria these days among Western-educated women. (27-28)
The reason for this revival of an old custom is provided by intellectuals like Chikwenye Ogunyemi and Wanjira Muthoni. According to Ogunyemi:

[Young Nigerian women] want to marry into polygynous households so that they do not get oppressed in marriage the way my generation was oppressed by men. Hence, they would marry somebody who was already married, and then they would live in their own house and have children. They want children, but they also want to be free in marriage. That is why they are rearranging marriage: if you do not like how marriage is evolving in the society, you start making your own arrangements. (Arndt 716)

It is not a new phenomenon belonging to a contemporary society that Igbo women secure freedom within the tradition by manipulating it shrewdly for their own benefit. According to certain testimonies, Igbo women did and still enjoy great political and economic privileges that have not been unthinkable in other African countries. Theodora Akachi Ezeigbo asserts, “Igbo women right from the pre-colonial days had always risen or fought to defend or enforce decisions taken in their social and political organizations, if need be. They were enabled to do this in the past through the powerful political machinery of the Association of Daughters and the Association of Wives which existed in each community.”(150). They were also able to purchase and then own the land, although they could not
inherit it. They not only had a right to sell the product of their labor for money but also were able to acquire a title according to the reputation and wealth they earned. As Ifi Amadiume observes in *Male Daughters, Female Husbands,*

The sexual inequality entailed in the patrilineal principle of inheritance with regard to access to economic resources for daughters was quickly offset by women at marriage. This was usually achieved through their economic resourcefulness, supported by Nnobi matrifocal principles in domestic organization and encouraged by the ideology of female industriousness…. Following the principle of the sexual division of labour and gender division of crops, women kept their own profit and what was considered theirs; nothing considered as female and nothing belonging to women was sold by men. But women marketed most of what was considered to be male and as belonging to men, and kept some of the profit. (37, 39)

Nwapa also supports this view when she in an interview with Marie Umeh claims that “In Ugwuta, women have certain rights that women elsewhere, in other parts of the country, do not have.”(20) Ezeigbo’s and Umeh’s statements seem to corroborate Leopold Sedar Senghor’s and Ali Mazrui’s views that women have always been liberated in Africa.

Despite this affirmation of polygamy as a trend in Nigeria and of female privileges in Egbo society, it
will be committing a gross overgeneralization to believe this view to be applicable to all Igbo women, not
to mention women in general in Nigeria or other African countries. Rural areas in Nigeria are a case in
point. Girls in these still poverty-stricken areas cannot afford a choice when it comes down to polygamy
as Dr. Harry Garuba asserts. They are forced to marry into polygamous households according to the
wish of their poor parents who set their eyes on the bride price the marriage will bring to them. The idea
of having a choice over the matters of monogamy and polygamy as a means of securing autonomy within
the patriarchal system is an inconceivable luxury for most poor females in the country where women
enter into prostitution in order to survive and girls are forced into child marriage. Even human
trafficking is still very common in Nigeria, as revealed in a 2003 UN commissioned report on the Edo
state. Although human trafficking is strictly prohibited in Nigeria, about 10,000 Nigerian prostitutes,
according to “Trafficking of Nigerian Girls to Italy,” are estimated to be operative in Italy alone, which is
mostly attributed to human trafficking. In this regard, the Western-educated Nigerian feminists who
seem to see a positive side to the ages-long tradition cannot speak for their poor female compatriots.

To Ezeigbo’s claim that attributes a great autonomy to Igbo women, pointing to the socio-political
power wielded by social and political organizations such as the Association of Daughters, one might
respond with the answer that the Association of Daughters, despite their prestige and respect, actually
functioned as the bodyguards to the patriarchal society. It is worth noting here that although these
patrilineage daughters certainly enjoyed a special collective power in the family matters, the power was
usually employed in castigating and controlling the members of the same sex, the women married to their brothers. Let me quote from Amadume again: “It was their[the patrilineage daughters’] duty to ensure that their father’s household was strong and at peace.” (59) The reality of women’s status in a traditional Igbo society is testified to by someone like Buchi Emecheta, the diasporic female writer from Nigeria. She would probably affirm from her own experiences the truth of Achebe’s portrayal of Igbo women, although she feels that Igbo women could have been rendered more colorful by Achebe. As Umeh in her introduction to Emerging Perspectives on Buchi Emecheta recounts (xxv), Emecheta, from an early age on, was frustrated by such regressive cultural norms as prioritizing boys, rigid sex roles, and the custom of bride price. In a sense, Emecheta grew up fighting against the male-centered institution of Nigeria. For instance, when her parents did not allow her school education, her persistent visits to her brother’s school made them change their mind; she even appropriated some of her family’s food money in order to pay for a high school entrance exam. Furthermore, when her family opposed her marriage with Sylvester Onwordy, the man of her choice, because of his inability to pay the bride price, Emecheta eloped with and married him without the blessing of her family. Yet, Emecheta’s fight against patriarchal culture did not end with her marriage and emigration to England with Onwordy. Her husband’s lack of understanding towards her passion for writing put a constant strain on their relationship. After he burned up the manuscript of her first novel, the couple separated.

Although it may be true that Igbo women during the pre-colonial days enjoyed a certain amount of
freedom, it is also true that it was always within the limits set by the tradition. Practices like “female husband” may seem to trespass on or violate the tradition by allowing an heirless elder widow to marry another woman. The woman proper is supposed to procure a son for the female husband from an extramarital relationship, and the son belongs to the elder woman, not to the biological mother or father. The elder woman is also free to choose a man she would prefer her wife to have sexual relations with. This cheating of the traditional heterosexual relationship may be seen as benefiting the widow in the sense that she can prevent the property left by her deceased husband from being claimed by her male in-laws. Yet, viewed in a larger social context, this practice ultimately serves the patriarchal society that wants to see property inherited by male heirs alone. A tentative conclusion to this analysis will be delivered during the presentation.
Works Cited


IMPLEMENTATION OF CONCEPTS AND TECHNOLOGIES AIMING AT SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Prof.ir. L.C. Röling ¹, dr.ir. A. van Timmeren ¹,²

Abstract

For sustainable concepts with respect to the built environment, urban planning and development, we can discern two future paths: the ones that comply with the principles of ‘the scale economy’ and concepts that follow ‘the economies of scale’. The role of sustainable technologies in this case mostly is presumed to be of major importance. The presented research distinguishes three models for the development and supposedly successful application of technologies: the ‘quasi-evolutionary model’, the ‘collective problem definition’ and the ‘network theory’.

The present use and development of sustainable technologies can be described as processes in accordance with the quasi-evolutionary model in combination with the network theory. The historical development and the scaling-up of technologies based on prevailing paradigms determine its quasi-evolutionary nature. A characteristic is the small but strong networks with one or two dominant ‘actors’ for each of the different circuits or ‘flows’ (energy, waste, and water-related flows).

In the end, the necessary threshold to a sustainable society is being hindered by these separated circuits: new sustainable technologies are continually being developed in all sectors, but the assimilation by society often falters, for there is a matter of the so called Collingridge dilemma.

To resolve this it is necessary to reflect fundamentally the societal conditions of the needed approach to implement sustainable technology and concepts. Three options exist, referred to as technological-, economical- and social-constructivist determinism. The first two perspectives can be named unshakeable, as far as the sustainable technologies and infrastructure concerning the energy, waste and water flows are concerned. Therefore, the solutions towards real sustainable- and in the end possibly autarkic concepts should be found within social-constructivist adaptations. If one handles the ‘dynamic interpretation’ of the Brundtland definition of sustainability this means that the process side should be emphasised in stead of the formulation and handling of rigid (static) limits.

In this paper the need to focus on liveability is argued as a precondition for sustainability. So users, besides of other “relevant” parties (stakeholders), will be involved into the planning processes as early as possible. This should preferably be realized through a pluricentric method of interaction based on a transdisciplinarity, with emphasis on integrating social learning processes, or ‘place making’.

Keywords: Sustainable Technologies & Concepts, Participation strategies.

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1. Introduction

There is a need to compare sustainable concepts and accompanying structures as alternatives for conventional sanitation and energy generation with respect to a greater number of aspects than the ones being indicated by the existing paradigms and dominant actors in urban planning and development. This is the background for the present research. The basis is formed by urban planning that is based on ‘interconnection’ to achieve far-reaching sustainability (autarky/self-sufficiency), as well as the introduction of participation strategies involving all stakeholders in urban development, with special emphasis on user participation and the role of administrative and technical decentralization.

The research [Timmeren, 2006] was commissioned by the Delft University of Technology (TUD) as part of the Climate Design group (CD), within the DISC research programme (Design Integration of Sustainability & Comfort).

2. The challenge: from ‘re-design’ towards fundamental ‘re-thinking’

If we want to give the third world as much prosperity as ourselves, alike the points of departure of the Brundtland committee or the 'equity principle' [WCED, 1987], this will, according to the Ehrlich, Speth and Comoner formulae [Ehrlich & Ehrlich, 1990] imply the need for the changing society to reduce the use of 'environmental space' of its consumption goods to 5% of the actual. It is inevitable to consider a discontinuity in trends when striving for sustainability. This implies radical technological innovations, and a change in lifestyle, culture and organisation and production structures [Bras-Klapwijk and Knot, 2000] mentions three knowledge systems that play a part in this matter: a system of scientific explanations, a system of socio-scientific explanations and a system of personal values. These are summarized by Jansen and Van Heel [1999; Vergragt, 1999] as “technology”, “culture” (behaviour and needs) and “structure” (institutions, economics, etc.). Ehrlich and Speth’s formula is one of two interpretation directions of the much supported description of Sustainable Development by the Brundtland Commission. The central characteristic of this first interpretation is its starting from a limitation: the ecological system limits our actions. This interpretation is called “the ecological position” [Korthals, 1994]. It claims that “nature is well-organized and self-organizing, that the science of ecology gives us directions what this self-organization of nature looks like, and that society should organize itself according to the directions”. The shortcoming of this approach is that the pursuit of sustainability is made absolute, while the amount of environment to be used is taken as the basis for the policy. However, as long as ethical matters are not at stake, e.g. issues of life and death, the extent to which a standard or aim can be fulfilled depends on the extent to which it is at the expense of other standards and aims, and cannot be made absolute into concluding whether or not the intervention is sustainable. Moreover, the implications of sustainability for actions are not always evident, since it is not clear how the various criteria are related.
The second group of interpretations of the Brundtland Commission’s definition of Sustainable Development puts more emphasis on the word “development”. Claimed in this interpretation is that a search direction is of importance, rather than environmental limitations that are apparent and not to be exceeded. Sustainable development is considered a dynamic process, an unlimited perspective, rather than a delimited amount to be used. It is known as “the process or interactional approach”\(^1\). This approach does not take the maximization of the environmental interests as its starting point, but the optimization of these interests in relation to other interests. There is a prescription problem: “no standard is mentioned. It recognizes the various interpretations and aims of the parties involved, and recommendations can therefore only be made if any of all the possible definitions of reality is chosen” [Ruis, 1996].

The interactive approach is based on network theories and originates from the recognition of the many uncertainties that belong to the pursuit of sustainable development.

The two approaches of the factor 20 process in the Brundtland Commission’s objective described above agree with the so-called “weak” and “strong” sustainability. The difference focuses on the question to what extent sustainable development based on scientific grounds can be established and put into operation. The “strong” interpretation claims that this is possible, whereas the “weak” interpretation finds that there are too many technical and scientific uncertainties for this.

There is a so called 'prescript-problem': no norms are being indicated. It admits the different interpretations and goals of the involved actors and recommendations therefore can only be accomplished in case of a rather arbitrary "actuality-definition". An additional problem is that environmental and economic interests differ fundamentally. The environmental problems are often diffuse. The problems are spread over a larger area or shifted on to the future. Contrary to this, economic interests are more concentrated. An example can be seen with the (public) utilities, such as the energy supply, that are supposed to be a “public (necessary) good”. As a result of privatization and quotes on the stock exchange, the profits are for specific parties involved, that run only limited (investment) risks where the project costs are concerned. The specifically sectoral interest can differ strongly from the general economic interest. The biased representation of interests can have a restraining effect on innovation. New ideas not fitting in with the current interests will not easily be taken seriously. There is some improvement in this process, also because of the privatization that has started in some of the sectors and therefore the need for ‘redesign’, inspired by market demands (competition): the adjustment of their interests and plans into a direction more environmental-friendly (So-called “socially sound entrepreneurship”). The phase of “rethinking”, which would actually be necessary (taking care of further integration of future economic and environmentological interests in the present), is still too far away from these parties. As yet, this seems a task for the government and science.

3. Towards real-sustainable technologies

The booming technology necessitates worldwide changes in structures that can direct (sustainable) spatial development. Ehrlich and Speth’s metaphorical formula based on
work by Bary Commoner [Ehrlich & Ehrlich, 1990] makes this clear. Both the factor of time and the factor of economy are of great importance: the former presses, the latter forces. Some older economists, including Pen and Goudzwaard (Jan Pen and Alex Goudzwaard, together with Arnold Heertje, are prominent Dutch economists who involved the importance of the environment into their analyses early on), put clearly into words that time, economy and ecology are closely related and sometimes are in each other's way. They say, “If you want to pursue a good environment policy, you must have a view on the kind of economy you wish.” However, straight opposite to this view, is the opinion of others who say that economic growth is a prerequisite for ecological action.

Most authors make a distinction between two types of environmental technologies, the 'cleaning' or 'end-of-pipe' technologies and the 'process-integrated technologies'. The cleaning technologies primarily aim to reduce the environmental pollution. End-of-pipe-systems in this case are being defined as at the closing of production chains applied solutions that aim to clean the caused waste flows before they are being dumped. The most important disadvantage of end-of-pipe solutions is the fact that these technologies can be characterised as 'following' while they can no longer be used to influence developments. In the process-integrated technologies the environment-saving measures become part of the production- and realisation process. The process integrated technologies aim to convert raw materials into useful, durable goods. The environmental demands in this case are only pre-demands, comparable with other demands like costs, quality or efficiency. But the question of how the sustainability can be achieved remains unanswered: can or should this be accomplished by being more sensible and, consequently, more economical – “the economy of ‘enough’” – or can the environmental problems (only) be solved by becoming better and better in a technological sense [Röling, 1996]? In the development of (modern) architecture, the expression of technological progress has always played an important role. Examples are early modernists including Le Corbusier and Walter Gropius, who looked on technology as a “transforming force for change”. Nowadays, when looking for a more holistic approach of design, people are more aware of the fact that the built-up environment is part of a much larger and much more complex whole. The influence of social, political and economic forces is becoming stronger and stronger.

There is also the awareness that it is too simple to look for all answers in technology. Progress started by technology can only function well when applied in a socially profitable way. The philosopher Michel Foucault once said, “Technology must be social before it is technical.” In this respect, Peter Rice mentioned, “Technology is the answer, but what was the question?” [Buchanan, 1992]. David Puttnam adds the importance of the creative notion: an innovative mutual tuning, integral design, so that the whole is more than the sum of its parts, “It is unarguably true that there are only two primary sources of wealth available to us: what we get from the earth itself and what we get from our own creative imaginations. Unless we start relying less on the former and much more on the latter, it is inconceivable that we can sustain the growing population of the world with anything approaching decent, civilised and broadly comparable standards of living.” [Rogers, 1997]. Richard Rogers continues to say that we should place the role of technology within this context.
One can distinguish three major models for the development and application of these former discerned types of environmental technologies: the ‘quasi-evolutionary model’, the ‘collective problem definition’ and the ‘network theory’ [Vergragt, 1992]. The first model can be seen as a process of 'modification (variation) and selection' [Nelson and Winter, 1977; Dosi, 1982].

Most of the sustainable technologies still belong to the so called 'new technologies'. The main reason for the development and application of new technologies is the lack of progress in the development of the existing paradigms, which mostly imply incremental improvement. The technology itself, the existing (infra)structure and the lack of knowledge and information can be obstacles for a successful implementation. As for the economical factors the high costs and 'seated' (less innovative) competitive technologies can hinder, while out of social-cultural and political side existing standards and use concerning comfort, hygiene, convenience, besides of the resistance from within the existing networks and governmental policies, can become obstacles. The process of 'modification (variation) and selection' and the use of (far-reaching) technologies will be inspired by the 'technological paradigm', which contains basic ideas consisting of insights, heuristics and a certain amount of already developed technology. Most of the time one dominant design exists. This dominant design can be seen as 'exemplary technology' for the discipline and therefore mostly will function as a starting point for further developments and (incremental) improvements. The normal developments of 'variation' will be influenced highly by the existing paradigms and the accompanying paths. This (first) model is called the 'quasi-evolutionary model', due to the fact that the separation between variation and selection in this case is not definite.

The second model, the ‘collective problem definition’, assumes a technology development within a 'problem-controlled process' [Callon, 1980]. Technology- and science developers in this case are confronted with scientific, technical and social problems that ask for (immediate) solutions. In this case, the development, implementation and improvements will be accomplished when the involved 'actors', or 'stakeholders', come to an agreement about the actual (definition of the) problem. The third interpretation for the development and application of environmental technologies came up as result of this second model. The essence of this so-called 'network theory' is the supposed starting-point of the development of technology in a network of mutual relations between intervening stakeholders. The development of technology comes together with the construction of a technological system, in which a reverse salient in the system is determinative for its development [Hughes, 1983].

The existing practice can be described in terms of the creation of one or two 'dominant actors' and strong, rigid actor-networks that become the supporters of the paradigm following technologies with only incremental improvements [Callon, 1980]. The present development of use of sustainable technologies in the built environment, including the infrastructure can be described as processes in accordance with the quasi-evolutionary model in combination with the network theory. The historical development and the scaling-up of technologies based on prevailing paradigms determine its quasi-evolutionary nature. There is a matter of a small but strong network with one or two dominant 'actors' for each of the different circuits or 'flows' (water, energy, and waste). In case of the (waste)water flows there is a matter of dominant actors that in general adopt a non-flexible attitude towards new technologies.
To some extent this is also in force for the waste- and energy flow. Although this at first was changing due to the liberalization of the energy- and waste market. However, in the course of time due to takeovers and combinations again (new) dominant actors are originating. The main difference is that these new dominant actors are semi- or even totally independent of the authorities, with additional disadvantages. The historical development and the scaling-up of the solutions for the generation and treatment of the energy-, (waste)water- and waste(material) flows take place according to the quasi evolutionary model with some shifts inspired by social problems (like the first and second energy crisis). The appealing of this quasi-evolutionary character of the development of technology is its relative simplicity, which could mean a simple extraction of policy recommendations. The recent genesis of dominant actors who are no longer (directly) related to the (controlling) government(s), together with the globalisation, could complicate this simplicity of change.

4. The need for transdisciplinarity and decentralization

Within the environmental research tradition the care for water- and energy saving through reduction of demand, efficiency improvements and use of renewable sources always has been obvious. The field of (inter)national energy policies still can be characterised by a certain institutional fragmentation, that results in contrasts between different sectors of the energy-supply, the energy supply side (orienting for expansion of capacities) versus the demand side (orienting for energy management and - reduction). Most research projects concerning the environmental related flows don't attempt to extract themselves from their sectarian policy field.

The last few decades, in a large part of the publications on environmental issues, a rising awareness can be noticed that the (environmental) credo of “Think global, act local” should be the basis for any possible solutions. But this is exactly the problem in the consciousness-raising of present-day society: for many people, it is difficult to acquire insight into the relationship between their own behaviour and global environmental effects for the short term as well as the long term. Wilson [2002] claims that the awareness of “the earth’s health” has increased strongly, but the pace with which habitat is destroyed has not decreased significantly. “If the destruction of the habitat (such as rain forest, oceans, freshwater basins and rivers) continues, the breeding ground for natural reserves on which mankind depends will be lost. Or, in other words, the natural economy on which the market economy depends is getting weaker and weaker.” [Wilson, 2002; Vitousek et al., 1997].

Key solution might be the visualisation of the effects of personal acting. A lot of times this is translated into the need for solutions nearer to the users, like in the eighties Schumacher [1973] did. But this doesn't inevitably mean that the solutions should be decentralized, or implemented at the smallest scale. Obviously (environmental) innovations that are technically considered as successful can't necessarily count on extensive and fast social application [Brezet, 1994]. This applies even more to most of the specific, vulnerable and to natural processes related solutions. Therefore most of the times the smallest scale of implementation is chosen for these new (natural) technologies. This is not only the strength, but also the weakness of these concepts.
The existing ‘centralization paradigm’ is taken as a starting-point for the (mostly economical) comparison of these kind of alternatives [Collingridge, 1980]. New (decentral) technologies are being developed constantly in all fields, but the assimilation by society often is faltering. Besides the former stated ruling 'centralization paradigm' and 'dominant actors' another cause lies in the 'separate circuits' within the developing technology. The solution could be found in a broadening of the development-networks around technology, in a transdisciplinary approach. Another possibility might be the improvement of social involvement through communication, documentation and successful case studies / examples. However, this isn't as simple as stated. If a technology is still young, the social implications are barely known and if the social implications are known, the technology is indebted in such a way that it is impossible to adapt it to the desires of the different actors. This is called the Collingridge-dilemma [Collingridge, 1980]. To resolve this dilemma it is necessary to reflect fundamentally the societal conditions of the needed approach to implement this sustainable or even autarkic, self-sufficiency aiming technology.

The three main movements concerning the question if this is possible can be summarised as technological-, economical- and social-constructivist determinism. The first group of authors think that (sustainable) technologies develop autonomously out of themselves, and therefore can’t be influenced by society. The second group state that technological innovations can only be successful if they are profitable, while the third group state that there needs to be harmony between all actors about the course of the development of (sustainable) technology. The first two perspectives can be named unshakeable, as far as the sustainable technologies and technical infrastructure concerning the energy- and (waste)water flows are concerned. Therefore the solutions towards real sustainable- and in the end autarkic concepts should be found within social-constructivist adaptations. Sustainable development can not be enforced from above but should be realised via a bottom-up process. If one handles the dynamic interpretation of the Brundtland definition of ‘sustainability’ this means that the process side should be emphasised in stead of the formulation and handling of rigid (static) limits. Main focus should be the consciousness and involvement of people, which can be achieved through the visualisation of the relation city-nature in the design, putting the human habitat in the basis conditions and creating space for self-activation. This strategy reverts to the theme liveability as being a precondition for sustainability [Dorst, 1999] and puts emphasis at the organisation of the process in time. This means that the creation of space for initiatives and change after realisation are equal or even more important than (only) participation during the process of planning.

5. Conclusion

In the democratic triangle in the built environment formed by the three main groups of parties involved, viz. government, market and citizens, the relation between the first and the third is changing at the moment, because of the withdrawing government and the accompanying liberalization processes. The former relationship between State and citizen, to be characterized as linear (a modern society, fragmented with respect to
power), has been transformed into alternating networks of collaborative structures. The result is a changed margin for the co-ordination and participation processes of spatial areas. This leads to a larger interest to involve users and other “relevant” parties into the planning processes as early as possible, or, in other words, to aim for more commitment.

A sound method of decision-making following should imply ‘co-production’: recognizing the existence of mutual dependence between the various parties and interests. This can possibly be made more effective by putting in new (possibly interactive) information technologies. In such a complex interaction and integration process, it is crucial to appoint a so-called “leading actor”. An interesting option is to appoint the designer for this purpose, preferedly in close collaboration with a concept manager and/or process manager. Within this approach of integrating social learning processes, or ‘place making’ it is important how to deal with the various parties concerned and their interaction and learning processes.

A pluricentric method of interaction based on a transdisciplinarity, combined with a concept of “open design” offers perspectives, and is particularly suitable because of the current “specialists’ society” and the many parallel dynamic processes playing a part: it is an interactive learning process, in which participants may only develop and tune (adjust) their goals during the process. The emphasis is on directing the transformation process and developing alternatives while the process itself is going on.

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Title: Changing the balance of power: Minimizing the hierarchy among teachers, directors and consultants.

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Changing the balance of power: Minimizing the hierarchy among teachers, directors and consultants.

Power is present in every relationship and according to Foucault (1983) an inescapable facet of life. Organizations comprised of individuals that assume various degrees of responsibility for the leadership of the group become hierarchical. While such power differentials may seem only natural, it is possible to minimize the relative degree to which these structures exist and create an environment where everyone has a voice. The purpose of this paper is to illustrate change over time in the degree of power differences within an organization. A process oriented (Schein, 1999) consulting approach was utilized in an educational setting whereby consultants worked with the leadership team (directors) and teachers in a collaborative relationship with the group. Team meetings and individual interviews were reviewed for change in language reflective of power and qualitative examples are provided. Structural analysis involved the examination of how long each team member spoke and turn taking (the distance between more and less powerful individuals when speaking) and was reviewed for change across time (i.e. do less powerful members speak longer, does the distance between more and less powerful individuals change?). Findings will be discussed within the framework of community models of change.
Ready or Not—Online Education Is Here

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Ready or Not—Online Education Is Here

The world is changing too quickly and there is too much information for our old methods of instruction to work any longer. We need to embrace online education for our personal and collective well-being.

--Greg Kearsley

Introduction

Oblinger (2000) pointed out that Education has begun to be viewed as a market. Between pre-school, K-12, higher education, and adult learning, the education market brings in over 665 billion dollars annually here in the United States of America. Higher education alone accounts for 225 billion dollars per year. This increase in spending on higher education is viewed as a substantial market. The strength of this market and the room for growth attracts many investors who are eagerly investing money into online educational opportunities. The expected pay-offs for online education are enormous and far exceed the other huge Internet industries, such as music downloads, Compact Discs (CDs), and flowers.

Within our capitalistic system, providing online educational services promises to be a highly competitive market well into the future. Online education should not be viewed as a way to turn current face-to-face students into online students, but rather as another way to “offer important new options and opportunities for women and men interested in higher education, courses, or degrees” (Kramarae: 4), who are not able to—for whatever reasons—attend face-to-face classes. While the investor’s goal is to make money, the core idea is to increase educational opportunities for potential students who otherwise would not be able to attain higher education.

Besides the lucrative moneymaking opportunity, technology has also been the driving force behind a drastic paradigm shift in the area of higher education. There has been a significant change in how education is delivered to students; students no longer
have to choose between freedom of scheduling and live interaction with the instructor and other students. Consequently, Allen (2006) argues there are currently over two million students taking online classes from educational institutions within the United States, and this number is rising steadily over the past few years by almost twenty percent.

Allen (2003) argues that public institutions still overwhelmingly lead the way by having online student numbers outnumber the private institutions by well over three-quarters. Scarafiotti and Cleveland-Innes (2006) claim that online education has entered the mainstream, and that the long-term growth strategy of most schools encompasses online course offerings. In order for many public educational institutions to meet their recruitment goals, they must provide innovative online delivery of instruction and a multitude of online student services. In fact, Allen (2003) from The Sloan Consortium points out that ninety-seven percent of all public higher education institutions already “offer at least one fully online or blended course.” (Allen: 2). She also states that forty-nine percent of all public institutions offer complete online degree programs. The long term strategies of most public educational institutions include the further development of online programs, because it will enable learning institutions to expand access to more potential students, despite projected constraints on capacity.

Judy Nix (2005) argues that, “Learning is not the medium. It is about the outcome” (Nix: 114). She argues that a blended learning approach improves the student-learning outcome. “Blended learning is the combination of two or more delivery modes to meet a specific set of learning objectives. So in some respects, blended learning has been with us since the beginning of time” (Nix: 109). In essence, matching the learner’s
needs can attain this goal. An online course has the ability to facilitate the learner’s specific needs by offering the ability to learn at his or her own pace, at anytime, anywhere, and anyplace; hence, the optimal learning outcome can be achieved.

While there are many aspects to online education, such as technological advances, financial opportunities for investors, meeting recruitment goals for public schools, and so forth, this paper addresses the overarching question posed by institution administrators, instructors, and students of what it take to be a successful online student. In other words, I am attempting to answer how a strictly online learning environment affects the student-learning outcome when compared to conventional face-to-face classes. In order to address these valid concerns, I will begin by providing a short history of how online education has developed, and then provide an extensive review of the current literature, followed by a conclusion that includes some suggestions based on the literature review.

**The Development of Online Education**

Online learning programs are an offspring of distance education, which is “defined as learning experiences in which students and instructors are separated by space and/or time” (Cavenaugh, Gillian, Kromrey, Hess, and Blomeyere: 5). In the early 1930s, according to Cavenaugh et al. (2004), distance education via the use of radio was brought into schools in order to bring courses to student and to help teachers learn the progressive Deweyan methods of teaching. Later, television, audio and video-conferencing, the Internet, and other technologies were being adapted in order to meet the needs of diverse learners.
Nasseh (1997) argues, that because of the political and social changes in women’s position within the family and society women’s participation in distance learning increased immensely in the United States during the 1980s and 1990s. Other contributing factors were technological advances in the workplace, and the necessity of women’s contribution in the job market. Sixty-seven percent of all participants in distance education during that time were women.

Televised distance programs are still available to students in many areas of the world. Students can watch classes broadcasted live on local cable station on their televisions. In most cases student will have a direct hot-line number into the classroom and can pose a comment or question to the instructor for the entire class to hear. The exams can be proctored and the assignments must later be sent in via mail, or e-mail. A great advantage is that the student can videotape the lecture for later. Some colleges will even tape each lecture and provide them to the student to watch in a designated area on campus. With this method, the students get freedom of scheduling and some live interaction.

According to Keegan (2005), CSU Chico, a provider of distance education over the last thirty years, provided satellite service throughout the 1990s. For example, this service was also available at College of the Redwoods, Del Norte campus in California. Students used to be able take classes taught at the California State University Chico (CSU Chico) by sitting in a small room and watching a television hooked up to a satellite. These classes were synchronous and the student could pick up a telephone provided in the room and pose questions to the instructor and the class. The students would do their assignments after the lecture and either e-mail, or mail them in via United States Postal
Service (USPS), them to the professors at CSU Chico. These satellite courses were offered during CSU Chico’s class time and the students had to be present in order to view and participate in the class. Using this kind of delivery, the students were able to interact live with the instructor and the other students, but did not have scheduling freedom.

Pollock (2002) explains that the field of distance education was already mature when the Internet became public. Correspondence, audio-only, and audio-visual sub-fields of distance education had developed due to technological advances, but were constrained by the limits of those very media. The limits no longer existed with the introduction of the Internet, which resulted in a drastic restructuring of the distance education field. Now, via the Internet, distance education bridged the gap and courses could be offered on either a synchronous and/or asynchronous basis.

Keegan (2005) points out that in 1998, CSU Chico started investing funds into exploring ways it could offer its satellite-based classes over the Internet. By 2001, CSU Chico’s delivery format was upgraded to a combination of live and on-demand web-based systems, with the technological combination of WebCT and Horizon Wimba. WebCT is the online management software that provides instructors and students with the ability to create, manage, organize and house a web-based learning environment. Horizon Wimba is a voice tool that allows for courses to be enhanced with synchronous and asynchronous voice recordings. It also provides live audio discussions between students and between students and teachers. The biggest advantage of WebCT and Horizon Wimba is that faculty and students have around the clock access. “The combination of these two technological systems resulted in the marriage of the best live and self-study tools rolled into one web-based solution” (Keegan: 129). With the help of this
technology, instructors were able to help establish a sense of community between themselves, the students in the classroom, and the distant students. The added benefit of Horizon Wimba is that it retains many of the same elements of a face-to-face classroom, by offering a live video streaming component for the students.

Basically, the students could log into a live, face-to-face classroom through the CSU Chico website and observe and interact with the class on a live basis because of the streaming video. One advantage of this method is that the students can type their input and questions into a live scroll, which is monitored by a technical teaching assistant. If necessary, students had the choice to log on later (asynchronous) at their own convenience and watch the class. Of course, by offering this kind of format, the students can log on later. They can also watch a lecture as often as they like, and wherever they like. This can all be done at from the comfort of their own homes in their PJ’s if they so wish. The students can pause, rewind, fast-forward, stop, or whatever they wish to do with ease.

As Desmond Keegan (2005) points out, CSU Chico has successfully delivered over 200 live courses since 2001 with the participation of over 100 instructors and over 1000 students. CSU Chico currently offers two Masters of Science and four Bachelors degrees, in addition to two minors and two certificates.

Online education has come from being interaction between computer and student to advanced interaction between student and instructor--mediated by computer technology. This kind of technology offers the students the best of both worlds— asynchronous and/or synchronous learning. Now a student receives real-time interaction with the other students and the instructor and the freedom of scheduling.
Clearly, distance education is nothing new and online education is a natural progression of the distance paradigm. Despite this natural progression, many professors still feel uncertain and uneasy about online education. Instructors are worried about issues such as the quality of the education, and the student learning-outcome. According to The Sloan Consortium (a consortium of institutions and organizations committed to quality online education), “faculty is perceived as lagging in acceptance of online education” (Allen 2006: 14).

According to Schrum and Hong (2002), the advancement of any educational situation is a multifaceted task. Moreover, when it comes to changing teaching methods, faculty members have had an especially difficult time adjusting to the online milieu. Teaching online classes requires more than just getting familiar with technology. Online education flattens the traditional hierarchy and redistributes power and control. The new technology challenges instructors to design activities and interactions in new ways, while they are urged to move toward offering a deeper learning experience.

Educators are seeking empirical research to address the specific issues of quality in online education and student learning outcome. The value of new research includes new ideas about what works and what does not, and the sum effect is that online education gains legitimacy. Fortunately, there is plenty of current literature that addresses these concerns, because many academics are trying to understand “this new portion of the educational landscape” (Dutton: 18).
Review of the Literature Addressing Learning Outcomes

In the recent years, a body of literature has begun to emerge addressing the nature of online learning. Garrison, Cleveland-Innes, and Fung (2004) bring up a very interesting point by examining the adjustment in student roles online education presents. In order for a student to be a functioning member of an online learning environment, an online learner role is both independent and interdependent. Participants of online education “…must move from a relatively passive classroom experience into a more active online community of inquiry” (Garrison et al.: 63). The student needs to privately reflect and process the course material, as well as interact with the instructor and the other students. More responsibility is placed on the student for more of the learning process—autonomy is essential. This represents higher standards that more closely match those of “real” life outside the classroom. “Educationally, this is a considerable advantage as students must become more self-directed and learn to learn” (Garrison, Cleveland-Innes, Fung: 64). French, Hale, Johnson, and Farr (1999) point out as well that self-directed learning is a strong asset business companies look for when hiring. Students will acquire this particular skill when taking classes online.

“A primary characteristic that sets successful distance learning apart from classroom-based counterparts is their autonomy” (Cavenough et al.: 6). Interestingly, Cavenough et al. (2004) argue that distance education needs to be integrated into the K-12 curriculum delivery format in order for younger students to learn the valuable skill of autonomous learning. Autonomous learning is an important skill for children to acquire in order to be successful independent learners later on. Cavenough et al. (2004) report that out of the two thousand charter schools nationwide, over one hundred of them are
now virtual. Cavenough et al.’s (2004) synthesis included data from ten virtual charter schools. All ten of these virtual charter schools performed at the same levels as the non-virtual, non-charter public schools in their states. Cavenough et al. (2004) point out that according to the National Assessment of Education Progress, traditional charter schools overall under-perform when compared to non-charter public schools. Based on their meta-analysis study Cavenough et al.’s (2004) conclude that,

“…When compared to traditional instruction, …no factors were found to be related to significant positive or negative effects. Students can experience the similar academic success….a student’s education online can be as effective as it is in the classroom…” (Cavenough et al.: 21).

With the autonomous learning skill, Cavenough et al. (2004) argue, online education could be as effective as face-to-face education. They based this conclusion on their extensive literature review, and a synthesis of fourteen empirical studies published in reputable journals since 1999.

According to Garrison et al. (2004) and Cavenough et al. (2004), online learning requires for the students to have certain skills in order to succeed in an online environment. Both of these studies emphasize also that autonomous learning is essential. The best way to master this skill is by letting it become “second nature” as early in life as possible. In many western nations, children born in the 1980s, and later on, are raised with interactive video and computer games. Through playing these games, children learn how to operate computers before they even enter kindergarten. The few that have not been exposed to computers by the time they enter school will have plenty of time to catch up once they start school. By the time children reach their teens, electronic interactivity is second nature to them. Field (2003) predicts that the interactive nature of online
education will be a perfect fit for young minds that have been raised in a world of interactive games and multimedia simulations.

Meyer (2003) comments in her review article, “A Review of Recent Research Reveals Three Areas That Can Enlighten Current Online Learning Practices,” that the interesting development along generational lines is that students arriving at colleges now, have greater abilities in online learning and the expectation to learn that way.

Moving away from education from K-12 and examining higher education specifically, Eva Schwencke (2005:33-47) claims that the learning result is in direct correlation to active student participation. In order for students to achieve the highest possible student-learning outcome, emphasis must be given to pedagogical principles that address this. One very important aspect of this is the student’s active involvement in the learning process. “…[B]y design, the success of many online courses is dependent upon the nature of student to student and student to faculty interaction” (Picciano:33).

Schwencke (2005) points out that getting students to actively participate is always a challenge, whether the classroom setting is face-to-face or virtual. She argues that in order for students to learn the material, they must both listen, and actively participate. Schwencke outlines the distinction between two general theories of education, namely the behaviorist (active/passive) and the constructivist (active/active) approaches.

According to Schwencke (2005), the behaviorist approach focuses on learning being based on the teacher’s presentation and the student having to do the memorizing. Performed tasks are based on comprehensive instructions and repetition. The students are frequently required to take short tests encompassing the material and in return receive
prompt positive feedback. This method yields short-term confirmable results for the students because it focuses on the learning result at any given time. The method is based on an active/passive process between the teacher and the student.

The constructivist approach, on the other hand, requires active and meaningful participation from the students. The lecture component delivered by the teacher is an important part for the student’s knowledge formation. The students are given ample opportunity to discuss questions with other students and apply their reasoning to find answers and reflect on the subject matter. The role of the instructor is to facilitate and guide such discussions so that the students are partaking in a meaningful way in the teaching situation themselves. This kind of approach challenges the traditional roles of instructor and student and promotes an active/active process between the teacher and the student.

Schwencke’s (2005) main point is that, just as with conventional classes, online classes can be approached in different ways that make the learning experience for the student either passive (lacking in interaction and collaboration) or active (collaborative, informative, and offering a high level of interaction). It is up to the instructor to create a stimulating active learning environment regardless of the delivery format used. Schwencke argues that there must be an emphasis on interactivity, which can be achieved by offering breakout rooms, video, text chat, application sharing, and web exploration assignments to the students. Schwenke (2005) stresses that the emphasis of any learning environment—virtual or face-to-face—must be based on pedagogical principles that enhance the student-learning outcome by actively involving them in the learning process.
Two political science professors, Carol S. Botsch and Robert E. Botsch (2001), conducted a study comparing face-to-face classes to online classes for the same American Government class over a two-year period. The two instructors found that the mode of instruction made little difference in the students’ learning outcome. There were no significant differences between the two delivery formats on retention or student grades with the exception of the factual knowledge gain in lower Grade Point Average (GPA) students. The lower GPA online students gained slightly more factual knowledge than their counterparts, the lower GPA face-to-face students. Botsch and Botsch (2001) concluded that this happened because the online students were forced to engage with the material on their own, while the face-to-face students could depend on the traditional lectures alone. There was more active participation required from the online students than from the traditional classroom students who were only required to passively listen to the lectures in passivity. Botsch and Botsch’s (2001) argument parallels Schwenke’s (2005) point about the importance of actively involving the students in the learning process.

Duffy and Kirkly (2004) also claim that educational quality does not depend on the delivery mode but rather on learning design and learner engagement. As measured by faculty, online education is “right in the mix with all other courses in the dimension of quality” (Duffy and Kirkly: 4). They point out that little, if any, research evidence supports the claims of the online education opponents that traditional classroom learning is superior.

Abel’s (2005) findings were based on the responses of online students and faculty who participated in learning institutions. Fifty-nine percent perceived the online courses to be successful and “of higher quality due to the e-Learning initiative” (Abel: 24). Fifty-
four percent “felt that they had revolutionized the teaching process” (Abel: 24). Most significant was the finding that sixty-eight percent reported that online courses provide learners with the capability to be more contributory in the learning process itself.

All five studies mentioned above, Abel’s (2005), Schwencke’s (2005), Picciano’s (2003), Botch and Botch’s (2001), and Duffy and Kirkly’s (2004) agree that it is essential to enhance the student-learning outcome by actively involving students in the learning process.

Another interesting fact, pointed out by Duffy and Kirkly (2004), is that distance education has prompted educators to pay more attention to the quality of pedagogical approaches in traditional classrooms as well as on the web. However, much more scrutiny is focused on distance education programs than face-to-face ones. Institutions that offer online classes are concerned about assessing and comparing their programs nationally and even internationally. Institutions can learn from each other’s success and failures. Kay Kane (2004), the Quality Matters Project coordinator of the Sloan-C View journal (a publication of the Sloan Consortium), examines how to assess quality in online education in her “Quality Matters: Inter-Institutional Quality Assurance in Online Learning” article. She points out that “quality is much like recognizing art – you know it when you see it, but everybody sees something different” (Kane: 1). Because quality is such an abstract concept, the Quality Matters Project has identified forty elements of online learning that impact student learning positively in order to promote inter-institutional quality improvement. Composed of these forty elements, is a new web-based rubric that is used by trained faculty teaching online courses.
Abel (2005), in conjunction with The Alliance for Higher Education Competitiveness, did a comprehensive quantitative study using surveys and interviews on the students and faculty of “twenty-one higher education institutions of various types that consider their usage of e-Learning as successful” (Abel: iii). He looked at how achieving success in internet-supported learning in higher education” was achieved (Abel: iii). His “case studies illuminate success factors, challenges, and future direction” (Abel: iii). Abel (2005) compared student outcomes by measuring retention and the level of quality ascertained through the student interviews. Students agreed that they are at least as satisfied with online courses as they are with traditional face-to-face courses.

A pilot study conducted by Julio C. Rivera and Margaret L. Rice (2002) at the University of Alabama at Birmingham concluded that the problem is not student performance and learning outcome, but rather student satisfaction. This study compared one class delivered in three different formats. First there was the traditional face-to-face lecture/discussion format. Second there was the web-based format, which was offered almost exclusively on the web, and the third format was the hybrid combining a mix of traditional and web-based means. All three formats assigned similar assignments, used the same text, and the same test bank tests in order to allow for direct comparison. Two professors taught the three sections studied. The student performance was remarkably consistent across the three delivery formats, and the students’ learning outcomes were almost identical; there was no significant change in the learning-outcome. However, there was a significant change in how the students perceived the class. Riviera and Rice (2002) felt that while their study should lay to rest the fears of diminished student learning outcome for online delivery format, academics should conduct more research trying to
find out why online students, even though they tested equally as well, felt less satisfied with their class experience in general.

Concerned also with the issue of student satisfaction, Picciano (2002) conducted a study addressing the assumption that there is a significant correlation between the student’s perception of satisfaction and student’s actual performance and learning-outcome. Interestingly, his study did not come to a clear conclusion that would support the assumption between the two factors; because, the results were mixed and inconsistent. Picciano’s (2002) recommendation was to further study this complex pedagogical phenomenon.

Koory (2003), a professor at the University of California Berkeley taught “An Introduction to Shakespeare” simultaneously in the traditional face-to-face on campus format as well as in the online format. She conducted a comparison study based on these two sections of her class. Here again, as with the Riviera and Rice (2002) study, the course objectives, assignments, and exams where basically the same in both course format deliveries. However, in Koory’s study, the same instructor taught the two sections—no variations in instructor. Koory’s (2003) findings, contradict Riviera and Rice’s (2002) conclusions, as both of the sections taught by Koory received equally positive student satisfaction in both sections. An additional contradiction was that the online learners in Koory’s online course achieved dramatically higher overall scores than the face-to-face students. Fifteen percent of Koory’s face-to-face students received an A or an A-, compared to fifty-eight percent in her online class, whereby the online students in Riviera and Rice’s (2002) study performed the same as their face-to-face counterparts.
Koory (2003) offers several explanations for this drastic difference. To begin
with, her online students are a self-selected group, plus less than half of the enrolled
students actually finish the online course. Over half the online students lack the
motivation and ability to do well in her course and therefore drop out early on.
Wojciechowski and Palmer (2005) also conclude that a higher percentage of online
students drop courses—“online education is plagued by high dropout rates…”
(Wojciechowski: 2). Whereas, according to Koory (2003), the face-to-face students are
neither self-selected nor have an attrition problem, because “the traditional undergraduate
environment supports a high rate of completion regardless of performance” (Koory: 31).
Another important factor is that the online format allows for a self-paced learning, while
the traditional format does not, and communication with the instructor is requisite in the
online course, while it is optional in the classroom. The verbal communication is often
times less substantive and ephemeral, because no written composed responses are
required for either the student or the instructor.

Koory (2003) argues that while campus students spend more actual time in class
than their online counterparts do, the comprehension level does not suffer. The
“entertainment value” of an actual in-class lecture is supplemented by the “reference
value” that is continuously available for the student’s review and reflection. In addition,
the time spent by online students engaging with the material is focused, compared to the
face-to-face students who may frequently be lured off topic by trivial non-issue
contributions. The discussion requirement for all online students was to post messages for
others to see and respond to. While face-to-face discussion may be momentarily more
entertaining and emotionally satisfying, they are defined by a lower standard of discourse
and allow many students to remain silent. Koory (2004) concludes that ultimately the
difference between the online and face-to-face classrooms is, that the online environment
“supports student’s abilities to practice adult learning styles” (Koory: 33).

Dutton, Dutton, and Perry (2002) conducted a similar study comparing students of
two large sections in a course that was offered in the traditional lecture style format and
the newer online format. While the main objective of the study was to find out how
online students differ from traditional students, they also explored student performance
differences. While they did identify significant differences in the characteristics of the
students themselves, they concluded that none of these differences influenced the student
learning-outcome significantly at all. Most importantly, while their findings confirm that
online students perform slightly better on exams, and that their course grades on average
are slightly higher than those of face-to-face counterparts, none of these performance
differences were statistically significant.

Conclusions

With this paper I have attempted provide a short history of online education and
an extensive review of the current literature. I also explored what it takes to be a
successful online student, and how a strictly online learning environment affects the
student-learning outcome when compared to conventional face-to-face classes.

According to the literature reviewed, autonomous learning in an essential skill an
online student must master in order to perform well in an online environment.
Fortunately, most of the younger generation students entering higher education
institutions have been raised in a world of interactive games and multimedia simulations;
the autonomous electronic interactivity of an online learning environment is like second nature to them.

Experts agree that the best learning outcomes come from an active learning experience regardless of the delivery format. Therefore, instructors are working towards providing an online learning environment that requires the student to be actively involved.

The issue of student satisfaction still needs further research. This literature review includes articles with opposing conclusions on how satisfied students are with online classes. The levels of student satisfaction range from being more satisfied with online classes, to equally satisfied with online classes, to less satisfied with online classes when compared to face-to-face classes. Despite the different levels of student satisfaction, online students that actually finished a course either performed as well or even out-performed their in-class counterparts by comparison. There was no correlation between student satisfaction and student performance. However, further examination is needed in order to establish the (what seems to be an obvious) correlation between student satisfaction and the high dropout rates in online courses.

The teaching process has undergone a huge transformation over the past seventy years. We have come from an in-class-lectures/everything on paper only format, to adding an online/distance/paperless format to the former, in order to accommodate the changing needs of our students. Changes in our education system have also been financial in nature, “education in the twenty-first century is a billion dollar business and in a capitalist economy it is understandable that the corporations will subsidize Internet education to a large degree” (Keefer: 10). Online education has become a prime
commodity and public institutions are in direct competition with private ones springing up everywhere trying to get a piece of the pie. Since many investors are concerned about returns on their investment, and since many public colleges are concerned about meeting recruitment goals, online education is here to stay and grow—regardless of the concerns and level of comfort faculty has with this medium. If public schools continue to lag, private schools will happily pick up the slack. All we can do now is try to improve it, by conducting more research and expanding our knowledge about this fairly new development that is sweeping across developed nations.

Clawson (2002) argues, as more technological innovations are used in online courses, more research is needed in order to evaluate its pedagogical effectiveness. While pedagogical issues of online education are examined, even face-to-face education can benefit from the research. The quality of education in general can be improved by bringing forth the concerns of online education.
Bibliography


The Healthcare Beliefs of impoverished rural Mexican women regarding cervical cancer and screening using ethnographic research methodology

WOMEN'S STUDIES

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The prevalence of cervical cancer in Mexico is high. As a human service professional, the researcher began to inquire about the nature of the problem in an attempt to understand the reasons why women who had free and accessible healthcare failed to obtained these life saving screening tests. An ethnographic study with its ability to bring forth-relational theory and cultural knowledge was chosen. Ethnographic designs have been proven to serve as guides in the reconstruction of cultural meanings. Since using symbols creates cultural meaning, Spradley’s DRS design allowed for patterns of meaning to emerge. Participant observation and ethnographic interviews were the primary data collection activities. The culmination of the data, provided the reader with an understanding of its meaning. The conclusion was the cultural knowledge gained from 13 Mexican women who resided in San Quintin and Tijuana, Mexico, through the analysis of 3 domains and the discovery of 2 cultural themes. They were: 1.) Mexican women make health care decisions with the support and guidance of their women’s social group and 2.) positive image of women in the media has an influence on health care decisions. These two themes guided the women in making health care decisions. The women accepted them as true and with a high degree of generality. The themes were tacit because they came to be taken for granted and they slipped into the area of knowledge where women seldom find the need to express what they already knew.
Abstract

Almost all professional sports leagues engage in joint sale of broadcast rights and often maintain exclusive rights to broadcast rights. In this paper, we explore whether these exclusive broadcast rights may be an attempt to gain or exploit market power. Specifically, we compare the European soccer leagues to the American baseball league and conclude that the specific format of exclusive contracts entered into by Major League Baseball are an exploitation of market power.

I. Introduction

Almost all professional sports leagues, in the United States and in Europe, engage in some form of joint selling arrangements whereby the league maintains an exclusive right to sell the broadcast rights to at least some of the games played by its member teams. The leagues also place several restrictions on those broadcast rights which are retained by the member teams. In this paper, we investigate whether such joint sale agreements are anti-competitive from an economics perspective. The European Commission (EC) recently challenged joint sale arrangements amongst soccer teams in Europe as anticompetitive. In its case against the Union of European Football
Associations (UEFA), the EC eventually decided that joint selling provided several benefits to consumers and so broadcasters were exempted from the application of antitrust sanctions under Article 81(3) of the EC Treaty. Sports teams in Europe however, do not enjoy a territorial monopoly like the sports teams in the United States. There are several other significant organizational and structural differences in the American and European sports industries which imply that the European Commission’s findings and conclusions have limited relevance to the joint selling arrangements of sports leagues in the United States.

In the United States, exclusive broadcast agreements in the professional sports industry are most often a manifestation of the territorial monopoly of member teams in sports leagues. Exclusive territorial restraints are common in many industries such as automobiles, fast food, retail franchises and sports. The exclusive restraints in the sports industry are however different in nature than the exclusive restraints in other industries such as automobile or fast food industries. We argue that sports leagues are more appropriately characterized as horizontal joint ventures rather than as a vertically integrated industry. There exist many economic efficiency rationales for granting exclusive territories in vertical relationships. The theoretical economics literature generally predicts that exclusive territories help to prevent free riding by dealers, provide retailers with the incentive to invest in promotional activities and provide franchisees with the incentive to maintain the quality of the product and help protect the franchisor’s strong brand image. The exclusive restraints in the sports industry generally are in the form of exclusive territories granted to members of the sports league, in return for which the teams agree to share revenue. In section III, we examine the economic efficiency of
exclusive territories in general, and compare and contrast the exclusive broadcasting arrangements in the European and American Sports industries. In conducting such a comparison, it is important to keep in mind the significant organizational differences in the structure of the sports industry of Europe and the sports industry in the United States. So we begin with a description of the organizational structures of European and American sports industries, in Section II, highlighting the important differences that may have a bearing on the ultimate question of whether joint selling arrangements are economically efficient. Section IV concludes.

II. American and European Sports Leagues – Basic Organizational Differences

Sports is a unique industry and demands a business model that is like no other. Courts have long recognized that unlike other industries, the sports industry requires some level of cooperation amongst competitors in order to be able to produce anything. At the very least, teams have to agree on common rules of the game in order to compete against each other in the sports arena. In fact, the historical evolution of sports leagues was precisely due to this motivation of achieving agreement on standards for sports equipment and on common rules of the game. However, the need for common rules does not necessarily mean that there should be a single league. As the multiplicity of European soccer leagues demonstrates, standardization of rules of the game can and does come about without a single league monopoly. In England, for example, soccer has two

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1 “[Sports is] an industry in which horizontal restraints on competition are essential if the product is to be available at all” *NCAA v. Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma*, 468 U.S. 85, 101 (1984).

national level professional leagues while almost every sport in the United States, including soccer, has only one major national level professional league. Historically, whenever a competing national level league emerged in the United States, the competing league was either merged into or driven out of business by the incumbent league.

For clarity of exposition and to simplify the comparison of organizational differences in the continental sports industry, we will focus here mainly on the organization of soccer in Europe and the organizational structure of Major League Baseball in the United States. There are fundamental differences in the organization of the sports industry in Europe and in the United States. As a recent story in the Economist explains, the soccer industry in Europe is “competitive, globalised [sic] and financially self-sufficient”, whereas the Major League Baseball in the United States is “monopolistic, inward-looking and accustomed to handouts from the tax payer”. While there is some truth to this statement, there are economic problems associated with both organizational models as explained by Szymanski and Zymbalist in their recent book.

II.A. The American Sports Industry and Major League Baseball

American professional sports leagues are best described as cartels of a limited number of teams which play against each other. Once a team is admitted into the League,

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3 For example in American football, several leagues emerged as competition to the NFL but were either merged with NFL or driven out of business. The relatively successful AFL founded in 1959 was merged with NFL in 1970 after the Sports Broadcasting Act became effective. A recent attempt at establishing a competing league, the XFL lasted only one season before shutting down.

4 “Bat and Ball” in the April 28, 2005 edition of The Economist.


6 Most scholarly articles on economics of sport treat sports leagues as horizontal cartels though recent scholarship is beginning to ask whether sports leagues are better described as vertical franchise.
it rarely, if ever, is removed from the League no matter how weak the team’s performance in the game. Each team is associated with a geographic territory that is assigned to it exclusively and so enjoys a monopoly over its assigned territory. The League may and occasionally does relocate a team to a different geographic territory and also may redefine the geographic territories assigned to each team. The limited number of teams coupled with the desire of cities to have their own team, makes it possible for leagues to extract considerable subsidies from the cities to fund the building and renovation of stadiums. For example, Major League Baseball recently relocated the Montreal Expos to Washington D.C where the team took the name of Washington Nationals. The city of Washington, which did not have a team associated with it for a long time, agreed to fund the renovation of the RFK stadium with taxpayer money for the benefit of the team. The league may also expand the number of teams in the league and charge the new entrant a hefty entry fee to be included in the Major League.

Sports economists Stefan Szymanski and Andrew Zymbalist argue in their recent book that Major League Baseball teams have managed the expansion and relocation of teams in such a way as to always ensure “excess demand for franchises from economically viable cities. With excess demand, MLB has been successful at getting cities to bid against each other for a franchise. The result is public subsidies far in excess of the economic and social benefits generated by a team.” The authors cite empirical evidence that cities which subsidize the baseball teams only reap negligible benefits in arrangements. Whether the sports leagues should be described as horizontal cartels or vertical franchise agreements is a question that we will deal with in section III of this paper. We conclude that sports leagues in the United States have more characteristics in common with a monopoly derived by cartel action rather than a franchise monopoly derived by a strong brand image.


8 Id. at Page 5 of the Introduction Chapter.
the form of new jobs and businesses created as a result of the relocation of the baseball team.

II. B. European Soccer Leagues

European soccer leagues are open and hierarchical in nature as opposed to the closed system of the American Leagues. Any city, town, or village can host a ‘major league’ team as long as it can assemble good enough players. The new local teams, or clubs as they are called, enter at the bottom of the hierarchy of leagues and do not have to pay any entry fee. The teams compete with each other in order to be promoted to a higher league. Teams in higher level leagues that under-perform on the other hand get relegated to lower level leagues. For example, England alone has some 40,000 football (soccer) clubs playing in about 2000 leagues. The Football Association (FA), which was created in 1863 and incorporated as a limited company in 1903, acts as the national level association that has jurisdiction over all football (soccer) games played in England and is responsible for all regulatory aspects of the game. The FA by governing both the professional and amateur leagues in England acts as the link between the professional and amateur games. This ensures a uniformity of rules in a hierarchical structure and illustrates how it is not necessary to have a single league monopoly to ensure uniformity of rules. Along with 51 other European counterparts, the FA is governed by the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA).

Figure 1 illustrates the hierarchical nature of the National League System in England. New leagues enter at the bottom of the hierarchy at step 7 and are promoted according to performance criteria and regulations established by the Football Association to higher steps of the pyramid structure. Teams at the higher steps can be relegated to
lower levels if they fail to perform at the top levels. For example at the conclusion of each season the National League System regulations currently provide that clubs finishing at the bottom three places of Step 1 will be relegated to Step 2 and clubs finishing in the first position of each division at Step 2 will be promoted to Step 1.\textsuperscript{9} 

Not only do the European football (soccer) clubs not enjoy an almost permanent membership in the top professional leagues, they also do not enjoy the territorial monopoly of the American sports teams. Szymanski and Zymbalist (2005) argue that this is the main reason why European soccer teams are unable to extract public subsidies for stadium facilities while the American baseball teams almost always are able to extract substantial public subsidies.\textsuperscript{10}

\textsuperscript{9} See Regulations for Establishment and Operation of the National League System available at \url{http://www.thefa.com/Grassroots/Leaguesystem/Regulations}, last accessed on May 11, 2005.

\textsuperscript{10} See Szymanski and Zymbalist supra note 5.
Another difference between American sports leagues and European leagues is evident in the exploitation of television broadcasting revenues. The sports leagues in the United States recognized the commercial potential of television broadcasting early and exploited it by showing live games on television albeit with some restrictions. European soccer on the other hand did not begin exploiting the revenue potential of television broadcasting until the early 1990s. The recognition of the potential of exploiting TV revenues was responsible, at least in part, for the formation of the Football Association Premier League (FAPL) in 1992. All the First Division clubs of the Football League resigned *en masse* from the Football League, (the top national level league) in 1992 to form the FAPL. The FAPL was formed as a new league under the jurisdiction of the Football Association but managed to wrest commercial independence from the FA as
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well as the license to negotiate its own broadcast and sponsorship agreements\textsuperscript{11}. The exploitation of television revenues played a major role in the rise of the FAPL. In its first five seasons broadcast on TV, the FAPL raised £191 million. In less than a decade, it was able to negotiate an exclusive contract with BSkyB worth £1.024 billion for the three seasons staring August 2004\textsuperscript{12}. Unfortunately for the FAPL though, its exclusive TV deals along with the TV contracts of the UEFA, attracted unwelcome attention from the European Competition Commission.


One common feature of European and American sports leagues is the joint sale of television broadcast rights. Whether it is the Major League Baseball (MLB), the Union of European Football Association (UEFA) or the Football Association Premier League (FAPL), broadcast rights to most games played by individual member teams are sold jointly by the respective leagues on an exclusive basis.

II. C. 1. Europe- Sale of Telecast Rights by UEFA

The broadcast agreements of European soccer leagues first came under the antitrust scrutiny of the European Commission in February 1999, when the UEFA applied for a negative clearance under Article 81(1) of the EC treaty for the joint selling arrangement of commercial rights to the UEFA Champions League competition. The UEFA’s Champions League is European soccer’s most prestigious and popular competition. In the 2003/2004 season the competition was to involve 80 national level


\textsuperscript{12} Id.
football clubs playing against each other in three initial qualifying rounds. Sixteen teams eventually would qualify to play in the UEFA Champions league. Due to the competition to play in the league, neither the UEFA nor the football clubs know beforehand which clubs will be in the Champions League competition. The 80 national level clubs retained the right to sell the broadcast rights to the games they played in the initial three qualifying rounds. The UEFA retained the exclusive right to sell the commercial rights of the UEFA Champions League so that the member clubs cannot individually sell these rights to the games played by them. UEFA sold the broadcast rights in a single package on an exclusive basis to a single broadcaster per member state (each country that is a member and sends its top national level teams to the competition). In July 2001, the EC issued a statement of objections finding that the joint selling arrangement restricted competition in the “upstream market of acquisition of TV rights for football.” The EC also objected on the grounds that since football in most European countries is “the driving force for the development of TV markets”, the restrictions prevented competition between broadcasters in the downstream market. And that the sale of TV rights in a single large package covering several years prevented the smaller pay-tv services from competing with larger broadcast companies.

In June 2001, on its own initiative, the EC opened an investigation into the joint selling arrangements of England’s Football Association Premier League (FAPL). The Commission made similar conclusions with regard to FAPL’s arrangements as it did with the UEFA, namely that the joint selling arrangement harmed competition in the

downstream broadcast media market because of the importance of football for the viability of TV markets.

Both the UEFA and FAPL proposed to settle the respective matters by agreeing to split the broadcast rights into smaller packages so that small pay-tv services could also bid for the rights in a meaningful way. This proposed agreement though favored by the EC, drew criticism from some broadcasting and pay-tv services because the splitting up of rights packages and the diminished exclusiveness of the broadcast rights would lower the value of the rights to the broadcasters. The segmentation of rights could also mean that there would be too much football on TV and viewers would have to buy several different subscriptions in order to be able to get all the games they are interested in watching.

In its final decision on UEFA’s joint selling arrangement\textsuperscript{14}, the EC accepted that a single point of sale achieved through the joint selling arrangement offered several significant benefits. The UEFA argued that joint selling arrangement was a prerequisite for the existence of the UEFA Champions League product. “Since no individual club knows before the start of the season how far it will get in the tournament, it could not sign a commercial agreement with a broadcaster giving the broadcaster any certainty that the football clubs will make it to the very end of the UEFA Champions League season.”\textsuperscript{15} The EC admitted that the joint selling arrangement lowered transaction costs of acquiring broadcast rights and benefited the broadcasters. The joint selling arrangement also lowered the financial risk to broadcasters who would otherwise have to buy rights from


\textsuperscript{15} Id. at 47.
individual clubs and bear the risk that such rights would become worthless because the club did not end up in the pool of the 16 qualifying clubs. The EC recognized that a single point of sale was a benefit to the commercial partners and sponsors of the UEFA Champions League as well. The final decision in the EC’s challenge to the FAPL joint selling arrangement is yet to be announced.

II.C. 2. United States – Sale of Telecast Rights by MLB, NFL, NHL and NBA.

We looked at the distribution of telecast rights in the National Hockey League (NHL), National Football League (NFL), Major League Baseball (MLB) and the National Basketball Association (NBA). Generally, each individual team retains the right to sell the telecast rights to its games in its own geographic territory whether the game is played at home or away. Teams have no rights to telecast a game outside their local territory. For example, the LA Lakers can sell the rights to all games played by them, whether at home or away, to local or regional television networks in the Los Angeles area. But they cannot sell telecast rights to stations broadcasting the game outside the Los Angeles geographic area.

The rights to these so-called “out-of-market” telecasts rest exclusively with the respective leagues. The leagues sell the rights to some of the out-of-market games to national TV networks either on an exclusive or a non-exclusive basis. All the Leagues also offer out-of-market games via cable or satellite premium packages - the NFL’s Sunday Ticket, the NBA League Pass, the MLB Extra Innings and the NHL Center Ice. All these packages however come with some blackout restrictions meaning that not all of the out-of-market games will be available through these packages.
Blackout Restrictions: The nature of the blackout restrictions vary from league to league. But there are some common characteristics. Whenever a team is broadcasting locally, the game is available only on the local/regional channel and not through the satellite/cable premium package. This local broadcast blackout restriction protects the local channel’s exclusivity. The NHL and the MLB blackout the home team’s games in the home territory regardless of whether the team sells its rights to broadcast its games.16 This implies technically, that if a game is being televised locally, it will be available nationwide to subscribers of special sports programming packages. But when a game is not being televised locally for some reason, it may still be available to viewers outside its area but not to local viewers.17 Whether such an incident has ever occurred could not be ascertained but if it does occur on a regular basis, it would be interesting to inquire as to why such an arrangement exists.

The NFL blacks out a team’s home game in the home territory if the game fails to sell out at least 72 hours before the game.18 For the stated purpose of protecting home game attendance, the NFL blacks out the home team’s game to both the local broadcast channel viewers as well as the NFL Sunday Ticket subscribers in the home team’s territory. The game however is made available to viewers outside the local area through the premium package.

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These blackout restrictions simply indicate that each local team is allowed to sell exclusive broadcast rights to a local television broadcaster in the local broadcast area. By selling exclusive rights to broadcast its game, each team is able to extract monopoly rents associated with the exclusive territory assigned to it. Any revenues associated with out-of-market broadcasts are reaped by the League and distributed to the teams according to a pre-determined formula. It also seems that as long as a game is being televised somewhere, it will be available to viewers nationwide if they subscribe to special premium sports packages. These blackout restrictions, designed to protect team revenues and exclusivity of team territories by protecting home game attendance, are generally exempt from antitrust scrutiny under the Sports Broadcasting Act\(^{19}\).

The MLB however, imposes extra blackout restrictions which may not be exempt from antitrust concerns under the Sports Broadcasting Act\(^{20}\). The MLB has 30 member teams and schedules over 150 games each season. But only a few of the games are telecast. In addition to local blackout restrictions that are similar to restrictions imposed by other professional sports, the MLB prohibits local teams from telecasting any games when the league is telecasting select games nationwide on FOX or ESPN. Currently, FOX has an exclusive window for all MLB games on Saturdays until 7:00 pm during the regular season and ESPN has an exclusive window on Sunday nights. Any games that are played during these exclusive windows and not being televised on FOX or ESPN cannot be broadcast on any local channels. Only the games chosen by FOX and ESPN are

\(^{19}\) 15 U.S.C. §1291 provides that section 1 of the Sherman Act will not apply to joint agreements of professional team sports of football, baseball, basketball or hockey, by which the sports league jointly sells all or a part of the broadcast rights of its member clubs.

\(^{20}\) 15 U.S.C. §1292 provides that the exemption provided by §1291 will not protect blackout restrictions other than those which blackout telecast of games in the home territory when the home team is playing at home.
available for TV viewers on these days during the exclusive windows and all other games are blacked out everywhere. This seems to be designed to protect the exclusivity of telecast rights of ESPN and FOX rather than protecting the exclusivity of the team’s territorial rights. The question that arises then is why would a profit maximizing league choose to forgo potential television revenues from more than half the games played on weekends. Two explanations come to mind. First, the League is maximizing its long-run profits at the expense of short-run profits by preventing over saturation and maintaining the attractiveness of its sport to viewers. Second, it is maximizing its long-run and short-run profits by acting as a monopolist and choosing to sell only the most popular of its quality-differentiated product and reducing quantity in order to be able to raise prices. The long-run and short-run profit goals are not in conflict from the League’s perspective if we buy the second explanation. From a consumer welfare perspective however, the strategy of maintaining a product’s attractiveness by restricting sales of output seems suspect.

III. Law and Economics of Sports Broadcast Restrictions

The broadcast restrictions imposed by Major League Baseball can be characterized as either horizontal restraints restricting horizontal competition between member clubs or as vertical restraints designed to promote the brand image of MLB. Whether these restraints must be treated as horizontal or vertical can be important from an antitrust law and economics perspective. Resolving the issue from an economics perspective however, is largely an empirical matter. From antitrust law perspective, the question of whether the League structure should be regarded as vertical or horizontal becomes irrelevant to some extent since in either case, a rule of reason standard is likely
to be applied\textsuperscript{21} and a similar analysis of competitive effects will be required even though the burden of proof may still vary. In this paper, we explore the economic efficiency aspects of exclusive territories in horizontal and vertical industrial structures and identify the types of empirical evidence that may be required to resolve the issue.

**Sports Leagues - Franchise Monopoly or Cartel?**

In a recent article, Carlton \textit{et. al} suggest that restrictions placed by a sports league on franchise relocations may be similar to the restrictions placed by McDonalds on its franchisees thereby implying that a sports league is like a vertical arrangement with a brand image to protect\textsuperscript{22}. Leagues certainly exhibit some characteristics in common with vertical franchise operations such as McDonalds. They assign exclusive territories to the teams, provide a strong brand name under which the teams compete, place several restrictions on how the teams may compete and make rules as to sharing of revenues between the teams and the league and distribute these revenues among the teams in a prior-agreed manner.

In industries where the upstream monopolist has created a strong brand image for its product, the upstream monopolist may grant exclusive territories to provide franchisees the incentives for undertaking investments in quality and protecting the monopolist’s brand name. Exclusive territories are also used in industries where manufacturers depend on the downstream retailer’s specialized knowledge about customers for promotion and marketing of products to prevent free riding by dealers/retailers. In the absence of exclusive territories free riding occurs when the inputs

\textsuperscript{21} The United States Supreme court in \textit{NCAA v. Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma}, 468 U.S. 85, 100-101 (1984) held that it is inappropriate to apply a per se rule to the sports industry since no product can be produced by the industry without some degree of cooperation among horizontal competitors.

required to sell the retail product cannot be sold together with the product. Customers can learn about a product from retailers who invest in promotional activities and then buy it at a lower price from retailers who do not invest in promotional activities. The scope for free riding creates disincentives for retailers to invest in promotional activities and harms the manufacturer by lowering overall sales of the product. Granting exclusive territories is one way of overcoming the free riding problem but it is neither the only solution nor is it necessarily the most efficient way of dealing with the free riding problem. Vertical integration and resale price controls are other solutions to the free riding problem.

Other significant differences exist between sports and franchise operations such as McDonalds. Whether it is hamburgers sold by McDonalds franchisees or mattresses by Sealy franchisees, the product sold by the franchisees is homogeneous and of the same brand. The products sold by league members (games) however, are highly differentiated. In addition, the sports teams may have brand images that are much stronger than the brand image of the league itself.

Consumers of sport can watch live games either in the stadium or on television. While consumers watching directly in the stadium pay a per user fee in the form of ticket prices, consumers of television broadcasts do not pay directly for the games. Telecasters

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24 See Patrick Rey and Joseph Stiglitz, “The Role of Exclusive Territories in Producers Competition”, 26 RAND J. of Economics 431 (showing that in imperfectly competitive markets, producers will use exclusive territories to curb interbrand competition leading to an increase in producer’s profits but a reduction in consumer and overall welfare). See also Willard F. Mueller and Frederick E. Geithman, “An Empirical Test of the Free Rider and Market Power Hypotheses”, 73 Review of Econ. and Statistics 30 ( finding evidence that removing territorial restrictions on distribution of Sealy mattresses resulted in a decrease in price and increase in output contrary to the predictions of the free-riding hypothesis. Evidence showed that advertising and promotional expenditures by retailers also increased in both absolute and relative terms after territorial restraints were removed.)

25 Resale price maintenance however is illegal under the Colgate Doctrine. See U.S. v. Colgate, 250 U.S. 300 (1919).
pay for the game and extract revenues from advertisers. To determine whether a sports league possesses market power in dealing with telecasters we, therefore, need evidence that advertisers view baseball telecasts as a unique product with no close substitutes. If the demographic data available from television rating companies such as Nielsen would show that baseball is a product separate and distinguishable from other sports in the eyes of advertisers, a case can be made that baseball wields market power in its relationship with television. The limited number of teams and the ability of the league to extract substantial public subsidies can also be evidence of overall market power.

Secondly, the leagues offer several pro-competitive justifications for the broadcast restrictions such as the need to ensure competitive balance, to sustain fan interest etc. Almost every empirical study of competitive balance in sports uses a different measure of balance making it very difficult to draw any inferences. The best lessons, therefore, can be learned by comparing and contrasting the American league structure to the European league structure. European soccer retains horizontal competition and does not assign exclusive territories to member clubs. It recognizes that the amateur players are also the fan base for professional sports and has been able to capture international audience bases and fans. The success of the European model demonstrates that while joint selling of telecast rights may not be anti-competitive, granting exclusive broadcast territories may still be anticompetitive.

IV. Conclusion

Whether economists call the phenomenon free-riding, presence of positive externalities or complementarities in sports, they are referring to the same theoretical phenomenon of weak sports teams benefiting from the promotional efforts and
performance of strong teams. However, as explained in this paper, the granting of exclusive broadcast territories is not only unnecessary but may not even be economically efficient as a solution to the free-riding problem. The only empirical studies of free-riding in vertical franchise industries show that exclusive territories did not prevent free-riding but instead only inhibited intra-brand competition.
Abstract

There has been several effective conservation strategies put into practice lately in order to conserve the remnant urban green spaces and the biodiversity they shelter. Compared to the pristine forests, conservation of urban green spaces is highly complex due to the presence of multi cultural communities. Bangalore is known as the IT capital of India, has attracted people from all over India, thus causing urban sprawl. As the city is growing outwards, the rural areas are developing in a haphazard manner. Moreover, peri-urban and the rural areas which once were green lungs for the city are now being destroyed at a tremendous rate. The socio economic status of the rural community has not improved in spite of the developments. Initiating an urban conservation and conservation conscious society may depend on the socio cultural background, their attitude, mindset and varying levels of exposure to nature. The most popular biodiversity conservation model has been trying to recreate habitat using the nearest wilderness as reference site. This may be irrational in many cases as the social system may not be resilient to this change in their surroundings as they have long been used a manicured lawns and gardens. This calls for an approach that transcends all the dimensions of such complexity. We explored the possibility of using butterflies as flagship species across many sections of the society to make many existing landscapes and gardens in Bangalore more eco-friendly so as to regain some of its natural functions. Through the involvement of Women Self Help Groups based in the peri-urban of the city, who completely depend on the Non Timber Forest Products for their livelihood, we have developed a sustainable package, the Butterfly Kit, through which they make an extra regular income and also forges the urban-rural link. This has been successful and we have managed to reach out to several people who are working towards developing their home gardens into a butterfly garden. Also, through this initiative, an independent urban outreach program has emerged and here we present some of our successful interventions and on-ground experiences.
1. **[Title]**
The ethnic identity development and adjustment of Eastern European children adopted into New Zealand homes: An empirical study.

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THE ETHNIC IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT AND ADJUSTMENT OF EASTERN
EUROPEAN CHILDREN ADOPTED INTO NEW ZEALAND HOMES:
AN EMPIRICAL STUDY

ABSTRACT

Intercountry adoption (ICA) is a growing socio-political phenomenon around the world. Research into ICA has focused largely on racial issues such as race-matching policies or the ethnic identity development of transracially-adopted children, as well as the internationally adopted children’s overall adjustment. Yet, through all of this research, the focus has been almost exclusively on transracial adoptions, where the children are racially different from the adopting parents. Almost nothing is known about the role of culture and/or the ethnic identity development of internationally adopted children, raised in racially-similar adoptive homes.

In New Zealand, research was carried out to investigate the ethnic identity development and overall adjustment of internationally adopted children who are racially-similar but culturally-different to their adoptive parents. Fifty-two adopted children (a sub-sample from an initial study of 162 families) were interviewed on their ethnic identity and adjustment. The focus of this phase of the research was on the children’s ethnic identity development; their overall adjustment; and the relationship between the two constructs. Results and implications for policy will be discussed.
INTRODUCTION

New Zealand has a long history of adoption, with the earliest adoption legislation dating back to 1880 (Griffith, 1996). In fact, in the 1960s and 1970s, New Zealand had one of the highest domestic adoption rates of the western world, with almost 7% of its children being placed for adoption (Iwanek, 1997). However, strong interest in intercountry adoption (ICA) did not begin until 1990, when stories of over-crowded Romanian orphanages made local news (e.g. Barber, 1990; Nissen, 1990). With the country’s supply of adoptable children quickly decreasing, New Zealand joined ranks with countries like the U.S.A, Italy, France, Belgium, Switzerland, and Britain, to begin adopting orphaned Romanian children (Dominion, 1990; Griffith, 1996).

As the number of New Zealanders participating in ICA began to increase, debate over the political, moral and ethical implications of ICA in New Zealand ensued. Strong opinions were voiced on both the potential benefits and dangers of ICA (McDonald, 1994), issues that ran parallel to the debate originating in the U.S.A. regarding transracial adoptions (TRA) and the race-matching politics of the 1970s.

Transracial adoption and race-matching

In the beginning, it was the National Association of Black Social Workers (NABSW) in America who argued that white families could never adequately equip or prepare a minority child to function in society, or cope with the anticipated racial prejudices that would certainly befall her/him, since visually, the child would always be seen as a member of the minority group from which s/he came (Russell, 1995). Opponents of TRA went on to suggest that the ethnic identity development of transracially adopted children would be impaired if they were raised by white parents. This socio-political stand fuelled the growing trend of “race-matching”, the philosophy that adopted children should “look like and be like” adoptive parents (Modell & Dambacher, 1997, p.4). Modell and Dambacher (1997) believed that race-matching was an historical reflection of early beliefs in “biologism” in America; that ideally the child should appear to be born to the adoptive parents. As such, matching was seen to preserve “sameness” in adoptive
families (Freundlich, 2000; Griffith & Duby, 1991), and to be in the best interests of the child (Gaber & Aldridge, 1994). This wisdom was legitimised and institutionalised by social workers systemically matching parents and children, initially on a number of characteristics, including religion and class, as well as race (Freundlich, 2000). Today, the practice of matching focuses almost exclusively on race.

Concern over white adoptive parents’ abilities to adequately meet the needs of non-white children, particularly those needs related to the children’s ethnic identity, became one of the key points of argument in the race-matching debate. Some researchers argued that while white families may be able to instil positive racial identification in their children, it is the coping and survival skills necessary as a minority person in a majority culture, that they would be unable to provide (Hayes, 1993; McRoy & Hall, 1996). Bartholet (1994), in contrast, suggested that it is white parents who are better able to teach a child of colour how to manoeuvre in a white majority society.

Despite the controversy over race-matching, this principle went on to form the foundation of adoptive placements not only in the U.S.A. (Bartholet, 1994), but in the U.K. (Hayes, 1993), and other European countries (Hoksbergen, 1986), at various times over the last several decades. The ideology also found its way into New Zealand practices (Ludbrook, 1990). Where once the placement of Maori children into Pakeha (European or non-Maori) homes was commonplace, by the mid-1970s, social workers in New Zealand also began to prefer same-race placements for Maori children (Rockel & Ryburn, 1988). In New Zealand, concern over the adopted children’s ethnic identity development was a primary issue, particularly in light of the literature suggesting that transracially adopted children could become marginalised between cultures (e.g. Dalen & Sætersdal, 1987), as well as the numerous studies that were emerging, predominantly from the U.S.A., claiming that transracially-adopted children had an overwhelming tendency to identify with the dominant culture (e.g. Andujo, 1988; Kim, 1977; McRoy & Zurcher, 1983; Simon & Altstein, 1992). Yet, despite those concerns, most of those
same authors were also finding the majority of transracially adopted children to be scoring in the normal range, if not higher, on indices of adjustment.

The research, and the associated debate, continues still. For example, Westhues and Cohen (1998) investigated the international adoption into Canada of 155 children from predominately Asia, Latin America and Africa. They measured ethnic identification, and found that the participants (with a mean age of 17.3 years) tended to ethnically identify with their host culture; only one-third were reported to identify with their respective birth cultures. They also measured self-esteem, using the Rosenberg Self-Concept Scale, and found the participants had scores higher than the general population.

In a Norwegian study involving 36 adoptees from Korea and Columbia, Brottveit (1999) noted that many of the participants in the study expressed little interest in their “roots”. However, Brottveit argued that this lack of birth culture interest was not something negative. “…Their insistence on their Norwegian-ness, or their refusal of giving special importance to their ‘roots’, could as well be seen as an act of negotiating their social identity. It can be a sign of strength, not weakness or failure or not coping or false consciousness or what so ever …” (p. 128).

Irhammar and Cederblad (1999; 2000) were interested in the ethnic identity development of Asian and Latin American youth adopted by 181 Swedish families. The study’s focus was on the adoptees’ interest in “ethnic origins” (birth ethnicity) as contrasted with their interest in “biological origins” (birth family). Like many of the preceding studies, the investigators found that most (88%) of the adoptees had a majority ethnic self-identity, “experiencing themselves as Swedes, with a Swedish cultural practice” (p. 156). Yet, and again like the earlier studies, this was correlated with neither mental health problems, nor low self-esteem. On the contrary, the group scored higher than the norms on their measures of mental health status. Of particular interest, however, was the contention by the authors that having a Swedish self-identity did not equate to a denial of ethnic origin. They reported that a third of the group took an active interest in their ethnic origins, despite identifying with the majority culture. This finding suggests that a
child can have a majority culture identity, but still show interest in the birth culture (even if not identifying with it). It also suggests that ethnic interest and ethnic identification may be separate phenomena, a point with some support from within the ethnic socialisation literature (e.g. Bernal, Knight, Garza, Ocampo & Cota, 1990; Phinney, 1990).

Overall, it is clear from the empirical research conducted thus far that the children of TRA/ICA have a tendency to ethnically identify with the dominant (white) culture, more so than with their own ethnic groups (e.g. Andujo, 1988; Irhammar & Cederblad, 1999; McRoy & Zurcher, 1983; Sætersdal & Dalen, 2000; Simon & Altstein, 1992; Westhues & Cohen, 1998). Those same adoption studies have also provided strong evidence that TRA children, independent of ethnic identification, are very well-adjusted, based predominately on measures of self-esteem or self-concept. This clearly suggests that having a majority-culture identification is not necessarily a negative outcome. The relationship between ethnic identity and cultural interest is less certain but there is some evidence that these constructs are also operating independent of one another (e.g. Brottveit, 1999; Irhammar & Cederblad, 1999).

When ICA is not transracial

What if the internationally adopted child is not racially different from the adoptive parents? What if the child is racially similar, and only culturally different, such as when white, European parents adopt Eastern European children? Despite the tendency to see ICA as involving only transracial placements, many international adoptions do not cross racial boundaries. Hence, somewhat different issues may be faced by ICA children who are racially similar to their adoptive parents.

Unfortunately, research on ICA from Eastern Europe, which is prolific in its discussion of the effects of institutionalisation (e.g. Rutter et al., 2000) is conspicuous in its lack of inquiry into the importance of ethnicity and culture, especially in light of the TRA/ICA literature, and its almost singular focus on ethnic socialisation. Instead, research on this population has focused almost exclusively on the adopted children’s medical problems (e.g. Hostetter, Iverson, Dole & Johnson,
1989); behavioural problems (e.g. Marcovitch et al., 1997); developmental issues (e.g. Rutter & The English and Romanian Adoptees (ERA) Study Team, 1998); attachment problems (e.g. O'Connor & Rutter, 2000); and indiscriminately friendly behaviour (e.g. Chisholm, 1998).

Freundlich (2000), in her book on the role of race, culture and national origin in adoption, is one of the few authors to acknowledge the absence of research on the cultural needs of children who are racially similar to the adoptive parents (also see Irhammar, 1999; Sætersdal & Dalen, 2000). She is also one of the only researchers to theoretically speculate about the ethnic identity development of Eastern European children adopted in other countries. Freundlich raises the question of whether cultural identity is less critical to self-esteem for white children. She contends that “Caucasian” ICA children would be more likely to identify with the dominant culture, irrespective of their national origin, the same tendency seen in the TRA studies. However, she speculates that Eastern European adoptees may suffer fewer identity-related issues, than would intercountry adoptees of colour. In their physical similarity to the majority culture, Eastern European adoptees would likely experience less discriminatory behaviour as well (Freundlich, 2000).

It was the absence of any empirical research into the ethnic socialisation of children who are racially similar, but culturally different, to the adopting parents, that was the leading rationale for the present study. The fact that ICA is a growing phenomenon in New Zealand and around the world, and that Eastern Europe looks like it will continue to be a leading “source country” (Selman, 2002), led to further justification for a study on Eastern European adoptees and how they are faring with regard to their ethnic identity. In particular, the present study chose to focus on: (1) ethnic identity, (2) self-concept, and (3) any possible relationship between these two constructs, for Eastern European children adopted into New Zealand homes. Additionally, the study sought to determine if any of these factors were influenced by the children’s ages, ages at placement, or number of years spent in the adoptive family, factors found to be relevant to adopted children’s development in general (e.g. Brodzinsky, 1993) and transracial adoption outcomes in particular (e.g. Harper, 1986; Verhulst, Althaus & Bieman, 1990).
**METHODOLOGY OF CURRENT STUDY**

Following on from an earlier phase of the research in which the adoptive parents were surveyed (see Scherman & Harré, 2003), the current study involved a group of 52 internationally adopted children living throughout New Zealand, who were recruited through the country’s leading agency for inter-country adoption. Twenty-two were boys (42%) and 30 were girls (58%), ranging in age from nine to 19 years, with an average age of 12.9 years (SD = 2.1 years). Seventy-four percent were Russian, 26% were Romanian, and the remaining two were from Thailand and Peru respectively. These latter two children were retained because their experiences provide at least some tentative insight into racially different adoptees in New Zealand. However, they were not included in the analysis of questions that related specifically to racial congruity. The average age at placement was 4.4 years (SD = 3.7 years; Range = 1 month to 14 years). At the time of the study, the average number of years the children had been with their families was 8.5 (SD = 3.1 years; Range = 3 to 14 years). Eighty-nine percent of the children spent some time in an institutional setting before being adopted; the average time being 29.9 months (SD = 23.6 months; Range <1 month to 7 years).

The children were interviewed in their homes. Information was gathered on the adoptees’ identification with their birth and New Zealand cultures; relationship with the host culture; their interest in their birth cultures, and cultural activities; and how other people perceived and treated them. Other questions were asked but are not analysed here. Many of these questions were structured items using Likert-type rating scales (with opportunities to elaborate), based on research reporting that children frequently fail to respond to open-ended questions, or they respond with too little information, as compared to adults (Waterman, Blades & Spencer, 2001). To avoid repetition in this paper, further details on the questions and response scales are given in the Results section. There were also some open-ended exploratory questions, some of which appear in the Results section below as quotations to further illustrate the children’s responses.
In addition to the interview topics noted above, data was also collected on ethnic self-identification (Phinney, 1992) and self-concept (Piers, 1984) using two standardised tools. Finally, all of the data collected was considered in light of the children’s ages, ages at placement, and length of time in the adoptive family.

The Phinney Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure

To measure the degree to which the children identified with their birth culture, the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) was used (Phinney, 1992). The MEIM was made up of a series of self-statements (e.g. “I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group and its accomplishments”) of which the children had to agree or disagree using a 4-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree; 4 = strongly agree). For use in the present study, the survey was modified slightly to exclude items measuring ‘other-group orientation’ since it was not relevant to the aims of the present study. This modification reduced the number of self-statements from 20 to 14. The overall MEIM scores were determined by averaging the children’s responses to each of the 14 items, resulting in a possible score that ranged from one to four. A high score represented more identification with the birth culture. The Cronbach’s alpha reliability for the 14 items was .83.

The Piers-Harris Children’s Self-Concept Scale

To measure overall adjustment, the Piers-Harris Children’s Self-Concept Scale (PHSC) was used (Piers, 1984). This survey, subtitled “The way I feel about myself”, originally included 80 self-statements (which was reduced to 50 after deleting two subscales to do with popularity and school status, deemed unnecessary to this study). The children had to respond Yes or No to questions such as “I am smart” or “I am often afraid”. Using a more simplified scoring system, a score of two was given when answered in the direction of positive adjustment (e.g. saying Yes to “I am a happy person”), whereas a score of one was given when the child answered in the opposite direction (e.g. saying No to “I am a happy person”). In this way, the lowest possible score was 50 and the highest was 100; the later representing higher self-concept and better overall adjustment. Cronbach’s alpha was calculated at .88.
Results

Ethnic identity
Using a 5-point rating scale, with “all New Zealand” at one end, and “all birth culture” at the other, the children were asked how they would describe themselves ethnically. (Note: response choices here and throughout the results are given in italics) Nineteen percent said all New Zealand; 27% said more New Zealand than birth culture; 39% saw themselves as an equal mix of New Zealand and birth culture; 14% said more birth culture than New Zealand; and 2% (one child) chose all birth culture. The children were asked to indicate how much like other “Kiwi kids”, they felt they were. The majority of adopted children felt they were a lot like other Kiwi’s (58%); 25% said some; 15% said not much; and 2% (one child) chose not at all like other Kiwi kids. The children were also asked to rate how important it was to them to be like other Kiwis. Twenty-three percent said it was very important; 35% said it was kind of important; 27% felt it was not very important; and 15% indicated that it was not important to be like other Kiwi kids.

Cultural activities
At the time of the interviews, only two children said they were actively learning their birth language (Yes/No). When asked if they were interested in possibly learning the language, 44% of the children reported they were very interested; 37% were kind of interested; 12% were not very interested; and 8% were not interested. Open-ended questions regarding specific cultural activities engaged in garnered inconsistent answers, as many children struggled to recall specific activities, or when prompted, did not always recognise that some of the activities they were doing, were in fact, related to the birth culture (for example, cooking ethnic foods or attending the Russian ballet). Nonetheless, 91% reported enjoying the activities that they did engage in (Yes/No). When further asked if they felt the quantity of activities was enough, 31% responded affirmatively; the remaining 67% said they wished they did more.
The children were asked if they ever felt pressure to learn more about their birth culture, or felt pressure to engage in cultural activities (Yes/No). Only one-third of the children reported feeling some pressure to learn more about the birth culture, as illustrated by the following quotations:

“[I feel pressure] sometimes; by other Romanian adoptees.” (From a Romanian girl aged 13.)

“My god-mum would like it if I learned the language.” (From a Romanian girl aged 13.)

“From kids at school.” (From a Russian girl aged 12.)

Birth culture (knowledge and interest)

Table 1 shows how much knowledge the children had about their birth culture, which for the majority was some or not much. The table also describes their level of interest in various cultural activities. As can be seen, the categories of media and sports appeared to be of the most interest, followed closely by food.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[RATING SCALE OPTIONS] →</th>
<th>A LOT</th>
<th>SOME</th>
<th>NOT MUCH</th>
<th>NONE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of birth culture</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest in aspects of culture</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media or news in general</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing/costumes</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dance</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Games, toys or dolls</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government/politics</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Related to their interest in sports, the children were also asked if, while watching the recently televised Olympic Games, they took an interest in the competitors from their birth country; 81% responded affirmatively to this Yes/No question. The children were then asked to imagine a
sports competition between New Zealand and their birth country, and to choose which team they would want to see win. Fifty-two percent wanted their *birth country* to win; 38% wanted *New Zealand* to win; the remaining 10% were undecided, and could not, or would not, choose between the two countries.

**Treatment by others**

The children were asked to describe how other people (outside their families) treated them. From the three options they were given to choose from, the vast majority (94%) reported that they were treated mostly *like a Kiwi*; two percent (one child) reported being treated mostly *like a foreigner*; and four percent (two children) said that they were treated somewhere in-between, or *a mix of both*. (It is interesting to note that the three who did not select “like a Kiwi” for the above item, also described themselves as *more birth country than New Zealand* on the earlier question of ethnic identification.) To measure their perceptions of similarity or dissimilarity to their parents, the children were asked if they thought that a stranger, seeing them out with their adoptive parents, could tell that they were adopted. The majority answered *No* (69%); only 31% felt a stranger could tell that they were biologically unrelated to their parents.

Less than a third (27%) of the children reported experiencing some negative treatment related to being adopted from another country (*Yes/No*), as illustrated by the following quotations.

“A boy said he wouldn’t want to be me; his family hates people who are adopted.” (From a Russian girl aged 12.)

“It happened at camp. Some girls got real catty, saying ‘go back to your own country’.” (From a Romanian girl aged 14.)

“It happened once. Hoons in town bashed my bike and kicked me. They got kicked out of town.” (From a Russian boy aged 18.)

“Taunting that ‘your parents didn’t want you’.” (From a Romanian girl aged 13.)
Birth culture identity score (MEIM)
The mean MEIM score for the group ($n = 52$) was 2.54 (SD = .57). This represents almost exactly the mid-point of the scale. The lowest score achieved was 1.30, while the highest score achieved was 3.60.

Self-concept score (PHSC)
The mean PHSC score for the group ($n = 52$) was 86.46 (SD = 7.68). The lowest score achieved was 67, while the highest score achieved was 98.

Relationship of measures to other child variables
The relationship of all the quantitative measures discussed above was examined in light of the child’s age at placement, current age and number of years in adoptive home. The only significant results were finding that the MEIM score was significantly related to the number of years the children had been with their adoptive families, $r = -.334, n = 52, p = .016$ (2-tailed). It seems that the longer the children were with the adoptive parents, the less likely they were to ethnically identify with the birth culture.

Relationships between birth culture identity and self-concept
The existing TRA/ICA literature suggested that ethnic identity is not related to self-concept. Consequently, in the present study it was expected that the children’s MEIM scores would not correlate with their PHSC scores. The data bares this out as no such relationship was found, $r = +.001, n = 52, p = .997$ (2-tailed).
DISCUSSION

Ethnic identification

On a number of measures, the children showed identification with both their birth culture and New Zealand culture. With regard to their New Zealand identification, this may be related to the adoptees’ racial similarity to other New Zealanders, and the children’s perception of being treated as Kiwis. It has been suggested in the ethnic socialisation literature that how others ethnically describe children influences how they ethnically label themselves (Aboud, 1987). It also stands to reason that children who have been in New Zealand most of their lives, and thus grown into the New Zealand way of life in a very fundamental sense, will see themselves as New Zealanders. This argument was also made by Irhammar and Cederblad (1999), Brottveit (1999), and Sætersdal and Dalen (2000) in their respective studies.

However, the children also showed clear identification with their birth culture, demonstrated most obviously through the overall average MEIM score for the group of 2.54 (SD = .57), representing at least moderate birth culture identification. This identification was stronger the more recently children had entered the adoptive family. This may indicate assimilation to New Zealand culture subsuming some degree of birth culture identification, or possibly a gradual waning of parents’ commitment over time to maintaining the child’s links to their place of birth. (See Scherman & Harré, 2004, for more discussion of the parent’s role in the ethnic socialisation of the adoptees.).

It is also noteworthy that the two children placed after the age of ten had an average MEIM score of 3.22 (SD = .30), which was at the higher end of the range. Finding higher ethnic identity scores for the adoptees who were placed at an older age, is on par with the TRA literature, which has suggested that the older a child is at placement, the more likely s/he is to engage in ethnic behaviours associated with the birth culture (Kim, 1977), and the more likely the child is to ethnically identify with the birth culture (Lydens & Snarey, 1989). This also supports the idea that older adoptees “bring culture with them” when they arrive, and therefore, may be less
likely, or slower, to assimilate (Berry, Trimble & Olmedo, 1986), as compared with those children who were adopted younger.

Clearly, more research is needed to see if developing a dual ethnic identity is achievable or desirable, and if so, how families can promote biculturalism within their adopted children. According to Westhues and Cohen (1998) and others (e.g. LaFromboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993), biculturalism involves having a sense of understanding and belonging to both cultures, which suggests that indices of biculturalism must include how much the person identifies with both cultures. While the current study found that the children often saw themselves as an equal mix of birth culture and New Zealand culture, there was no measure of New Zealand identification equivalent to the MEIM measure of birth culture identification. Friedlander (1999) states that measuring one’s identification with the majority culture is difficult. This may be due to difficulties in operationally defining that which encompasses the majority culture, or the tendency to see ethnicity as pertaining only to minority groups, or persons of colour.

**Children’s interest and participation in the birth culture**

There has been some recent speculation within the TRA literature (e.g. Irhammar & Cederblad, 1999; Westhues and Cohen, 1998), that ethnic identity and birth culture interest may operate independent of each other. For example, Irhammar and Cederblad (1999) found that while the adoptees in their study had predominately Swedish ethnic identities, this did not preclude them taking an active interest in their birth cultures. Conversely, Phinney (1990) states that a child can have a clear ethnic identity, but still choose not to participate in the cultural activities associated with it. The present study found that 90% of the children enjoyed the birth culture activities they engaged in, even if they did not know a great deal about their birth cultures, or had only moderately high ethnic identity scores. Overall, this provides additional evidence that internationally adopted children can enjoy aspects of their birth cultures, even if they do not ethnically identify with them. Nonetheless, the contention that birth culture interest and identification operate separately needs further investigate within the context of ICA, as well as
the possibility that children are engaging in cultural activities without a conscious or explicit awareness that the activities are related to their birth cultures.

Due to New Zealand’s strong sporting culture, several questions were asked about interest in birth culture sports, which showed that for the majority of children, they took an active interest in watching or supporting the competitors from their birth countries. In light of the literature on sports fan identity, this may be evidence of greater birth culture identification than revealed on the other measures, for the majority who expressed a desire to see the birth country win in a hypothetical sporting match. In her review of sports fan research, considered in the context of social identity theory, Jacobson (2003) noted that the feelings commensurate with being a sports fan include belongingness and a sense of group membership and community. Supporting the competitors from the birth country may allow the children to exercise a socially acceptable affinity with the birth culture in a way that does not disrupt their connection with the host culture.

**Similarity to majority of New Zealanders**

Due to the racial similarity between children and adoptive parents, several questions were asked to test the assumption that the racial congruity would influence the degree to which the children would perceive themselves, and be perceived by others, as similar to the dominant culture. Overwhelmingly, the children reported that other people treated them like Kiwis. Only two children said they were treated sometimes like a Kiwi and sometimes like a foreigner, and only one child reported being treated like a foreigner.

Additionally, the children were asked if they thought that a stranger, seeing them out with their adoptive parents, could tell that they were adopted. With 69% responding *No* to this item, it would appear that the majority of children also perceived themselves to look very similar to the adoptive parents. Finding that the vast majority of internationally adopted children see themselves as Kiwis is on par with the TRA literature. On the other hand, finding that others tend also to see the children as New Zealanders is in stark contrast to the experiences of many
of the adoptees in the TRA literature, where numerous authors described occasions where the adopted children had been mistaken for immigrants instead of members of the majority culture (e.g. Brottveit, 1999; Dalen & Sætersdal, 1987; Irhammar & Cederblad, 2000; Rørbech, 1991). For instance, 60% of the adoptees in the study by Irhammar and Cederblad (2000), and almost 100% of the adoptees in the study by Brottveit (1999) were reported to have been treated as immigrants or foreigners, at one time or another, despite the adoptees being raised most of their lives in their respective communities, and experiencing themselves as members of the dominant community.

**Experiences of prejudice and discrimination**

Freundlich (2000) speculated that Eastern European children would be less likely to suffer the same race-related problems reported for transracially adopted children due to their racial similarity to the host culture. This seems to be the case with the present population. It was reported that very few children had experienced acts of prejudice or discrimination by others. This was encouraging, although not surprising, since, as reported above, over 90% of children felt that others saw them as Kiwis. Not being seen as different would likely have a strong influence on the children’s lack of experiences of discrimination. However, it must be acknowledged that these comparisons are between racially similar children raised in New Zealand, and the racially dissimilar children described in the literature from North America or Europe. On the other hand, the two children in the current study, who were racially different, also reported experiencing no prejudice. It is difficult to know if this reflects a more tolerant environment in New Zealand, perhaps particularly in regard to children, especially since studies suggest that New Zealand has the same tendency to be racially intolerant towards minority groups seen elsewhere (e.g. Rasalingam, 2003).

**Self-concept**

On the Piers-Harris Children’s Self-Concept Scale, the overall mean for the group was 86.54 (SD = 7.59), indicating these children generally had strong self-concepts. This was not unexpected, based on the TRA literature. On a number of indices of adjustment, including self-esteem and
self-concept, the transracially adopted children described in the research literature were often found to be doing very well (e.g. Andujo, 1988; Brottveit, 1999; Kim, 1977; McRoy & Zurcher, 1983; Simon & Altstein, 1992; Westhues & Cohen, 1998).

On the other hand, research on the adoption of Eastern European children who have had a history of institutionalisation, has found that it is not uncommon to see negative outcomes in adjustment (e.g. Chisholm, 1998; Hostetter et al., 1989; Rutter et al., 2000). Finding, in the current study, that so many of the children scored highly on the measure of self-concept, despite their early institutionalisation, could be the result of a response bias on the part of the adoptive parents; they may have agreed to let their children participate due to their perceptions of their children’s high degree of functioning overall. Parents of children with the greatest adjustment difficulties may have chosen not to participate. On the other hand, it is also possible that the children’s high self-concept is related to being racially similar to the parents and wider society, as was theoretically suggested by Freundlich (2000). Given the lower rates of discrimination and prejudice experienced by the children, combined with the high tendency to be perceived as members of the host culture, this “blending in” to the family and larger society, may have positively influenced the children’s self-concept scores. However, it should be noted that the two non-European children in the study had the highest PHSC scores, suggesting that racial incongruity with the adoptive parents may not, on its own, be a key factor in adjustment (although this point is based on only two children).

Based on the extensive body of research on transracial placements, which has suggested a lack of relationship between ethnic identity and adjustment, the current study expected to find the children’s ethnic identity (MEIM) scores to be statistically unrelated to their self-concept (PHSC) scores. This was, in fact, the case. Consistent with the TRA literature, it appears that for Eastern European children adopted into New Zealand homes, ethnic identity and self-concept operate independent of one another. With high self-concept scores and moderate ethnic identity scores, it is clear that not having a strong ethnic identification does not equate to poor self-concept. Furthermore, with the children in the present study also ethnically identifying with the New
Zealand culture, this further suggests that ethnic identification with the host culture is not commensurate with poor adjustment or marginal status.

Limitations of the study
The findings of the study must be considered in light of the limitations. For example, while it would have been more methodologically sound if the study could have compared the racially-similar ICA families in New Zealand to those with racially-different children, this was not possible, as there were too few ICA families with racially-different children to adequately compare. Consequently, it is not clear if differences observed between the children in the current study, and those transracially adopted children in North America or Europe, are due to the New Zealand children’s racial similarity to their parents and the dominant culture, or due to something different in the New Zealand context. Furthermore, with 100% of the families being recruited through a single non-profit agency that facilitates intercountry adoptions, there are clearly some concerns about generalisability to the adoptive families that have not utilised this service.

Conclusion
Our study found that the children adopted from Eastern Europe had an interest in their birth culture, and that their ethnic self-identification incorporated a mixture of New Zealand and birth culture identities. They also had high self-concept scores. Overall, these findings suggest that the Eastern European children adopted in New Zealand are well adjusted, and interested in their ethnic origins. Several intriguing questions remain, such as whether these findings are particular to New Zealand, and whether the ethnic identification of these children will change as they reach late adolescence and early adulthood. These await further research.
REFERENCES


The Global Emergence of Female Peacemakers: How Women Worldwide are Impacting their Nations’ Course Toward War or Peace
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The start of the new millennium corresponded with the emergence of a new and yet unheralded movement – the impact of the growing number of female leaders worldwide on decisions to choose war or peace. From Liberia to Chile, female heads of state are advocating cooperation, negotiation, and equality in an effort to change long-standing societal norms and political structures that traditionally led to war. In this paper we discuss the far-reaching impact of female leaders on their societies’ futures, the increased emphasis they place on human rights, and their attempts at restructuring their societies’ long-held norms and mores that in the past have resulted in conflict over cooperation.
Christians in Predominantly Muslim Societies: A Comparative Study of Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Sri-Lanka, and Egypt.
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The growth of anti-West sentiments in predominantly Muslim societies has significant effects on the lives of Christian minorities living in these cultures. In this paper we discuss the ramifications of these changes on asylum seekers to the US. We use a comparative approach to illustrate the considerable hardships Christian minorities experience in their home countries, and the factors that have been and should be considered for immigration asylum cases from these countries.
The title: Innovative Educational Techniques in Supporting Linguistic and Cultural Rights of Indigenous Peoples of Siberia

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Innovative Educational Techniques in Supporting Linguistic and Cultural Rights of Indigenous Peoples of Siberia

"European Charter on the languages of regional and minority peoples and languages of minorities" was signed by Russia in 2001. At present this multinational country is undergoing a complicated process of selecting corresponding paragraphs and subparagraphs of the Charter acceptable for or corresponding to the needs and possibilities of more than 130 linguistic minorities. Among these there are over 30 indigenous peoples of Siberia (two federal areas of the Russian Federation with a total territory of 10.000.000 sq. km or 58.8% of
The territory of Russia). These are Aleuts, Altaians, Buryats, Chuvans, Chukchi, Dolgans, Evens, Evenks, Enets, Eskimos, Itelmens, Khakas, Khanty, Kets, Koryaks, Mansi, Nanai, Nganasans, Negidals, Nenets, Nivkh, Oroks, Oroches, Selkups, Tofalars, Tuvinians, Ulchi, Shors, Udehe, Yukaghirs, Yakuts. It is impossible to tell the exact number of peoples because there are constantly processes under way connected with self-identification of ethnological groups within different peoples of Siberia. For instance, "Altaians", who were considered to be a single people, during the last decade present themselves as five separate ethnic groups: Tubalars, Kubandins, Chalkans, Telengits and the Altaians as well.

The state of the languages and the security of the linguistic rights of these peoples does not correspond to the requirements of the Charter at all. Since the Soviet times up to now ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples have been meeting with considerable difficulties in preserving their national cultures and native languages, their traditional ways of life, obtaining a high level education and full-fledged development of the personality. Specifically the infringement of the linguistic and cultural rights the Siberian minority peoples consists in as follows.

- Insufficient attention is paid to the native languages of the children of the indigenous peoples at educational establishments.
- Some ethnic minorities have no schools at all, especially those for small numbers of pupils in places of their compact habitation, which makes inevitable the teaching of all subjects at boarding schools in Russian.
- The side consequence of the universal education of children at boarding schools in isolation from their mother tongues and their family traditions is the appearance of marginal persons joining neither the Russian nor their traditional culture.
- Restricted sphere of using the mother tongue even within one’s family results in a gap between the generation of the parents who still continue speaking their mother tongue in the family, and the generation of the children who speak Russian both at boarding schools and at home.
- The school textbooks draw an incorrect picture of the Russian society; they contain no information on the existence of Siberian indigenous peoples, on their history, their contribution to the region’s culture and to the human culture in general.
- There are too few academic descriptions of indigenous languages and cultures, few research collectives dealing with these problems.
- Too few representatives of the indigenous peoples receive higher education in the humanities, there are few people capable of defending the rights of their people both at federal and international levels.
- The legal provision of the needs of the indigenous peoples is not adequately explored, the administrative and public monitoring is developed insufficiently.
- The Russian and international public sufficiently is not informed enough on the problems of indigenous peoples.

Thus one can ascertain the absence of many legislative, scientific and administrative foundations of securing linguistic, cultural and educational rights of the Siberian indigenous peoples. The consequence is some bitterness and aggressiveness as a result of accumulated tension in discriminated groups, on the one hand, and the responsive bitterness of the groups of the dominating population who fail to understand what this irritation has been caused by, on the other. The natural opposition "We are as we are, and they are different" is replaced by the antagonistic «We are good, and they are bad." An insufficiently deferential attitude to the customs, traditional beliefs and culture of the Siberian indigenous peoples may, under certain circumstances, form the basis for interethnic conflicts.
There is a pressing necessity of developing enlightening and many-levelled education programmes and methods making it possible to overcome the discrimination of the indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities.

Any educational work with the youth of Siberian indigenous peoples has to view the fact that their native national culture certainly needs external educational, scientific and administrative support. Otherwise, as has been the case for decades under the totalitarian rule, both the older generation and the children inevitably lose the command of their native language (the latter lose it almost completely).

At the same time, education in the Russian-speaking surrounding, as has been pointed out above, retains its foreign-ethnic character. There arises a barrier, at times insurmountable, in the teacher-pupil interrelation due to which the teacher experiences the feeling of acute dissatisfaction with his own work, the sensation of their potential being unrealised. The situation calls for purposeful educational and enlightening work among the teachers and lecturers of the territorial educational institutions aimed at preserving and developing the languages and cultures of the Siberian indigenous peoples. These teachers are facing a double task: (1) they must be highly skilled professionals trained outside their national districts, at leading federal higher educational establishments, and (2) they must obtain a good knowledge of life, work and culture of the population of the national district to whom the teacher is called upon to bring his educational potential.

Taking up the best positions among elite educational establishments of Russia and being located just in the centre of Siberia Novosibirsk State University (NSU) makes its special efforts in broadening the educational possibilities for the indigenous peoples of Siberia. Disposing of 108 chairs and 12 departments under State Certificate it accomplishes training specialities of Economics, Sociology, Linguistics and Philology, Psychology, History, Philosophy as well as specialists of Mathematics, Applied mathematics and computer science, Physics, Computer complexes, systems and networks, Software and automated systems, Chemistry, Biology; Geology, Geophysical methods of search and exploration of useful minerals, Ecology and nature management.

In 2002 NSU had established a special Laboratory for innovative educational technologies (NSU LIOT). This Laboratory had created in 2002-2004 a huge complex of special innovative technologies of the integrating ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples of Siberia into a system of high level education. The technologies mentioned were implemented by NSU LIOT together with NSU Chairs and departments in 2003-2007. The implemented LIOT technologies had formed together a targeted educational space for the indigenous peoples' youth with 4 large domains according the target groups of indigenous population:

1. gifted young indigenous people from 16 to 30 years of age for creating the national scientific potential of indigenous peoples in native linguistics is developed with a 5-models structure;
2. senior school pupils – representatives of Siberian indigenous peoples from the remotest districts of Siberia;
3. training and retraining the teachers of the remotest schools being situated in places of compact indigenous peoples' residing;
4. children and juveniles at an age of 5 to 15.

The concrete descriptions of these educational domains and the educational technologies included are presented below.
1. Gifted indigenous youth: creating the national scientific potential of the indigenous peoples of Siberia in mother-tongues and native cultures.

There were constructed and implemented by NSU LIOT 6 technologies for scientific Humanitarian potential of the indigenous peoples' of Siberia formation.

1.1. Targeted searching for the most gifted representatives of Siberia’s indigenous peoples residing in the remotest areas of Siberia for the further specialization in mother-tongues and native culture at the Humanitarian Department of NSU. The selecting process runs by the following criteria:

- Level of the interest in his/her mother tongue and culture manifested by the qualitative parameters of his/her participation in special NSU activities on the problems of preserving and maintaining the languages of Siberian indigenous peoples – the Regional and Interregional Olympiads in indigenous Peoples of Siberia Languages and Culture;
- Level of activity in the Project measures to form the educational space for children and juveniles in native places;
- Progress in studies in the framework of the adapted programmes for the representatives of Siberian indigenous peoples.

1.2. Creation of special training programmes at NSU Chair of the Languages and Folklore of Siberian Peoples for the representatives of different ethnic groups of Siberia to educate highly qualified specialists from representatives of Siberia’s indigenous population in the field of their mother tongues and their native culture. Creating a special adaptive program for these students with a special care to the objective Russian-dominating environment, maintenance of indigenous students' adaptation to this environmental without any loss of native traditions.

1.3. Preferential admission of the gifted and industrious representatives of Siberian indigenous peoples in Novosibirsk State University on specialty "Languages and cultures of the indigenous peoples of Siberia".

There are two ways of implementing the preferential admission into NSU for the indigenous peoples' youth.

The first one is the well-adjusted system of admitting the winners of Interregional Olympiad in studying native language and native culture. This way is described in detail below (section 2).

The second way ensures NSU LIOT created the technologies of involving the pupils from the communities where the language has practically disappeared (for example, Aleut, Orok, Ulch, etc.)

The main requirement of the target group in question is the children’s enthusiasm for humanitarian thinking. Here success in competitions in humanities subjects appears not to be enough. For this reason, training for the privileged admission of students is provided by a special campaign publicised by the Project, as well as by a number of supplementary arrangements:

- distributing information letters to the territorial bodies of local authorities with invitations to co-operation;
- negotiating with the heads of national administrative units and creating dialogue platforms in the territorial bodies of local authorities on the questions of providing a high-level education to representatives of Siberia’s indigenous peoples;
- distributing supplementary information letters to educational institutions of the corresponding territorial formations;
• defining the selection criteria and preparatory tasks for young people from Siberia’s indigenous peoples.

A privileged admission is offered to young people who officially express their interest and is accomplished by search and individual selection from among school pupils finishing national boarding schools or rural schools in national republics as well as by talks with students of national higher educational establishment completing the first year of their studies there.

1.4. **Training these graduates at the Post-Graduate Courses** of NSU with a specialization in the field of the languages of Siberia’s indigenous peoples. Encouraging the potential young leaders to promote the achievements of their native languages and cultures.

1.5. **Training to adequately presentations their work in international forums.** A research team was created by the NSU Laboratory for innovative educational techniques together with Turkic Philology Institute at the Frankfurt University headed by Prof. M. Erdal as well as with Finno-Ugric Languages Institute at the Munich University headed by Prof. E. Skribnik. The internships for gifted indigenous post-graduate students were run according to the following plan:

- series of lectures by leading German experts on the history, cultures and languages of the USFE indigenous peoples (Frankfurt – Turkic languages, Munich – Finno-Ugric and Samoyed languages), and on the problems of recording and preserving the languages of indigenous peoples;
- the work at the libraries on the preliminarily selected subjects, consultations by German specialists on the subjects of research;
- the participation of the target groups’ representatives in the work of the International conferences and symposiums on the problems of preserving the languages of indigenous peoples with contribution of their own reports on native language preservation and development.

1.6. **Further NSU investigations for external preservation and support of the disappeared languages of the indigenous peoples of Siberia.**

Even the representatives of humanitarian trades, although they are quite aware of the merits and significance of their native languages, without external support are losing the command of their native languages - the older generation to a considerable degree, and the younger generation practically by 100%.

Only a comprehensive description of the linguistic continuum will make it possible to correctly choose a supporting dialect on whose basis it will be possible to create educational literature comprehensible to the speakers of different dialects. At present the number of investigations of this kind is negligible, and so is that of investigators capable of accomplishing them, as well as that of organisations realising the urgency of these investigations.

Novosibirsk State University supports the national cadres by:

- recording oral speech including specimens of folklore (musical folklore as well);
- experimental - phonetic analysis of oral speech;
- creating of data bases;
- producing audio and video cassettes with recorded texts in the languages of indigenous peoples;
creating a base with a complex of video materials permitting the older generations to maintain their knowledge of their mother tongue, and the younger generations to master it.

- Resuming the practice of publishing bilingual reading materials as the fairy-tales, stories, information texts of historical, geographic and ethnographic character. For example, in 2003 there were published 2 of them which were written just by the young Khakas and Shorian leaders trained at NSU program presented here.


There were constructed and implemented by NSU LIOT 4 educational technologies aimed at broadening the possibilities of indigenous school-leavers in obtaining higher education.

2.1 Promotion of the youth education programmes targeted at preserving and developing the languages of these peoples, their national culture, ethnic memory.

A complex system of measures had been carried out to educate the representatives of indigenous peoples’ communities both as good specialists in professions needed in the market economy and as indigenous peoples representatives who are able to support the linguistic and cultural rights of native peoples. That is the reason why every activity for the youth people’s education starts with participation in a 3-staged Olympiad in their mother-tongue and native culture where the young representatives of the indigenous peoples’ communities who wants to receive higher education at NSU within the privileged admission system has to demonstrate his personal knowledge of his own ethnic roots and his native people’s history.

Stages of the Olympiad in indigenous languages and culture:

- The first stage takes place at the local communities' schools during lessons of the native language; the tasks for the Olympiad are prepared by the teachers of native language who had got special training at NSU (see below in details).

- The second stage is held at the regional level for the winners of the first stage. The tasks are prepared by the specialists of the Educational Department or sent by NSU and his partners’ teachers.

- The third stage is held as Interregional Olympiad annually in March at Novosibirsk with participants’ presentations of their native culture.

2.2 Regional Olympiad in Mathematics for the school pupils- representatives of indigenous peoples' local communities.

Those young representatives who are gifted and interested in technical subjects much more than in Humanities are to be involved in a network of 2-staged Regional Olympiad:

- The first stage takes place at the local communities schools during the special tasks, adapted to a level of studying Maths at village schools, sent by the teachers of NSU Computer Sciences College to Antennae multipliers for spreading these tasks in the remotest villages. The most industrious pupils, winners of the first stage, are to be invited to a contest in Mathematics at the Antennae Centres for visiting teachers.
• The second stage is held in January during the school holidays. The College teachers leave to Antennae for organising there special intensive trainings-courses for the most gifted and industrious youth, winners of the 1st stage, and special training courses for their teachers as well. The courses for children are ended by a Regional Olympiad in Mathematics and Physics.

• The winners of the regional Olympiads are to be invited to the Summer Computer Science School at Novosibirsk. During the time rest for summer these pupils will receive from NSU College individual tasks; preparing those they could get he education enough for starting the next stage – Summer School training.

2.3 Arranging and holding the Remote (External) Mathematical, Physical, Chemical, Biological and Economical contests through implementing them in the languages of the indigenous peoples of Siberia as well.

Every year about 130 teachers and research workers of NSU go to the towns of the Eastern zones of Siberia and the Far East to hold Olympiads in natural sciences among the talented youth to select gifted schoolchildren for the Summer School in Mathematics and Physics.

A Summer school is a necessary stage in the system of revealing, supporting and developing the talented youth of the ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples of Siberia when for this youth first adaptation classes, and then regular educational classes are arranged. The classes are concluded by tests indicating the efficiency and expediency of teaching.

In accordance with the results of the Summer school, on the competition basis, the best pupils are admitted to the Specialised Science-Education Centre (SSEC NSU). In addition, annually the NSU arranges away Summer schools in the remotest regions (in Sakhalin, Kamchatka, etc.) with the support of the administrations of these regions.

Through these contests the NSU will select pupils from the regions of compact residence of the indigenous peoples of Siberia. The main tasks of these Remote (External) contests are:

- arousing and developing interest of the talented youth representing the Siberian ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples for natural sciences;
- offering the pupils of general education schools located in places emote from scientific centres an opportunity to get an in-depth knowledge of mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, economics;
- raising a level of teaching natural-science subjects at school, methodological help to teachers in teaching the key items of the programme and of the optional courses.

The educational programmes of the External School are well adapted by NSU LIOT to the level of readiness of the target group representatives who had got their education starting at their remotest regions very far from the leading universities and schools. The adaptation process includes:

- Organising and conducting intensive preparatory courses in the places of compact residence of Siberia’s ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples.
- Arranging consultative, psychological, social and other kinds of help to representatives of Siberia’s ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples.

2.4. A privileged enrolment of the winners of Olympiads for the further education in non-Humanities.
There are two LIOT branches for further education of the senior pupils - indigenous peoples' representatives.

**NSU LIOT branch at Chukchi Versatile College** offering:
- Ethnic-sensitive Teaching;
- National Art and Culture;
- National Economics;
- Law and Social Security;
- Management Psychology with additional education in specialised areas (cutting and sewing of national dress; traditional national trades; leather and fur work; organization of workshops in - welding, joinery, metal work, electrics).

**NSU LIOT branch at Higher College of Computer Sciences (HCCS)** offering:
- A Summer School in Programming - annually in July, 21-days-long, 144-hours of courses in computer sciences;
- A year-round, distance-learning school in Mathematics which organises once a year (in January, during the school holidays) Winter Schools at Antennae as intensive preparatory courses in the areas of compact residence of indigenous peoples USFE;
- Stationary education at HCCS for the most industrious pupils – participants of the HCCS activities mentioned before.

### 3. Improving the professional skills and retraining of the school teachers in places of indigenous peoples' compact residing.

The organisational core of improving the teachers' professional skills in the remotest schools of a huge territory in millions of square kilometres of Russian North and Far East is an innovative technique of the "Novosibirsk University Antennae’.

#### 3.1. Formation of an educational network (NSU Antennae) for spreading and implementing the modern and innovative NSU LIOT technologies.

Each Antenna is NSU LIOT branch located very far from NSU (at the local municipal Educational Departments) to assist in implementing NSU LIOT educational technologies for indigenous peoples. Being founded at the Educational Departments the Antennas do not have any formal problems of registration, licensing etc.

NSU LIOT Antennae is not an alien body in the structure of municipal Educational Departments at places of indigenous peoples' compact residing because they simply give official form to a system of remote communication between territorial educational bodies and a uniting centre, Novosibirsk State University. This formalisation allows the Antennae to carry out various other functions along with organisational and financial support of the project.

- Antennae also serve as a support for solving the every day problems of the teachers' of the remotest schools. Here reliable and free consultation should be given, above all on the most vital and urgent problems – those of tolerant interrelations between representatives of different ethnic cultures.
- Antennae lobby for the interests of the school teachers in the remotest districts of Russian federation. Forming an integral part of the local authorities, they are capable of stating and presenting proposals that arise from everyday educational work with the youth, women, children and adolescents of the ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples to representatives of a higher level power.
• Forming part of local administrative centres, the Antennae will create a network of contacts in various spheres with representatives of ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples of North Siberia and Far-East Russia inhabiting localities more distant from the administrative centres.

3.2 Functions of the Antennae.

There are two main functions of NSU LIOT Antennae in improving the school teachers' abilities: 1) help in the targeted search and selection of potential young indigenous leaders who is to be trained first and who could multiply further the innovative educational technologies for the other teachers at remotest places; 2) to implement the innovative NSU models of and additional education for children and juveniles- the education based on the tolerance dialogue ideas.

The first function is to be realised through a two-stage process.

❖ Evaluating the level of ethnic self-awareness. This innovative technique has been developed by NSU LIOT in 2003 and consists of:

- special questionnaires to define the specific character of the target subgroup;
- selection of interesting material, adapting it for teaching (planning of tasks and exercises and the defining of stages of understanding;
- selection of methods to stimulate active involvement of the seminar participants in the learning process (role-playing games, discussions, creative workshops, brain storms, role-playing tasks).

The implementation of these innovative techniques gives the opportunity to observe the behaviour of the participants of the working seminar when placed in the position of a representative of a different culture, how they behave in situation of direct contact and cultural shock, evaluate the level of understanding of their own cultural identity and, correspondingly, the potential of their personal leadership skills.

❖ Acquainting the teachers of the remotest schools with the following ideas:

- One comprehends one’s own culture through interrelation with other cultures;
- Understanding of oneself and others is achieved through direct contact and interaction with a representative of another culture.
- Increased understanding of oneself and others is possible through a knowledge of symbolic forms of cultural expression (language, habits, customs, rituals, art).

The second function is to be realized through a system of intensive courses for the school teachers at places of the schools’ residing.

Every year in either January or March (during the school holidays) NSU Professors visit Antennae for implementing the special intensive training and improving the professional skills of the school teachers in the Russian North and Far East. The special methodological seminars and lectures are implementing as well as testing functions for further improvements in retraining school teachers and coordinating the educational help to them.

4. The educational space for children and juveniles: promoting tolerance dialogue of ethnic cultures.

Supporting the linguistic rights of ethnic minorities should objectively be started from the appropriate bringing up and education of children and juveniles. The specific status of this target group is due to the fact that children and juveniles are subject to mutual intolerance and to elements of aggression in the highest degree.
It is quite evident, however, that the hostile attitude of children to those of the same age but with a different national culture is not of natural origin. It is only caused by an improper education in the family, by negative examples in the surrounding life, and, last but not least, by elementary lack of knowledge of the other culture. It has become an urgent task to acquaint young citizens with the diversity of ethnic cultures, to form a target educational space for the Siberian children and juveniles on the questions of interethnic interrelations.

NSU had created the innovative education techniques for making a target ethnic tolerance education space for children and juveniles of 5-15.

There are three models of additional education for children and juveniles which construct together the educational space of ethnic tolerance.

**The first model of additional education “Me – my family – my Motherland”** for children below school age and junior schoolchildren, who attend the seminar together with their parents and elderly members of their family. Their practical activity includes three measures:

- a series of talks on the history of the family in different ethnic groups;
- a quiz “We used to....
- a network project “Children’s rights through a drawing.”

**The second model “Me – my family – my people”** for school pupils of the middle age group contains four measures:

- arranging a course of lectures for school pupils “The indigenous peoples: who are they?”
- holding a competition of essays “ My Forefathers: What do I Know About Them?”
- schoolchildren’s conference at Chukchi VC “Pages of the History of Indigenous Peoples of Russian North”
- An intellectual marathon at NSU “The History of UFEA Indigenous Peoples: People and Their Achievements.”

**The third model of additional education “Ethnic Tolerance Lessons”** is an innovative educational technique of NSU, approved in 2003 and implemented in 2004-2005 in the North and South Siberia, which achieved the best recommendations through its wide expansion among 15 non-numerous indigenous peoples’ NGOs. It was examined also in details by the Educational Departments of local authorities of Novosibirsk oblast, Khakas Republic and Taimyr (Dolgan-Nenets), Chukchi, Koryak, Aga Buryat Autonomous Areas; the official appraisal was also very positive.

The project consists of special training for adolescents and both senior school pupils and students of colleges and includes an exciting contest between 5 teams (7-15 participants each one) in studying the foundations of international mechanisms and procedures for promoting the support for ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples’ rights:

- United Nations Declaration on Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.
- World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance.
- European Conference “All Different - All Equal”: from Theory to Practice.
- Durban Declaration against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance.
- Europe against Discrimination. Conference report.

The complex educational space of ethnic tolerance and supporting the linguistic and cultural rights of indigenous peoples is implemented in capitals of the 13 national reas of
Russia as well as in the remote districts of every one of them. The computer network and the information technologies of NSU allow it to develop remote teaching and extend the sphere of the NSU activities making it possible to repeatedly replicate the positive results and ensure high effectiveness of the process.
Imagery and Therapeutic Communication: Implications for Public Health

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Full Paper Attached
ID: 757
Imagery and Therapeutic Communication: Implications for Public Health

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It is commonly recognized that there are three major modalities of cognition and expression (Sheikh 1983, 1994). To put it simply, there are three major ways to get to know our world and to express ourselves. These have been termed enactive, lexical, and image modalities (Horowitz, 1978). The enactive mode involves our physical behavior or the motoric aspects of our life. The lexical or linguistic mode is largely coordinated through our left hemisphere which tends to be linear, logical, analytical, and rational. The image mode, on the other hand, seems largely dependent on the right hemisphere of the brain. It is very perception-like and gives a sensory quality to our ideas and feelings. Contrary to the common misconception, mental images are not all visual; they exist in all sense modalities, and can be visual, auditory, olfactory, and so on. A definition of mental imagery, such as that by Richardson (1969), is generally implicit in the clinical uses of imagery: "Mental imagery refers to all those quasi-sensory or quasi-perceptual experiences of which we are self-consciously aware and which exist for us in the absence of those stimulus conditions that are known to produce their genuine sensory or perceptual counterparts" (Richardson, 1969, p. 2).

Of the three modalities, imagery is considered to be the most free one. It largely escapes society's approval or disapproval. Because of the process of socialization, our motor and verbal behaviors begin to conform to society's expectations; whereas, imagery stays free, nonconforming, and very personal. Also over the years a large body of research has
clearly established that "experiencing something in imagery can be considered to be in many essential ways psychologically equivalent to experiencing the thing in actuality" (Klinger, 1980, p. 5). This makes imagery an excellent tool for psychotherapy (Achterberg, 1995; Sheikh, 2002).

Psychotherapy has often been compared to communication between two friends with one important difference. While in communication between friends both parties have equal status and both expect to benefit and grow as a result, in the psychotherapy situation there is a power differential, and it is only the health and growth of the patient that is the focus. And of course there is payment involved. The client is "purchasing" friendship. He is missing something in his life which the therapist is assumed to be able to deliver. However, the process of communication is basically the same. It goes on at two levels, intrapersonally and interpersonally. Covert dialogue is expressed overtly by one which leads to covert dialogue in the other who in turn expresses it overtly.

It appears that some of us are habitual verbalizers while others are habitual visualizers (Richardson, 1977). For verbalizers, both intra and interpersonal communications occur in words; whereas, in the case of visualizers (imagers), interpersonal communication happens in words, but the intrapersonal communication largely occurs in images. It has been claimed that habitual visualizers are able to express themselves better if they are encouraged to bring their images into their minds, concentrate on them and then try to describe them in the present tense as they are experiencing them. Also, recently it has become clear that in the cases of posttraumatic stress disorder, something goes awry with the linguistic system, and at the same time visual ability becomes exceptional.
Consequently patients can be helped successfully by shifting the emphasis to the image modality (Naperstek, 2004; Sheikh, 2003).

Imagery is now generally perceived as an effective therapeutic tool for a number of reasons. Singer (1974) asserts that the effectiveness of imagery primarily depends upon the patient’s clear attention to the ongoing fantasy process, hints from the therapist concerning alternate approaches to various situations, awareness of the often avoided situations, the therapist’s encouragement to covertly rehearse alternative responses, and resulting decrease in fear of avoided stimulus situations. Meichenbaum (1978) suggests that the therapeutic success of images lies, among other factors, in the sense of control that the client acquires from monitoring and rehearsing various images, and from the changed meaning or internal dialogue that precedes, accompanies, and succeeds undesirable behavior.

In addition to the processes outlined above, Sheikh, Kunzendorf, and Sheikh (2003) provide a summary of numerous other features of the imagery mode that contribute to its clinical effectiveness:

1. Experience in imagination can be viewed as psychologically equivalent, in many significant respects, to the actual experience; imagery and perception seem to be experientially and neurophysiologically similar processes (Klinger, 1980; Kosslyn, 1980; Richardson, 1969, 1994; Sheikh & Jordan, 1983).

2. Verbal logic is linear, whereas the image is simultaneous representation. This trait of simultaneity gives imagery greater isomorphism with perception and, therefore, greater capacity for descriptive accuracy (Sheikh & Panagioiou, 1975).

3. The imagery system fosters a richer experience of a range of emotions (Singer, 1979).
4. Mental images lead to a variety of physiological changes (Richardson, 1984; Sheikh & Kunzendorf, 1984; Sheikh, Kunzendorf, & Sheikh, 1996; White, 1978).
5. Images are a source of details about past experiences (Sheikh & Panagiotou, 1975).
6. Imagery readily provides access to significant memories of early childhood when language was not yet predominant (Kepecs, 1954).
7. Imagery appears to be very effective in bypassing defenses and resistances (Klinger, 1980; Naperstek, 1994; Reyher, 1963; Singer, 1974).
8. Imagery frequently opens up new avenues for exploration, after therapy has come to an impasse (Sheikh & Jordan, 1983).
9. Images are less likely than linguistic expression to be filtered through the conscious critical apparatus. Generally, words and phrases must be consciously understood before they are spoken – that is, they must pass through a rational censorship before they can assume a grammatical order. Perhaps imagery is not subject to this filtering process, therefore it may be a more direct expression of the unconscious (Panagiotou & Sheikh, 1977; Sheikh, Kunzendorf & Sheikh, 1996).
10. The failure to think imaginistically creates disharmony in the mind and body (Ahsen, 1978; Schwartz, 1984).

In view of the foregoing characteristics of the imagery mode, it seems reasonable to place faith in its healing potential. A significant body of research generated over the last three decades supports this belief. It has been demonstrated for instance that imagery is effective in the treatment of obesity (Bornstein & Sipprelle, 1973), insomnia (Sheikh, 1976), phobias and anxieties (Habeck & Sheikh, 1984), depression (Schultz, 1984), sexual malfunctions (Singer & Switzer, 1980) chronic pain (Korn, 1983; Johnson, 1983; McCaffery & Beebe, 1989), fibroid tumors (Pickett, 1988), and cancer (Hall, 1984). It has also been found to lower blood pressure, reduce cholesterol (Bennet & Caroll, 1990) and lipid peroxides (Schneider, 1998), speed up healing from cuts (Ginandes et al., 2003), fractures (Ginandes & Rosenthal, 1999), and burns (Fratianne et al., 2001), cut blood loss (Dreher, 1998) and length of hospital stay (Halpin et al., 2002) in surgery patients, strengthen immune function (Gruzelier, 2002), reduce bingeing and purging in people...
with bulimia (Esplen et al., 1998) and to improve motor deficits in stroke patients (Page, 2001)

In addition, findings of clinical trials at many teaching hospitals, clinics, and universities demonstrate the effectiveness of imagery and relaxation in healing (see Dreher, 1998, for a review). Recent investigation supporting the therapeutic value of imagery have been conducted at the following centers: College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University, UCLA School of Medicine, Maine Medical Center, Central Maine Medical Center, Eastern Maine Medical Center, Harvard Medical School, Medical College of Wisconsin, University of Akron, University College, London, Medical College of Ohio, Mount Sinai School of Medicine, NY, University of Texas-Houston School of Public Health, Department of Family Practice, University of Texas Health Science Center, San Antonio, Center for Stress Management and Research, Monash University, Victoria, Australia, Children’s Hospital of Denver, University of Arizona, Tucson, Stanford University, University of Wisconsin-Green Bay, University of Akron, and Cleveland Clinic Foundation (Bauer, Hoffman, & Sheikh, 2003).

Imagery has been proven particularly effective in the treatment of trauma for several reasons. The fact that imagery “is taken in primarily through the right hemisphere, by way of primitive, sensory, and emotion-based channels in the brain and nervous systems, using our capacity for sensing, perceiving, feeling, and apprehending rather than our left-brain-brain thinking, judging, analyzing, and deciding” renders it an excellent intervention for post-traumatic stress disorder (Naparstek 2004, 150). Moreover the reports of survivors of a traumatic event make it clear that spontaneous images play a
large role in their continued suffering. Patients often will complain about seeing images from the event which are then accompanied by a response in the body (quickness of breathe, increased heart rate, etc). If images play a role in the complaints, they also can be a modality in the healing process (Taal, Krop, 2003).

Imagery is also beneficial because words can only partially express the experience; whereas, “images provide a more comprehensive picture of what matters” (Taal & Krop 2003, 397). Images often hold complex metaphorical meaning that cannot be expressed with words, sometimes because even the patient is unclear about the meaning. It is precisely because imagery bypasses logic, that it can directly impact unconscious assumptions and deal with defeating self-concepts in the context of reminders of health, strength, meaning, and hope (Naparstek, 2004).

In view of the demonstrated efficacy of imagery, it holds significant promise in the field of public health. Its value lies in the fact that it is low-cost, preventative and curative, and often fast acting. Furthermore, it is effective regardless of a person’s intelligence, education, socio-economic background, age, or strength. And as Naparstek put it, subjects can be “bone-tired, disgusted, depressed, disbelieving, listless, resistant, distracted, mentally disabled, physically unfit, or at death’s door, and imagery will still be something they can use, because it requires so little of them (2004, pp. 150-151).

Imagery is perhaps especially underutilized in the area of global health, because most developing countries struggle against a shortage of health professionals, of health clinics, of drugs, and of funding. Imagery is an inexpensive tool. Moreover, the global burden of mental health is a major public health problem. The World Health Organization (WHO) has taken the initiative to include mental health in treatment packages and has
specified that treatment should be effective, transportable, sustainable, and cost-effective (Ustun, 1999). There is perhaps no other technique that so thoroughly fulfills these requirements. The imagery modality is eminently sustainable, since the client requires only initial guidance and then become his/her own guide.

In the context of global health, trauma is especially relevant. Currently roughly 40 violent conflicts are active and nearly 1% of the world’s population are refugees or displaced people (Summerfield, 2000). Most of these people will experience the symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder at some point in their lives. Many of these people could be effectively reached through imagery, as it only takes one trained professional to train an entire refugee camp. Jeanne Achterberg (1992), one of the world’s leading imagery experts, has begun work in this area, but in order for this technique to reach its potential, it needs to be recognized and implemented by the public health community.
REFERENCES


The Social and Behavioral Sciences Curriculum Integration Project at Eastern Washington University: Progress and Sustainability

Topic: Cross-disciplinary areas
(as related to Anthropology, Geography, Sociology, Children’s Studies, Justice Studies, History, Social Studies Education, Government, International Affairs, Interdisciplinary Studies, Military Science, Economics, Communication Studies, Psychology and Women’s Studies)

Poster session

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ABSTRACT: The Social and Behavioral Sciences Curriculum Integration Project at Eastern Washington University: Progress and Sustainability

Purpose: The purpose of The Social and Behavioral Sciences Curriculum Integration Project was initiated in 2000 to revitalize the social and behavioral sciences curriculum. It addressed critical problems facing the social and behavioral sciences at Eastern Washington University (EWU) and at institutions throughout the country:

- Declining enrollments in core social and behavioral science disciplines;
- The loss of students from social and behavioral science curricula to professional schools and career-oriented programs;
- Boundary disputes among the social and behavioral sciences that lead to overlapping curricula and duplication of courses; and
- The lack of coordination and cooperation among the disciplines of the social and behavioral sciences, increasing competition for available resources.

Initial funding for this project was provided by a 2000 Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FIPSE) Grant. Total funding for a three-year period was $350,000. The College of Social and Behavioral Sciences (CSBS) has continued to support the curriculum integration project with budget and resources.

Scope: The Social and Behavioral Sciences Curriculum Integration Project was designed to address the problems above, allow for the integration of the disciplines in the social and behavioral sciences and maintain disciplinary integrity. It did this by developing a curriculum model for the majors in the social and behavioral sciences that strengthened the role of theory, quantitative reasoning and research in all the disciplines and increased the career-focus of the curricula, thus strengthening the foundational, disciplinary and interdisciplinary curricula in the college. The disciplines included were: Anthropology, Children’s Studies, Communication Studies, Justice Studies, Economics, Geography, Government, History, Interdisciplinary Studies, International Affairs, Military Science, Psychology, Social Studies Education, Sociology, and Women’s Studies.

Results: The Social and Behavioral Sciences Curriculum Integration Project awakened in every discipline a sense of themselves disciplinarily and collegially. The faculty in each of the departments and programs had to consider the place of their discipline in the general education curriculum, their relationships to other disciplines in the social and behavioral sciences, and the distinctive nature and characteristics of their field of study as an academic discipline. In addition, they were called on to rethink the minimal requisite theoretical, quantitative and methodological foundational literature, the essential core areas of their disciplines, to anticipate the direction of disciplinary and interdisciplinary changes, and how best to provide students with the kinds of tools to translate their academic interests into success in a career.

Departments and Programs within CSBS:
- Revised their introductory survey courses and compressed their interdisciplinary core coursework.
• Created a range of College-wide foundational courses in theory, statistics and research methods.
• Created a number of topically-focused interdisciplinary courses and internships as well as experiential learning-oriented certificates.

Additionally, the college created a number of task-specific committees, committee chairs, and ultimately, involved fully 60% of the full-time faculty in the college. The Social and Behavioral Sciences Curriculum Integration Project improved the quality, cost efficiency, and effectiveness of instruction.

**Current Challenges:** Currently, the university is undergoing a new strategic planning effort to support an integrated academic environment, which fosters connections among disciplines, between faculty and students, and with campus and community.

As part of the CSBS Strategic Plan (and in support of the University strategic goals), the college is reexamining and rededicating its efforts to the curriculum integration project. Although much has changed and enrollments and quality are up significantly in the college, the college is facing sustainability challenges in uncertain times. These challenges include:

• Inadequate numbers of faculty to teach all of the classes.
• Unrealized potential in the development of certificates.
• The Methods courses originally designed are problematic and need to be revised.
• Resources across the college are strained.
• Faculty attempting to balance curriculum integration demands while still engaged in their own research and research involving students.
• Funding uncertainty. The university’s strategic planning process will require a new budget model that will drive the efforts and resources for the immediate and near future. The model has yet to be developed.

**Background:** Eastern Washington University is a student-centered, regionally based, comprehensive university. Its campus is located in Cheney, within the Spokane metropolitan area, with additional learning centers in the region and elsewhere in Washington State. Its mission is to prepare broadly educated, technologically proficient, and highly productive citizens to attain meaningful careers, to enjoy enriched lives, and to make contributions to a culturally diverse society.

CSBS contains seven departments, five interdisciplinary programs, a center, one shared institute and is the home for several university wide efforts. There are 80 full-time faculty and enrollments have increased by 240 full-time equivalent students in just two years. Additionally, CSBS faculty teach 65-75% of the universities undergraduate General Education and upper level International and Cultural Diversity requirements and two of the three fastest growing majors (Communication Studies and Sociology/Justice Studies) are in the college.

**This Session:** Dean Vickie Rutledge Shields and Associate Dean Jeff Stafford will report on the successes and problems of this program and discuss how the college is facing the challenges of this innovative interdisciplinary social science core. The presenters will facilitate an exchange of ideas ranging in scope from the strategic and budgeting issues to the development of courses and
certificates. The focus will be on sustainability of the project and will provide examples of how to develop similar programs on other campuses.
Title: College Student Usage of Mass Media: Online or Traditional

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ABSTRACT

College Student Usage of Mass Media: Online or Traditional

As our options for accessing and retrieving news, advertising and entertainment continue to expand with the introduction of each additional electronic device, audiences gain more control of their media fare. The type of information and opinion they select to read or view becomes ever more their choice rather than that of an editor or producer. Their options for recorded or live shows or events are increasing rapidly. The audience now can select from a variety of options not available before. As a result, the concept of “mass” media and “mass” audiences has changed.

What are the implications of these changes for our students? What impact do these changes have on their views of the world and its inhabitants? What impact might this have on the way we teach our students?

This study looks at the mass media usage of college students to see how they spend their time with the traditional mass media and the new media. The investigation looks at how our students learn about the world in which they live and examines their preferences related to sources of information and opinion.
Submission for the 6th Annual Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences

Title: The Framing of a President: Ronald Reagan’s Campaigns and Legacy

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ABSTRACT (# 709)

The Framing of a President: Ronald Reagan’s Campaigns and Legacy

Several U.S. Presidents have biographies that include details about their Presidential campaign strategies. In the 1960s, Theodore White wrote a book entitled The Making of the President that described John Kennedy’s successful campaign for the White House. In the 1970s, Joe McGinnis profiled Richard Nixon’s bid for the Presidency in The Selling of the President.

However, very little research has been done to look at the press coverage that ran parallel to these campaigns. Mass communication researchers often use the term “framing” when they describe the techniques and approaches used by journalists to cover an issue or event. According to communication theorists Severin and Tankard (Communication Theories: Origins, Methods, and Uses in the Mass Media), a frame can be defined as “a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration.” Media scholars have found this concept of framing useful for examining media coverage of political candidates and political issues.
This study looks at the framing that was used during the 1980 and 1984 campaigns of Ronald Reagan. Michael Deaver gave us a portrait of his thirty years of working with Ronald Reagan in his book, *A Different Drummer*. This study examines the coverage of the campaign as described by *Time* and *Newsweek* writers from July to November of 1980 and 1984. In addition, it looks at the framing that was used by the print media at the time of President Reagan’s death in 2004. An additional content analysis of the front pages of newspapers from 48 states on Sunday, June 6, 2004 offers a view of the framing that outlined Reagan’s legacy for a final time.

Reagan became one of the most popular Presidents, but had little political experience before taking office. His resume included stints as a life guard, radio announcer, and movie star. He also was featured in early television commercials. His pedigree was not that of a Presidential hopeful.

The research question for this study is: How was Ronald Reagan “framed” by the U.S. print media? To answer this question, the study looks at how two major U.S. news magazines portrayed him during his 1980 and 1984 campaigns and considers whether the framing changed between 1980 and 1984. It also investigates what the news magazines said about him at the time of his death and what legacy the nation’s daily newspapers attributed to him in 2004. Results of this study will provide a look at how the candidate Reagan and the former President Reagan were framed by the U.S. print media.
TITLE PAGE

Title of the submission- Toward the Development of a Structural Counseling Intervention to Enhance the Social and Emotional Development and Performance of Gifted Adolescents

Topic area of the submission: Psychology

Presentation format: Workshop

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ABSTRACT

TOWARD THE DEVELOPMENT OF A STRUCTURED COUNSELING INTERVENTION TO ENHANCE THE SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PERFORMANCE OF GIFTED ADOLESCENTS

The purpose of the investigation was to identify key components of the Dabrowski theory of positive disintegration that have been found to be useful in working with gifted students in research settings, and to apply these components to the development of a structured counseling intervention to enhance the social and emotional development and performance of gifted adolescents. The methodology included a critical analysis of the Dabrowski theory to identify the component that would be most appropriate for a structured counseling intervention. The component identified was the overexcitabilities. Objectives included developing a greater understanding and acceptance of the students’ overexcitabilities, as part of their normal development; introducing a variety of social-coping, time-management, and self-regulation skills; and exploring the positive aspects of perfectionism. Outcomes included a structured counseling intervention with specific strategies suggested by a critical analysis of related research on the psychosocial issues of giftedness, and the theory of Dabrowski that included journal writing bibliotherapy, small group discussion on real problems, role playing, simulation, and the study of the biographies of eminent people.
Title of the submission- University and Public School Collaboration-Positively Impacting Science Instruction and Achievement of Under-represented Students.

Topic area of the submission: Education

Presentation format: Paper session

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University and Public School Collaboration—Positively Impacting Science Instruction and Achievement of Under-represented Students

Impressive gains can be made by under-represented students in Science when their teachers use inquiry, problem-solving related to real-world scientific problems, and a variety of teaching strategies and manipulatives. Lamar University in Beaumont, Texas in collaboration with Beaumont Independent School District is providing secondary school teachers opportunities to build greater understanding of inquiry and advanced content knowledge in Science. The major goal of the research project Scientists-in-School is to build greater confidence in the teachers’ use of appropriate strategies and to increase the students’ achievement in Science. The major objectives include providing inquiry-based teacher education, and identifying high potential under-represented secondary students. The outcomes include increases in: achievement as measured by the Stanford 9 and 10 Achievement Test; the number identified as gifted and talented; the number of students graduating from high school; and the number seeking admission to colleges/universities with Science as a major. Results include ninety teachers have received graduate training in Natural Science and Gifted Education; 300 high potential 8th grade students have been identified and 340 10th grade students; significant growth in achievement of the experimental group of students on the Stanford 9 & 10 with 1.5 years of growth in year one; 1.6 in year two; 1.8 in year three. The control group’s growth was 0.6 for year one, 1.3 for year two, and .11 for year three; All 60 of the first group of experimental students graduated from high school, and applied to colleges and universities; 52% identified Science as a career focus; and 56% of the students have been recommended for the Gifted and Talented program as gifted in science. Two units Aquatic Science and Environmental Systems have been developed by teacher/scientist writing.
Is Mere White Person Presence Sufficient to Prime Stereotype Threat Arousal in Minority Diagnostic Testing Settings? Evaluation by the Out-group may be Required.

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This research manipulated the influence of the presence and likelihood of evaluation by a potentially stereotyping out-group (White) researcher on Stereotype Threat’s damage to intellectual performance in a negatively stereotyped (African Americans) group. Earlier research suggests an apparently needed elaboration upon Steele and Aronson’s (1995) original theory because challenging, stereotype-related, diagnostic testing in exclusively in-group settings doesn’t damage performance (Sloan, 2000, Marx, 2005), but does when the social context or test-givers are White. Do stereotype threat effects also require out-group presence, perhaps as a reminder of possible negative stereotyping? Is the threat of White evaluation also necessary? African-American Howard University students (n=263) took verbal (SAT) tests described as individually Diagnostic or Nondiagnostic by White or Black experimenters. In two other Black experimenter conditions, (1) the White researcher interrupted the Black experimenter for 30 seconds just before the SAT test saying that he (the White experimenter) would return during the session (to convey impending White evaluation); or (2) while the Black experimenter conducted the session, a White male sat to the side near the front of the room, uninvolved and saying nothing. This situation was intended to provide continuous White out-group presence along with the minimum, if any, expected evaluation of the minority test-takers. White experimenter’s produced stereotype threat performance decrements while African American experimenters’ didn’t. Neither the White researcher’s brief interruption stating that he would return before the study ended, nor the White researcher’s inactive presence had any detrimental effect on performance. This is in strong contrast to the impact of the continuously present and evaluating White experimenter who produced the stereotype threat predicted performance decreases in minority students’ performance in the Diagnostic Condition compared to the Nondiagnostic Condition as noted above. These findings suggest that neither expected or perceived evaluation bias alone nor White presence alone may be adequate to produce Stereotype Threat Effects in minority contexts. Perhaps it is more likely that the negative impact of such expectations of evaluation may require the multiplying impact of a persistently present reminder cue of a potentially stereotyping out-group member-evaluator to create Stereotype Threat’s negative consequences on the performance of those stereotyped.

Why do differences in academic achievement on standardized tests persist? Many possibilities have been suggested across a spectrum from systemic, institutionalized social structure to innate group differences. Steele and Aronson (1995) proposed a novel alternative. They demonstrated a situational psychological phenomenon that they labeled Stereotype Threat. Extensive investigations discussed below tend to support those authors’ suggestion that Stereotype Threat affects may account for a
notable part of the frequently reported persisting academic achievement performance discrepancies between majority and negatively stereotyped minority performers on challenging intellectual tasks like the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) and general aptitude measurements. In contrast to structural or innate causes, Stereotype Threat theories and the research reported here, focus on the motivational and cognitive consequences of situational differences that may make the test taker more aware of or more concerned about a known negative expectation of their group’s ability on such tasks.

**Stereotype Threat: A Robust Reality, But Why Does It Happen?** Steele and Aronson, (1995) described Stereotype Threat as resulting from a situation that placed one in the possible position of confirming a negative stereotype about one’s group through one's own behavior and performance. Those authors hypothesized that Stereotype Threat could be aroused by taking a difficult, frustrating test in an area (e.g., intellectual) that is an existing part of a negative, in-group stereotype. The individual’s fears that they might fulfill or lend credibility to the stereotype through personal weak performance in turn may create additional threats to the individual’s self-evaluation which could harm performance through several mechanisms including increased self or group consciousness, lower performance expectations, reduced task effort, increased evaluation apprehension, or competing distraction from the task. Such explanations are analogous to proposed causes of the negative performance effects of Social Facilitation on difficult, challenging tasks undertaken in social settings versus doing the task alone (no social impacts). Some mechanisms proposed for Social Facilitation include; the mere presence of others (Zajonc and Sales, 1966), evaluation apprehension (Cottrell et al., 1968) and distraction produced conflict with task attentional demands (Baron, 1986). Huguet et al. (1999) supported the latter explanation recently by demonstrating that the presence of others produced a narrowed focus of attention that could hinder performance.

It appears to be possible that Stereotype Threat could diminish performance through any one of these mechanisms or through the combined effects of several. For example, contemporary findings have found small affects of performance anxiety on performance (c.f., Sawyer and Hollis-Sawyer, 2005), but found more notable affects on other negative cognitive consequences. Many investigators have reported that Stereotype Threat situations reduce working memory capacity, a damaging threat for high intellectual performance (c.f., Schmader and Johns, 2003; Chasteen, Bhattacharyya, Horhota, Tam and Hasher, 2005), apparently by introducing extra mental load (Croizet, Despres, Gauzins, Huguet, Leyens and Meot, 2004) and by inducing negative self thinking in the performer (Cadinu, Maass, Rosabianca and Kiesner, 2005). In a somewhat different explanatory approach, Wheeler and Petty (2001) suggested that Stereotype Threat arousal may be a simpler cognitive priming event.

**Initial and Contemporary Stereotype Threat Findings:** Steele and Aronson (1995) found the expected performance drops for African American students on challenging verbal ability tests when the test was said to be “diagnostic” of their personal ability. Performance drops did not occur, when the task was described as a "nondiagnostic" activity in a verbal problem solving study. In other studies, Steele and Aronson (1995)
found activation of, and avoidance of, negative ethnic stereotypes when African American students were in the diagnostic condition and expecting to take a difficult verbal ability test. As hypothesized, White students didn’t show any performance drop in the diagnostic versus the nondiagnostic condition, nor did they respond in a manner suggesting avoidance of stereotype typical preferences and traits belonging to the minority group. This was as hypothesized because the stereotype related to this verbal task did not apply to them. Together these findings offered convincing support for Stereotype Threat Theory.

Stereotype Threat has shown itself to be very robust and generalizable across many negatively stereotyped social groups and numerous challenging performance tasks. A few representative examples include; Hispanic students in verbal tests (Salinas, 1998), women on 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) socioeconomic status students in SAT-type testing in France (Croizet, J.C. & Claire, T., 1998), White men in math-computer tests when in the presented context of higher performing Asia competitors (Aronson, J., Lustina, M.J., Good, C., Keough, K., Steele, C.M., & Brown, J., 1999), White men in stereotypically lower performing (compared to African American men) athletic tests (Stone, J., Lynch, C.I., Sjomeling, M. & Darley, J.M., 1999) and White men’s performance on social sensitivity tasks (compared to women) (Koenig and Eagly, 2005).

Researchers pursue understanding Stereotype Threat from several approaches. While some seek to better understand how Stereotype Threat actually damages performance, many others are investigating the specific sorts of events or factors or mechanisms acting in performance situations and how they may influence the activation or increased awareness of the stereotype and subsequent performance decrements. For the latter investigators the central issue is to identify the mechanisms that contribute to the individual’s perception or feeling of Stereotype Threat phenomena. For example, beyond the originally hypothesis that stereotype awareness may be increased by being faced with a negatively stereotyped 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 and biased evaluation that reminders of stereotypes may suggest.

Would Stereotype Threat Occur in an Exclusively In-group Minority Environment? Sloan, Gurira, Starr, Sloan and Jackson (1999) questioned whether the performance decrements observed by Steele and Aronson (1995) at Stanford University and by others at largely White universities would occur in a uniformly African American university environment. In fact, that prior research was conducted in a pervasively White social context lying just beyond the laboratory doors at those largely White institutions, whether or not it was conducted by a non-White experimenter. Thus the challenging, stereotype-relevant test may not the only cue present that could contribute to the activation of the stereotype for the test-taker; it could be that the arousal of stereotype threat is intensified by the proximity of out-group, potential stereotype holders (majority member Whites for example). If so, would stereotype threat effects be found in a minority institution environment in an
ethnically homogeneous testing setting? Is the presence of majority group members important to stereotype threat arousal?

Sloan, et. al. (1999) pursued these questions by measuring stereotype avoidance, stereotype activation, other indicators of stereotype threat and of course intellectual test performance at an overwhelmingly African American University. They employed many of the measures and methods from Steele and Aronson’s 1995 research but importantly added variation of the race of the experimenter. Half of the African American subjects in each condition in this homogeneously African American (in-group) testing and social environment were tested by a male African American experimenter and half were tested by a male White experimenter.

Although the essential Diagnosticity manipulations were successful in both the African American and the White experimenter conditions, only the White experimenter condition showed Stereotype Threat effects. This was in contrast to the Steele and Aronson (1995) findings and their original stereotype threat hypothesis. Experimenter ethnicity and the diagnosticity manipulation interacted such that increased stereotype avoidance occurred in the Diagnostic Condition with the White Experimenter, but not with the African American experimenter. Subsequent investigations found performance deficits paralleling those above of Sloan, et. al. (1999) for Stereotype Threat arousal and awareness. Black Participants showed 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, 2003) found that women taking math tests with versus without men test-takers present produced similar results.

These results seem to indicate that Stereotype Threat arousal and consequences may require some additional salient, stereotype-related cue to interact with or to intensify the impact of a stereotype-relevant, challenging test. The out-group context or (White) experimenter could then be a reminder of the stereotype or may cue possible stereotype-related bias or evaluation fairness concerns which then have performance impacts. Collectively these above findings suggested a needed refinement to Stereotype Threat theorizing in that the nature of the ethnic environment surrounding the research may be critical in influencing the outcome.

**Why Might a Potentially Stereotyping Out-group Member (or Social Context) Presence Be Needed For Stereotype Threat Effects?** The findings just reviewed above suggest that an exclusively African American environment may not have all the cues to stereotype salience that are found in a largely White institution and that those added cues appear to be needed to produce Stereotype Threat consequences. The White social context may act to intensify the performance disruption or, earlier in the process, as an element in the arousal of stereotype threat. In exclusively minority settings, only the White experimenter conditions caused the predicted effects of diagnosticity on Stereotype Threat. It may be then that the occurrence of Stereotype Treat could require cues or reminders of possible stereotyping from out-group members in addition to diagnostic testing on stereotype relevant tasks.
Out-group (White) presence could have impact resulting from potential cultural mistrust. Terrell and colleagues found that African Americans who were high in Cultural Mistrust performed substantially worse on intellectual IQ measures (i.e., the Sanford-Binet and the WAIS) when they were administered by a White tester, as opposed to an African American (Terrell & Terrell, 1981; Terrell, Terrell & Taylor, 1981; Terrell & Terrell, 1983; Nickerson, Helms, & Terrell, 1994). Possible expectations of prejudice and negative stereotyping of the minority test-taker by the White test-giver may produce lower perceived test-giver trustworthiness and credibility. Whaley’s (2001a; 2002) meta-analyses of cultural mistrust research suggest similar impacts of high levels of cultural mistrust in mental health services and in other areas of psychosocial research. Greater negative bias and stereotyping expectations are associated with the higher levels of cultural mistrust in their out-group (White) test-giver.

Other recent findings in our laboratory confirms that African American students from the same participant pool as in the current study do expect a significantly higher likelihood of negative stereotyping and bias from White Americans than from other American subgroups or any of the other nationalities we have examined. Thus, negative expectations and cultural mistrust may be an important part of the Stereotype Threat phenomena. If many African Americans feel cultural mistrust, then they likely feel increased concern with being stereotyped and unfairly judged thus further exacerbating worries that they might perform poorly and embarrassingly confirm the negative performance stereotype. Such an added test performance anxiety during testing could diminish performance and would be consistent with Stereotype Threat theorizing. Stereotype Threat theories then suggest one account for some negative perception and assessment performance findings reported in the literature on ethnic matching and cultural mistrust in client-therapist relationships.

Two Approaches to Identifying Underlying Mechanisms in Stereotype Threat.

Can Factors be Eliminated from the White Experimenter Condition Which Would Eliminate the Stereotype Threat Effect? The Importance of Perceived Evaluation Fairness. The search for moderators of Stereotype Threat may take various approaches. An approach employed earlier attempted to remove one potential negative element from the stereotype threat arousing situation, that is, the perceived fairness of the White experimenter. Later research (Sloan, Philip, Jones, Starr, Ridberg and Oleson, 2000; Sloan, Maitland, Starr, Philip & Jones, 2001) examined minority students’ perception of the unfairness of the intellectual test used in the stereotype threat setting (i.e., Black test-takers with a White experimenter). The White Experimenter’s presence may increase participants’ awareness of the related stereotype, or it may suggest the possibility of biased testing or evaluation. In Sloan, et. al. (2000), the White experimenter told participants that the test being used had been selected because it had been pre-tested and found to be, “culture-fair, that is, that Black, White and Hispanic students did equally well on the test”. With only this additional statement, the White Experimenter condition no longer produced diagnostic condition performance decrements. This suggested that the participants’ concerns underlying stereotype threat had been diminished, perhaps by alleviating the concern that one could confirm the negative, own group stereotype through one’s own
performance failure. Similar observations have been found in employing fairness assurances to reduce performance decrements typically observed in diagnostic testing of women in challenging mathematics examinations (Oswald and Harvey, 2000).

Are There Factors That Can Be Added To The All Minority (Black Experimenter) Environment Which Would Induce Stereotype Threat? Alternative approaches to discovering the underlying mechanisms of Stereotype Threat could employ the finding that a Black Experimenter did not produce performance drops under diagnostic conditions in exclusively Black environments while a White Experimenter did cause such decrements. Such an approach attempts to add theoretically related negative elements to a situation that typically doesn’t produce the stereotype threat performance decrement (the Black experimenter in an exclusively Black environment). Several examples which logically lead to the current research presented below.

To attempt to add or emphasize ethnically unfair evaluation, Sloan, et al., (2003), employed an African American experimenter giving standard diagnostic or nondiagnostic instructions to Black participants but he also stated that the test was known to be culturally and ethnically biased and unfair. This added Stereotype Threat relevant manipulation induced no diagnosticity effect, leading the authors to speculate that out-group member presence might be required to make an unfair test a real threat.

Comparison to the performance of others may be a cause of evaluation concern. Comparison to a negatively stereotyping out-group may therefore arouse concerns central to Stereotype Threat arousal. Sloan, Glenn, & Craig (2002) manipulated perceived stereotype relevant out-group comparison by having a Black experimenter inform African American students (in both Diagnostic and Non-Diagnostic Conditions) that their performance would be compared with that of White students at another university. All prior results were replicated but the comparison threat manipulation did not diminish performance in the diagnostic condition as hypothesized based on Stereotype Threat conceptualizations. Perhaps then other possible mediators like perceived fairness or bias in testing may be of more importance in Stereotype Threat phenomena.

To further examine the role of concerns over unfair evaluation or stereotyping judgments in contributing to Stereotype Threat in minority settings, Sloan, Wilburn, Camp, Craig-Henderson and Martin (2005) tested even more blatant threats of possibly biased evaluation. In Black experimenter conditions, Black students were told (1) that their performance data was being collected for later evaluation by a White experimenter, or (2) that a White researcher would arrive before the end of the session to score their performance test with them, providing immediate evaluation of performance. Neither condition produced a diagnosticity effect in this exclusively in-group context where stereotype threat is typically absent. An unfair test or biased evaluation may be of little concern when one’s performance will be evaluated only by other in-group member researchers or if the evaluation will happen only after one has departed.

In an initial attempt to provide a more prominent reminder of potential evaluation by White persons, Sloan, Wilburn, Camp, Barden, and Martin (2006) had a White experimenter appear briefly prior to the performance test during a Black experimenter
conducted testing session and mention that he would return before the end of the session. This was done to make evaluation by the out-group seem more likely and perhaps would more likely serve as a priming or distracting element suggested to be involved in stereotype threat. This condition produced no diagnostic effect however, possibly because the White researcher’s duration of appearance was too brief or not adequately clearly evaluative in nature. The current investigation employs this approach to identify elements of the Stereotype Threat phenomenon by adding theoretically related factors to the standard diagnostic-versus-non-diagnostic conditions administered by the Black Experimenter.

Central Research Questions:

Performers concerns over unfair evaluation or stereotyping biased judgments appear to be implicated as part of the cause of Stereotype Threat in minority settings as noted above. Would this concern be increased by a White researcher actually appearing just before the Black experimenter began the challenging intellectual test and announcing that he, the White researcher, would return at the end of the testing to help score? This should make anticipated out-group comparison-evaluation very credible, but if White presence is instead an immediate, quickly decaying prime or distractor, then this brief appearance may have little impact on the later majority of the challenging tasks on the test. In contrast, would non-evaluative, uninvolved, silent but continuous White “mere presence” alone be sufficient to create Stereotype Threat effects during an additional Black experimenter, standard instruction condition? If so then perhaps this presence may account for the impact of the White experimenter condition so often observed before.

METHODOLOGY

Women and men, African-American students at a historically African-American University (n= 263) participated in this research as part of an introductory psychology course and received course credit. Students from this nearly homogeneously Black 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 in four conditions took a timed, 15-minute test (paralleling a past SAT exam) described as a difficult-to-complete, 28-item, SAT-type verbal ability’s 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 that it would serve, “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 potential evaluation in Stereotype Threat, there were two other conditions with the Black experimenter testing African American students. In the
first a White researcher interrupted the Black experimenter for 30 seconds just before the SAT test began to remind the Black Experimenter that he (the White experimenter) would return before the end of the session. This was done in order to investigate whether increasingly expected out-group involvement and implied evaluation would enhance any impacts of perceived test bias-evaluation on performance. In the second condition while the Black experimenter conducted the session, a White male sat to the side near the front of the room completely uninvolved, uninterested, saying nothing and looking through a folder of papers. This situation was intended to provide continuous White out-group presence with minimal, if any, expected evaluation of the minority test-takers.

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 ($X^2=10.4 (1)$, $p<.001$). As expected, African American participants tested in exclusively minority contexts (Black experimenter only present) 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 in those standard instructional conditions ($F(1,76)=5.80$, $p<.04$; see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Percent Correct on SAT Verbal Task (African American Subjects)

In a third condition, the White researcher briefly interrupted, just before the Black experimenter started the SAT test, to state that he (the White researcher) would
return before the end of the study to help with testing. This manipulation had no decremental impact on performance in the diagnostic condition ($F < 1$; see Figure 2).

**Figure 2: Percent Correct on SAT Verbal Task: White Researcher Appears at Test Beginning Saying He Will Return at End**

Finally in the last Black experimenter condition, the White male’s uninvolved and inactive but visible presence similarly had no damaging effects on minority students’ intellectual performance ($F < 1$; see Figure 3). This is in strong contrast to the significant impact of the continuously present and evaluating White experimenter who produced the stereotype threat predicted performance decreases in minority students’ performance in the Diagnostic Condition compared to the Nondiagnostic Condition as noted above.

**Figure 3: Percent Correct on SAT Verbal Task: Uninvolved White Male Sits Inactively at Front of Test Room.**
CONCLUSIONS

Perceiving tests to be ethnically fair eliminates performance decrements in out-group, White experimenter conditions within otherwise exclusively Black contexts. This suggests that perceived unfairness in testing and evaluation is an important factor in arousing Stereotype Threat. However, the converse does not occur. Neither proclaimed unfair and biased tests given within entirely in-group contexts (with a Black experimenter), nor threatened immediate, potentially unfair evaluations by out-group researchers (not yet present in person) have lead to performance decrements within in-group settings, even when these concerns are reinforced by the White evaluator’s brief appearance at the beginning of the performance test.

Perhaps an even more surprising finding was that the mere continuous presence of a non-evaluating, uninvolved White male in the test taking room did not lead to stereotyped minority members’ performance decrements in the diagnostic compared to nondiagnostic conditions. 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 amplifying impact of the presence of potentially stereotyping out-group members to create Stereotype Threat’s negative consequences on the performance of those stereotyped.

Thus the current results reported here suggest that neither expected nor perceived evaluation bias alone nor White presence alone appear adequate to produce Stereotype Threat effects. Perhaps it is more likely that such expectations of evaluation may require the multiplying impact of a persistently present reminder cue of a potentially stereotyping out-group member in order to create Stereotype Threat’s damaging effects. Here only the White experimenter test-giver condition produced the diagnostic-nondiagnostic manipulation predicted performance decrement effects for African Americans. In this White experimenter condition the White person is continuously present and is in an evaluative role in which bias may be present. This Stereotype Threat effect however seems to occur only when the White out-group member is present for the entire portion of the intellectual task, perhaps acting as a stronger reminder of the stereotype or of the threat of biased evaluation or perhaps through increased White presence priming greater levels of cultural mistrust in experimenter evaluations (Whaley, 2001).
It is notable also that the simple presence of the White test-giver produces performance decrements but that when that White test-giver asserted that the test was unbiased and culture-fair, that the performance decrements disappeared (Sloan, et. al., 2000b). Consistent with the explanation offered above here, even if the test-giver is suspected of biased evaluation or stereotyping, the measure’s own culture-fairness would serve to mitigate or negate the adverse impact of the tester’s personal motives.

Finally, these present findings suggests that any out-group member presence effects, if they occur at all in a brief appearance, may be short-lived once the White stimulus person leaves the setting while the performance task continues. That finding implies that the White stimulus person’s or evaluator’s impact on disrupting performance may be very dynamically brief and limited immediately to the segment of the task being undertaken at that moment rather than being a long-acting cognitive prime cuing the Stereotype Threat phenomenon.

References


The Native American and European Perception of Place in the New World

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Abstract
The Native Americans who originally settled North America and the Europeans who followed had disparate views of place in the New World. This analysis considers the social, economic, and religious systems of various North American tribes, from the nomadic hunter-gatherers of the Great Plains to the permanent settlers of Chaco Canyon. The Native American lifestyle stands in stark contrast to that of the Europeans. The Spanish saw the New World as an opportunity to spread Christianity while achieving wealth and power in the form of gold and slaves. The English desired to create colonies and expand their land holdings at the expense of the Native Americans while the French sought to establish a trading network by cooperating with the indigenous inhabitants. These dissimilar concepts of place brought tragedy to the natives whose philosophy seems more akin to that of environmentalists who regard Earth as home rather than a resource.

The Native Americans
Approximately 10,000 years ago when temperatures and sea levels were lower, land bridged the Bering Strait. Aboriginal people from Asia crossed the land bridge on foot to enter what is now North America. For many millennia prior to the arrival of the Europeans, this land and its resources sustained manifold civilizations many of which were highly sophisticated. The thousands of years that the Native Americans occupied North America are now separated into the Paleo-Indian, the Archaic, the Woodland, the Late-Prehistoric, and the Historic periods. About 1000 years before Christ, while Mesopotamia and Egypt were building sizable structures and societies, the ancestors of the Hopis and Zunis of America's southwest were constructing intricate terraced buildings with hundreds of rooms in their villages (Cordell, 1984; Zinn, 1980).
The Village Politic

When all of pre-history is considered, most Native Americans did not settle in villages. As hunters and gatherers, the people migrated with the herds. However, in places where food supplies were dependable, such as in the region around the salmon-rich streams of the Columbia Plateau, permanent settlements arose. Later, when agriculture took hold, villages, village clusters, and ceremonial centers (kivas) were built (Nelson, Gabler & Vining, 1995).

The League of the Iroquois was the most powerful band of the Northeast. The Iroquois houses and villages were shared in common and worked in common. The Iroquois established a matrilineal line of descent, and society was neither matriarchal nor patriarchal. While there was a distinct division of labor, neither the males nor the females dominated relationships. The women were treated so well as to astound the Europeans. "Thus power was shared between the sexes and the European idea of male dominance and female subordination was conspicuously absent in Iroquois society" (Zinn, 1980, p. 20).

Anyone who acted shamefully, by failing to constrain anger for example, was ostracized until moral purification had taken place. Clearly, acts that were considered "wrong" among some of these tribes varied from those considered "wrong" by Europeans. For some of the Plains people for example, stealing horses from the contender was considered proper trickery. The practice was viewed as a sporting contest of wit as well as a means of enhancing status.

Among the Crow, property owned by the mother was passed down to her children. Property owned by the father usually descended to other of his relatives within his tribe. If a horse was given to someone in another tribe and the giver died, unless the recipient mourned, the horse was given back to the tribe of the deceased (White, 1959).

Settlement Patterns and Livelihoods

Around the time of Christ, the Mound Builders of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys sculpted the earth into forts, burial sites, and enormous birds and serpents to construct their villages. One of these mounds was over 5.5 kilometers in length and encompassed over 40 hectares. That group of Mound Builders began to decline in population around AD 500. Another group of Mound Builders followed which was centered near present day St. Louis with the group's village cluster occupying approximately 30,000 people. The settlement was comprised of thousands of villages, and the people developed advanced methods of agriculture,
tool making, weaving, engraving, pottery, hide dressing, jewelry making, and ceramics (Zinn, 1980).

Some of the most complex Native American settlements are those of the Anasazi. The Anasazi dwelt in Chaco Canyon, which is located in the San Juan Basin of northwest New Mexico. The Anasazi were part of the larger group of Pueblo people that included the Zuni. Researchers agree that during prehistoric times Chaco Canyon was densely populated. From around AD 1025-1125, Chaco Canyon flourished and population numbers were the largest. Estimates vary, but it is reported that the population ranged from 4,000 to 25,000 people during that period (Cordell, 1984; Hayes, 1981). During the last half of the eleventh century, Chaco Canyon served as the hub of a large integrated system of regional development. Most of the communities of this period and within this region were far less complex. Yet the Chaco Canyon regional system demonstrates an advanced form of social organization.

The Chaco Canyon phenomenon of the San Juan Basin eventually encompassed 53,107 square kilometers. The system was comprised of planned towns, unplanned villages, roads, and outlier communities. The Chacoan outliers were distanced from Chaco Canyon by about 30 to 90 kilometers. The outliers are considered by archaeologists to be part of the larger regional system because they have Chacoan forms of masonry, ceramics, and kivas (Cordell, 1984).

Multistory pueblos enclosed plazas or multiplazas. Great kivas had elaborate floor features, such as benches, niches, and paired vaults. These outliers were connected to the nodal center by roads and visual communication systems. The large labor pool in and around Chaco Canyon allowed the Anasazi people to develop agriculture in an area with 20 cm of annual precipitation. Only 40% of the precipitation occurs in the summer while the crops are growing, and the growing season lasts only 140-150 days (Cordell, 1984). While there is some disagreement, paleoclimatologists generally concur that the climate during the time in which the Anasazi flourished was similar to the climate of the present. However, dendrochronology records show that precipitation later became more variable (Betancourt & Van Deveer, 1981; Hall, 1977).

The Anasazi of Chaco Canyon adapted to the aridity of the Southwest in various ways. In addition to contoured terraces, the people built complex prehistoric water conservation systems consisting of dams and reservoirs, canals, ditches, and headgates, which led to the gardens below. Earthen borders surrounded the garden plots in order to decrease runoff. The
system used runoff from precipitation of the inter-cliff zone located above the canyon and below the mesa. The water was then diverted to the gardens of beans, squash, and corn on the canyon floor. The soil of the region, where it is present, is alluvium silt from the Quaternary period (6 million years ago to the present), and sand dunes are abundant. In the areas lacking soil, large deposits of sedimentary shale or sandstone are exposed at the surface (Cordell, 1984). By the time the Europeans arrived in North America, Native Americans had developed agriculture to an art form, sculpted, weaved, built irrigation systems, made cloth from cotton, made tools and worked with copper, and had intricate organizations of human relations. For the most part, Native Americans used their skill and ingenuity to further physical and spiritual wellbeing.

Philosophy and Religion

While the many tribes of the various regions of North America spoke different languages, observed different customs, and adapted specifically to their particular surroundings, the general view of the natural world was similar among Native Americans. The Great Spirit is the Creator, the Master, and the good and powerful being, and Earth provides (White, 1959). The entire concept of land ownership was foreign to the Native Americans. The absurdity of the idea of possessing the land is most eloquently reflected in the immortal words of Chief Seattle (or Stealth). In a letter written to President Millard Fillmore in response to Fillmore's request to buy tribal lands in order to accommodate the growing number of newcomers to America, Chief Seattle wrote:

The President in Washington sends word that he wishes to buy our land. But how can you buy or sell the sky or the land? The idea is strange to us. If we do not own the freshness of the air and the sparkle of the water, how can you buy them? Every part of this earth is sacred to my people. When the last Red Man has vanished with his wilderness and his memory is only the shadow of a cloud moving across the prairie, will these shores and forests still be here? Will there be any of the spirit of my people left? We love this earth as a newborn loves its mother's heartbeat. So, if we sell you our land, love it as we have loved it. Care for it as we have cared for it. Hold in your mind the memory of the land as it is when you receive it. Preserve the land for all children and love it, as God loves us all. As we are part of the land, you too are part of the land. This earth is precious to us. It is
also precious to you. One thing we know: there is only one God. No man, be he Red Man or White Man, can be apart. We are brothers after all (Campbell, 1988, pp. 34-35).

To the Native American, life is sacred, and religion is a way of life. Plains Indians were told by their elders to show their happy faces when the precious rains came. The people gave thanks, and were frugal in times of plenty. There have been thinkers in Western society who view the world in a way similar to the Native Americans. For example, Aldo Leopold (1887-1948) formed the "land ethic" in his book *A Sand County Almanac*. Leopold's ethic simply states, "a thing is right when it tends to preserve the integrity, stability, and beauty of the biotic community. It is wrong when it tends otherwise" (1970, p. 262). Leopold and Native Americans perceived the natural world as a community to which we belong rather than a commodity that belongs to us.

Similarly, in her enduring testament against the chemical sabotage of Earth, *Silent Spring*, Rachel Carson (1962) spoke of something infinitely healing in the repeated refrains of nature and the assurance that dawn comes after the night and spring after the winter. While the views of these thinkers did not immediately become the prevailing perception of the West, their attitudes have had an incalculable impact and have helped forge the way for the evolving Western perspective of the environment.

Today, the Native American perspective of the land is called anything from pantheism to holism, from deep ecology to neo-paganism. Regardless of the efforts to pigeonhole, it is safe to say that the Native American land ethic is radically different from the dominant view that came across the Great Waters. While it may seem presumptuous to say that the Native American land ethic is far superior to the prevailing ethic in America today, time bears out the supposition.

One need only compare the state of the environment following several thousand years of occupation by the Native Americans to the condition of the land, air, oceans and streams after just the half millennium following the arrival of the Europeans. The Native American perspective was demonstrated through sound environmental planning and management practices. Sustainable development is more than an esoteric buzzword humming around circles of academia. Sustainability is an ecological imperative, and the only means for survival on a planet that is being stressed to the outer limits of its capacity to provide.
Arrival of the Europeans

By scrutinizing the nature of earliest encounters between the Native Americans and the three dominant groups of Europeans arriving in the New World, various ideals of the groups become apparent. In turn, this insight allows one to deduce the mainstream perspective of the different cultures.

The Spaniards

When Columbus landed in the New World, he and his crew first encountered the Arawaks. As the Santa Maria approached the shores of San Salvador in the present day Bahamas, the native people swam out to greet the mariners. Once ashore, Columbus and the crew were given food, water, and gifts. The hospitable Arawaks had no way of knowing what was to follow the arrival of the newcomers (Sale, 1990).

Columbus thought that Hispanola (then Espanola) was an island off the east coast of China, and that Cuba, to the southwest, was Asia. This was the content of the report that Columbus sent back to his financiers in Spain, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. Therefore, Columbus named the island chain the West Indies, and called the people Indians. Quite by accident, the nomenclature Columbus chose for the people he encountered, who originated in Asia, was not entirely inaccurate.

Christopher Columbus, or Cristobal Colon, is credited with discovering America in 1492 according to most elementary school history books. Columbus Day is celebrated as a national holiday. Yet, to demonstrate the changing perspective in American society regarding whose rightful place is America, a currently popular slogan reads, "Columbus did not discover America, he invaded it." A look at the Spanish society within which Columbus lived is helpful.

Columbus was a native of Genoa, Italy. At the time of his commission to sail to the New World, he was a merchant seaman living in Cordoba. The spirit of the times elucidates the context within which the expeditions of Columbus were arranged. Similar to the nature of the Crusades of the Middle Ages, Spain in the latter part of the fifteenth century was ablaze with militant religious fervor. The Church was desperately determined to save all souls from eternal damnation (Sale, 1990).

Also like the Medieval Crusades, beneath the overarching mission of salvation was a furious attempt to acquire new territories, to claim all rights to riches found there, and to expand
the circle of trade along with the sphere of influence of the funding country. At that time, Spain had just thrown off Arab-Moorish domination and had unified to become a modern nation state like France, England, and Portugal. The population was comprised of 98% peasantry who worked for the nobility. The 2% noble class owned 95% of the land (Zinn, 1980). The elite, already owning the land, developed its seemingly insatiable hunger for gold, which could buy anything.

The Spirit of the Times

The Inquisition was established by Pope Gregory IX in AD 1231 and was an agency of the Roman Catholic Church. The Spanish Inquisition, however, was founded by Ferdinand and Isabella and was exempt from papal authority. The Spanish Inquisition was designed primarily to extirpate the Arab and Moorish peoples from Spain.

As Spain succeeded in "cleansing" itself of many non-Catholic people, it also lost quality merchants, capable food producers, and some of the most educated of its population. The Arab and Jewish people played an important role in Spain's economy, and the Moors were knowledgeable in animal husbandry and agriculture. But Spain concentrated on controlling its own economy and converting, exiling, or executing all of the so-called heathen idolaters (Sale, 1990).

Columbus was a man of his time and a victim of his culture. The prevailing belief in Spain during the late-fifteenth century was that the end of the world was very near. It has been said that Columbus spent numerous hours each day searching Scripture in order to determine the exact year of the second coming of Christ. He determined it to be in 155 years, the time at which the Church estimated the Earth would be 7000 years old. Columbus was compelled to accomplish two missions before the arrival of the last days. He felt he must convert all "heathen" to Christianity and lead a military assault on Jerusalem to free the city from the "infidel." Originally, "Columbus was obsessed with the idea of Armageddon," but upon arriving to the New World, his thoughts soon turned to gold (Sale, 1990, p. 4).

Bartolome de las Casas is an important source of information concerning the events that followed Columbus' arrival in the islands of the Bahamas and in the Greater and Lesser Antilles. Bartolome was a young priest who transcribed the journal of Columbus. At first, he helped
Columbus in his conquest of Cuba, and he owned a large plantation worked by captive Arawaks. However, Bartolome later became a fierce critic of Spanish cruelty and wrote:

> Endless testimonies prove the mild and pacific temperament of the natives. But our work was to exasperate, ravage, kill, mangle and destroy. The admiral was so anxious to please the King that he committed irreparable crimes against the Indians (Zinn, 1980, p. 6).

Bartolome de las Casas told of the arrogance of the Spaniards, which he said grew worse each day. He reports that eventually the Spaniards even refused to walk, choosing instead to ride the backs of the natives. Spanish soldiers made the Native Americans run relays wherein the Spaniards were carried in hammocks, shaded from the sun by large leaves while being fanned with goose feathers (Zinn, 1980).

**For the Love of Gold: Mining, Monarchs, and Materialism**

There exists a correlation between the exploitation of people and the environment by the powerful agents in Bartolome de las Casas' day and the same by those forces today. He describes the exploitation of the Native Americans in gold mining operations as well reporting that the mountains were stripped from top to bottom as the natives dug, split rocks, moved stones, and carried dirt on their backs to wash it in the river. As the Native Americans struggled with an impossible task, they were forced to actively desecrate their mountain home. A copper token was placed around the neck of one made to mine, and if someone fled into the wilderness and was discovered without the token, his hands were cut off and he was left to bleed to death (Zinn, 1980).

Columbus promised King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella back in Spain that he would bring them as much gold as they needed and as many slaves as they would ask boldly stating that "thus the eternal God, our Lord, gives victory to those who follow His way" (Zinn, 1980, p. 3). The problem was, however, that Columbus promised what he could not provide. The only gold to be found was scattered about in small flakes or dust. Columbus had some of the dust melted down into a nugget and sent it to Spain to show the king and queen a sample of the bounty to be extracted from the New World.

Excited by the prospects, the monarchs awarded Columbus seventeen ships and over 1200 crewmembers for his next expedition. His obligations to his patrons stockpiled as did the
pressure to produce. In 1495, Columbus commanded his great slave raid. He and his crews sailed from island to island in the Caribbean capturing Arawak children, men, and women to be enslaved on plantations, in the gold mines, or to be shipped back to Spain and sold. Columbus examined and chose 500 of the most fit-looking Native Americans to be loaded onto the ships bound for Spain. Perhaps if enough slaves disembarked in Spain, the gold that was promised would be forgotten. Two hundred of those Indians died on the way. The survivors were sold in town by the archdeacon, and Columbus wrote, "let us in the name of the Holy Trinity go on sending all the slaves that can be sold" (Zinn, 1980, p. 4).

Back in Cuba, the scratching and scrambling for gold continued. Writing again in his journal, Bartolome de las Casas laments:

Thus the husbands and wives were together only once every eight or ten months and when they met they were so exhausted and depressed on both sides they ceased to procreate. As for the newly born, they died early because their mothers, overworked and famished, had no milk to nurse them, and for this reason, while I was in Cuba, 7000 children died in three months. In this way, husbands died in the mines, wives at work and children died from lack of milk and in this short time this land, which was so great, so powerful and fertile was depopulated. My eyes have seen these acts so foreign to human nature, and now I tremble as I write (Zinn, 1980, p. 6).

On Haiti, huge slave labor estates founded on sugar cane were worked at a fierce rate, and more Arawaks died by the thousands. Conservative estimates place the population on all of Hispanola at 250,000 in 1494. Between being sold in Spain, the forced labor on the plantations and in the mines, and European diseases, almost 200,000 of these people vanished in just twenty years. By 1515, about 50,000 Indians had survived the maltreatment. But by 1550, there were a mere 500, and by 1650, there were none (Zinn, 1980).

The population depletion of the Native Americans occurred at a staggering rate. Technologies devoted to the development of firepower enabled the Spaniards to overpower and subjugate a people from which they had much to learn. In this way, ideologies that favored the pursuit of material wealth prevailed over those of a spiritual people who lived in accordance with the land. A century after Columbus discovered the Arawaks in the Caribbean, the English encountered the Powhatans in Virginia.
English Colonists

Englishman Richard Grenville and seven ships landed on the coast of Virginia in 1585. The Powhatans greeted them hospitably. When Grenville noticed that a small silver cup was missing from his stuff, he burned the entire Powhatan village. In 1607, Jamestown was established inside the Indian Confederacy territory. The leader, Chief Powhatan, watched as the number of settlers continued to grow. However, during the winter of starvation in 1610, some of the English went to live with the Indians. The following summer, the governor of Jamestown sent word to Powhatan to release the so-called hostages and eventually burned the houses of the Powhatan village, killed a number of Native Americans, and stole the queen and her children, who were probably the wife and children of Chief Powhatan. The lady and her children were put on a boat. The children were thrown overboard and shot while in the water, and the mother was taken elsewhere and stabbed to death. Twelve years after this attack, the Native Americans, taken back at the increasing number of English people, tried to stop them once and for all. The Indians retaliated, killing 347 men, women and children. From that time onward, there was no more peace (Zinn, 1980).

A similar situation developed in the Massachusetts Bay colony. The governor, John Winthrop, took land occupied by Native Americans by referring to it as a "vacuum." Since the people had not "subdued" the land they had only a "natural" right, not a "civil" right to the land. "Natural" rights carried no weight in the court system that was brought by the newcomers. The Puritans settled in what is today southern Connecticut and Rhode Island. When their populations began to expand, they wanted Pequot land and wanted the Pequots out of their way. War was made on the Pequots in 1636. The Puritans used the same war tactics that Cortez used against the Aztecs when noncombatants were attacked in order to terrorize the enemy. There was a massacre on a Pequot village on the Mystic River near Long Island Sound led by John Mason. Puritan theologian Dr. Cotton Mather commented, "It was supposed that no less than 600 Pequot souls were brought down to hell that day" (Zinn, 1980, p. 14).

The Spanish wanted gold and the English wanted land on which to establish colonies. The Native Americans were viewed first as slave laborers and then as obstacles standing in the path of progress. As the English colonies grew, so did the need for more and more land and other resources. The English perceived the Native Americans as a hindrance rather than as the land's most valuable resource.
The French, Furs, and Free Trade

Fortunately, the French had a far better rapport with the Native Americans than did the Spanish conquistadors or the English colonizers. Not only were the Native Americans skilled hunters, horticulturists and fishers, but they were astute trappers and traders as well. The Native Americans had interlaced this country with well-worn footpaths and were a wealth of information. The French were rational enough to recognize their expertise, and realized the absurdity in reinventing the wheel.

In the early-seventeenth century, the French began to construct forts, such as Detroit and Chicago, along the Great Lakes, as well as to the northeast along the Saint Lawrence River. The Huron, Neutral, Nippising, and the Wyandot of that region were familiar with the characteristics and habitat of the animals in their area. They knew which materials made good traps, how to preserve meat, and how to treat hides. The French were prudent enough to befriend the Native Americans (Trigger, 1990).

The Huron had established far-reaching trade relations, and had a reputation as traders that went back to prehistory. The Huron were named such by the French. "Hure" connotes a rustic or hillbilly, and the French described them as a robust looking people. The people called themselves Wendat, meaning Islanders. One of the earliest written accounts of the Native Americans in the Upper Great Lakes region is by a skilled cartographer, explorer, soldier, and fur trader, Samuel de Champlain. Champlain lived among various groups of the Huron in 1615 and 1616. He had worked for trading companies in the West Indies and had been advised to win the confidence and respect of the Huron (Trigger, 1990).

During that period, there was a growing demand for beaver pelt hats in Europe, and the Upper Great Lakes region was beaver-rich. The Huron had traded and given furs to appease angry and aggressive Iroquois chiefs in order to establish good relations. The French introduced to the Huron market-hunting. One or two centuries following the fur trade, the landscape showed signs of its impact from southern New England to Maine. The abandoned beaver dams collapsed and the plentiful ponds drained. Many of the nutrient-loaded marshes laden with silts eventually became bogs, and later grasslands upon which white tail deer and moose fed. In time, cows and pigs whose adverse impact on the landscape became widespread, widely known, and yet widely accepted, replaced these native creatures.
Priests of the Jesuit order documented other early French and Native American encounters. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* were published annually in Paris both to satisfy the curiosity of the French, and to gain support for the work of the Jesuits in New France. These were printed from 1634 to 1650 and provided detailed accounts of the law, government, and religion of the northeastern Native Americans (Trigger, 1990).

Toward the latter part of the seventeenth century, journals were kept by French military leaders. These, too, provided interesting accounts of the groups of the Great Lakes Region. Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac and Pierre Liette wrote of their hunting trips with the people of the Western Country. The French were impressed by the Native Americans' sense of direction, their "detailed technical knowledge" in the ways of agriculture, their acute hearing and vision, and by their "powers of reasoning and memory." The latter were demonstrated partly in lengthy recitations (Trigger, 1990).

The benevolent relationship of cooperation that the French developed with the Native Americans was further manifested in the French and Indian Wars. As France and England vied for world domination, the Native Americans allied with the French. In each of the four major battles fought, the French lost ground. In 1753, George Washington traveled to the Upper Ohio Valley to tell the French that they were trespassing, and to ask them to retreat. Although the French refused, in 1763 they were forced to leave the Great Lakes region of North America thus ending any hope for dominance in the New World (Harkavy, 1991).

**Summary**

Many Native American tribes were nomadic hunter-gatherers migrating across the heartland of North America. Others created complex settlements such as the Mound Builders of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys and the Anasazi of Chaco Canyon. Although the numerous Native American tribes populating North America did not speak the same language or observe the same customs, their perception of the natural world was similar. They believed in a good and powerful Great Spirit who had given them the Earth to provide all their physical needs.

The three dominant groups of Europeans, the Spanish, English, and French, varied somewhat in their interests in North America. However, the emphasis remained on material resources and the non-sustainable exploitation of them. The Spanish sought slaves and gold, the English continued to encroach upon territories on which to develop colonies, and the French
established an overseas fur trade. These disparate views would lead to conflict among the various groups with the number of Native American tribes eventually declining as thousands were decimated at the hands of the Europeans. In short, ideologies that favored the pursuit of material wealth prevailed over those of a spiritual people who lived in accordance with the land.

References


ANTI-FREE TRADE MOVEMENTS AND THE STATE IN KOREA

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ABSTRACT

Scholars conflict sharply on the issue of globalization’s emergence and the role of the nation. The significance of the state factors into each scholar’s perspective differently, depending on his or her understanding of globalization. The Korean government has remained an important actor, in no sense reducing its role and authority despite the intensification of globalization. The anti-free trade movements of Korean civil society in particular illustrate how the state passes the impact of the free trade agreements (FTAs) on the civil society and delivered the civil society’s claims to the international negotiations. Analyzing the triangular relations between civil society, the state and international agreements made in Korea, this paper demonstrates the role of the government that actively intervenes between civil society and the international arena. Showing significant changes in Korean society that can be called globalization -- distinguished from internationalization -- this paper contributes to the strength of globalist arguments. At the same time, it also fortifies the counterargument, which stresses the importance of the state, by revealing the state’s arbitral role between the civil society and FTAs. This paper attempts to strike a balance between the two conflicting camps: globalists and skeptics.
INTRODUCTION

One of the most frequently discussed topics in social sciences is “globalization.” However, it has not yet seen clear definition, and many use the term globalization to refer to different phenomena. Scholars disagree on whether globalization is a real phenomenon, dividing themselves into two groups. The globalists, who support the idea of globalization, argue that the features of the world currently apparent are differentiated clearly from those of internationalization, and emphasize the reduced power of the nation-state vis-à-vis multinationals. Internationalization merely refers to “increases in interaction and interdependence between people in different countries,” which is based on a territorial framework. However, current form of the interconnectedness between countries increasingly shows “deterritorial” or “supraterritorial” relations (Scholte 2000.) On the contrary, skeptics of globalization take issues with such arguments, asserting that globalization is a tool for politicians and governments to manipulate people to accept neo-liberal policies, and the state still plays a significant role (Gordon 1988; Hirst 1997; and Hoogvelt 1997.) Considering these two conflicting arguments, this paper sheds light on the major role of the state under globalization in Korea. It will illustrate that the symptoms distinguished from those of the early 20th century arose increasingly in Korea. In particular, this paper will argue that Koreans were able to witness the signs of globalization not only in economic sector, but also in cultural spheres.

The role of the state in Korea does not seem to be decreased as globalists claim. Rather, it remains an important mediator conciliating the different interests between the civil society and international agreements. This paper will demonstrate this role of the
state as an arbiter, paying particular attention to the triangular relationships between civil society, the state, and Free Trade Agreements (FTAs.) First, it will analyze Korean civil society’s anti-free trade movements, revealing how the Korean government responded to the civil society’s claims in negotiating for the FTAs. It will argue that civil society cannot solely influence the FTAs, bypassing the government. Moreover, the impact of the FTAs is also transmitted to the civil society only through the government. Finally, it will demonstrate more complex interactions between the civil society, the state and FTAs, showing the collective pressures from domestic and global civil societies on the government. This transnational activism of civil societies will also illustrate the significant role of the Korean government, which maintains its critical role of protecting civil society, on the one hand, and on the other, participating in the flow of globalization through FTAs.

This paper pays particular attention to the Korean civil society’s activities against the Korea-US FTA, Korea-Japan FTA and Korea-Chile FTA to analyze how civil society affected international agreements by challenging the state. However, the discussion focuses on the role of the Korean government revealed through the civil society’s anti-free trade movements, rather than on the impact of the protests. The final result of the negotiations on Korea-Chile FTA, which included some level of Korean farmers’ requests, highlights the critical role of a government that successfully delivered civil society’s interests, rather than the success of collective actions. The resistance against the Korea-Japan FTA, which led to suspension of negotiations, also stresses the role of the government that reflected the civil society’s claims to the international negotiations for the FTA.
GLOBALIZATION AND THE STATE

The modern state’s core characteristics, such as territorial sovereignty, the formal equality of states, non-intervention in the internal affairs of other recognized states and state consent as the foundation stone of international legal agreement, started operating as major principles in the modern international system in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Crawford and Marks 1998). The well-known origin of the modern state traces back to the Peace of Westphalia of 1648, which ended the Thirty Years’ War (Krasner 1995; Keohane 1995.) However, the principles of the modern states demonstrated in the Treaty of Westphalia were not accepted fully until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Crawford and Marks 1998.) Since then, modern states have transformed, and the debate between globalists and skeptics on whether the importance of nation-state’s role in this era of globalization (as the globalists argue), or internationalization (as the skeptics argue) has been increased or decreased continues. These two contrasting perspectives about nation-states in the twenty-first century will be studied in this section as an important preliminary discussion for the study of the Korean middle class’ anti-FTA movements and the state, which will be dealt with in the following section.

The Globalist View

The End of the Nation State

Ohmae (1990) states in his book *The Borderless World* that there no longer exists national interest and national security is nowadays only a myth. Insisting on the minimizing role of governments, Ohmae pays special attention to the significance of
firms. In particular, he argues that today’s global corporations or multinationals better serve the people’s interests than the government. He opposes the view that they exploit local resources and work forces and then repatriate the profits back home, thus leaving only more poverty than before they arrived. Rather, they advance local areas by investment, training local people and paying taxes. He states that in terms of real flows of economic activity, “nation-states have already lost their role as meaningful units of participation in the global economy of today’s borderless world [emphasis original].” From his point of view, the firms, particularly multinationals, have already taken over the nation-state’s traditional role with respect to the global economy.

**Dependent State; Decreased Power and Authority**

Jessop (1994) argues that the world has moved from Fordism to post-Fordism, and the state is undergoing a fundamental restructuring. First, the Keynesian welfare state, which operated effectively in the Fordist era, has changed its key features and functions to a Schumpeterian workfare state, which works more appropriately under post-Fordism. Jessop explains that unlike the Keyesian welfare state, the Schumpeterian workfare state “promote[s] product, process, organizational, and market innovation in open economies in order to strengthen as far as possible the structural competitiveness of the national economy by intervening on the supply side; and subordinate[s] social policy to the needs of labour market flexibility and-or the constraints of international competition.” Second, Jessop holds that in the multi-layered world of supranational, national, regional or local and translocal, the capacities and roles of the nation-state are “hollowing out.” Whereas the nation-state still holds political importance and national sovereignty—although it is nowadays less effective and only jurisdictionally
meaningful by the international community of nations—the capacity to exercise its power even within the national boundary has weakened considerably. This weakening is due to the transformation toward internationalized and flexible production systems, and the threats and challenges the global environment poses.

Held and McGrew (2002) further discussed the debate between globalists and skeptics. What matters most for globalists, according to Held and McGrew, is a concern with power. In particular, globalists pay attention to the instrumentalities, configuration, distribution, and impacts of power, which are reordered and expanded under globalization. Power relations, therefore, extend between and across different regions of the world. With current globalization, power is no longer concentrated within a national boundary, where it can be immediately exercised. Their discussion on political power demonstrates how national power has been transformed—or weakened—under globalization. First, the increasing interplay of foreign and domestic policies has made national coordination and control of government policies difficult. Also, the strategic policy options available to the government are decreasing, due to a growing global interconnectedness. In this case, the government may further experience a decrease in control over its citizens and other people operating within its borders. For instance, the balance of power between states and markets shifts with an increased mobility of capital. If the state does not satisfy the market’s demands—i.e., developing market-friendly policies, reducing tax, and adopting privatization—private investors can always cross the national border to find better conditions.

Without conducting multilateral forms of collaboration with other actors, such as firms or other nation-states, the state can no longer serve the traditional activities and responsibilities of defense, economic management, health, and law and order. “[T]he
modern state is… unable to determine its own fate.” As revealed through Held and
McGrew’s explanation of the globalist position and Jessop’s related, but less extreme,
argument, these globalists—moderate globalists—take a slightly different position from
the “hyper” globalists, such as Ohmae. Both types of globalist agree that nation-states
have undergone a fundamental shift due to globalization; however, the former is
distinguished from the latter in that it still recognizes some aspects of the nation-state’s
role, albeit its reduced power and authority. The moderate globalist’s view partially
explains the increasing impact of globalization in Korea. In particular, the moderate
globalist’s view argues that decreased power of nation-states can be applied to show the
Korean government’s role in international negotiations, which is affected to a large
degree by global regulations such as those on free trade.

The Skeptic View

The Myth of Globalization

Skeptics of globalization such as Gorden (1988), Jones (1995), Hirst (1997),
and Hirst and Thompson (1996) are reluctant to recognize the emergence of
globalization. They suggest that if what is truly global is not satisfactorily explained, the
term globalization is merely a synonym for Westernization or Americanization (Held
and McGrew, 2002.) Thus, for skeptics, it is important to examine how the
contemporary world is fundamentally different from the belle époque of international
interdependence (1890-1914) (Gordon 1988; Jones 1995; Hirst 1997.) Through such an
investigation, they assert that the current transformation and trends of the world are
more close to internationalization (a growing interconnection between national
economies or societies), and regionalization or triadization (the geographical consolidation of economies and social exchanges) (Hirst and Thompson, 1999.)

Scholars like Gordon (1988), Hirst (1997), and Hoogvelt (1997) criticize the globalist view, saying that idea of globalization is used only to justify the neo-liberal global project\(^1\). They argue that globalization does not explain real transformations of the contemporary world; rather, it serves as an ideology to legitimate and fortify the global free market and Anglo-American capitalism. Pointing out that the debate of globalization has been intensified as the neo-liberal agenda spread, they insist that the idea of globalization is a “necessary myth” with which politicians and governments manipulate citizens to adjust themselves to meet the requirements of a global market.

Some international relations theories, particularly realists’ perspectives (Morgenthau 1948; Waltz 1979; Gilpin 1981), also challenge the globalist argument that power and authority of nation-states have been limited considerably. From the realist point of view, it is still the major powerful states and their agents, both of which have economic and military impetus, that play the most important role in the existing international order (Waltz 1979). As a result, the policies and preferences of the great powers inevitably determine the existing international order, since only they are capable of creating or maintaining the liberal international order within their economic and military hegemony.

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\(^1\) “Neo-liberal project” refers to a Washington consensus of deregulation, privatization, structural adjustment programs and limited government.
While skeptics do not accept that globalization has occurred, arguing that the contemporary world is more close to internationalization, Mann (2000) acknowledges the existing international order as globalization; however, he still agrees with the skeptic view that the nation-state has not completely lost its power and authority to the markets. Analyzing the globalists’ four threats to the contemporary nation-state—capitalist transformation, environmental limits, identity politics and post-militarism—he makes three criticisms: 1) having little sense of history, globalists overstate the power of the nation-state in the past; 2) they do not understand global variety, and hastily prospect the decline of the nation-state; and 3) they overlook the plurality of the nation-state, and depreciate international relations. Mann, therefore, urges that the threats raised by the globalists need to be re-examined considering the following: “(a) differential impacts on different types of state in different regions; (b) trends weakening and some trends strengthening nation-states; (c) trends displacing national regulation to inter-national as well as to transnational networks; (d) trends simultaneously strengthening nation-states and transnationalism” [all emphasis original]. Criticizing the globalists’ depreciation of the nation-state in the existing international order, however, he emphasizes that global interaction networks are indeed strengthening.

Cerny (1994) also acknowledges both the emergence of globalization and the nation-state’s role in the globalized world. He analyzes the American policy process in relation to the transnationalization of finance. In particular, Cerny demonstrates the interaction between pressures from globalization of the financial market, from the international activities of American firms and from the domestic politics of regulatory reforms. In spite of the globalization of finance and the establishment of international
regulatory regimes, he argues domestic politics still play a critical role in regulating the financial sector. They operate as an important mediator to prevent financial crisis and market failure under globalization.

THE CIVIL SOCIETY, THE STATE, AND THE FTA

Between the Globalists and the Skeptics

Globalization in Korea

While the discussion of the globalists and the skeptics regarding globalization and the state mostly focuses on economic globalization (i.e., the role of state and multinationals), Korea demonstrates more broad impact of globalization that includes not only economic sector but also other spheres of agriculture, education, health, and culture. In particular, the upcoming Korea-US FTA, which is currently under negotiation, reveals the impact of free trade on Korean culture and agriculture. When the Korean government proposed the FTA to the United States, the U.S. government requested either reduction or removal of the screen quota and the opening of rice markets as the preliminary conditions before commencing any negotiations. To contract this fourth FTA, following the FTA with the European Free Trade Association in 2005, the Korean government finally agreed to halve the screen quota from 146 days to 73 days a year\(^2\) and started importing “bapsangyoung ssal (table rice)"\(^3\) from March 2006.

\(^2\) The screen quota is the system to protect the domestic movie industry. It was first introduced in 1966 in Korea, and required movie theatres to play Korean movies at least for 146 days a year until July 1, 2006.

\(^3\) Korea has been importing rice already. But the government strictly restricted the use of such rice to processed food; hence, it was not possible for Korean consumers to buy imported rice for cooking. However, table rice, which can be used as meal, has been
To begin, the impact of the regulations of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and FTAs on Korean agriculture shows the increased phenomenon of globalization in Korea. Ever since the agricultural markets were opened in 1995 with the establishment of the WTO, Korea relies heavily on imports for food supply, and the self-sufficiency of agricultural products was only 26.8 percent in 2004. This is, however, when including rice products: it was only 5 percent excluding rice products. Most other grains such as wheat, potatoes, corn and soybeans were imported from other countries, such as the United States and China. With the Korea-Chile FTA contracted in 2003, fruit imports also increased sharply, and this resulted in the closing of one-third of Korean fruit farms. The immediate damage was particularly noticeable in grape farming, but it ultimately led to a domino effect, decreasing the price of other fruits. Tropical fruits mainly imported from the United States and the Philippines also affected the price of other fruits, although Korea rarely produces tropical fruits. Due to the very low price of tropical fruits, consumers often tend chose tropical fruits, such as bananas and oranges, as substitutes for Korean apples or pears. Korean fruits, therefore, became disadvantageous as price competitors.

The impact of the imported agricultural products on Korea transcends the effect of regionalism. Trade partners vary across the globe, and cannot be blocked regionally; therefore it shows much more complicated interactions between countries than bilateral relations between Korea and each country. It also shows supraterritorial relations between trade partners, which surpasses the effect of internationalization. Under the global regulation of free trade, the interactions between Korea and other foreign countries in agricultural industry transcends national borders. As Scholte (2000) argued, imported since 2006, and this is why farmers are infuriated.
free trade is not “cross-border exchanges over distance [emphasis original],” but “trans-border exchanges without distance [emphasis original].”

The Korean cultural sphere has shown increasing effects of globalization, especially the movie industry. The most noticeable cultural globalization phenomenon is the increase of foreign films, including Hollywood movies. This does not, however, merely mean the quantitative measure of imported movies. The cultural impact of such foreign movies is more significant, and becoming expansive. A movie does not only show a story, but introduces the general culture of a country. People enjoy the natural environment, dance, music, food, and costumes of foreign countries while watching movies. This naturally leads them to be familiar with foreign cultures, and sometimes makes the foreign culture become a part of the people.

Cultural globalization does not narrowly mean the huge impact of American culture mostly delivered through Hollywood movies. For example, many people are enjoying Indian traditional dance and music in Korea. They make a social gathering with others who also like Indian culture, and enjoy Indian dance and music together. According to one Korean TV documentary, VJ Teukgongdae, most first became interested in Indian culture by watching Indian movies. These hobbyists said the music and dance shown in the movie were much more impressive than the story itself. It has now become a part of their lives to learn Indian dance, and listen to Indian music. As exemplified by the Indian culture infiltration into Korea, cultural globalization means the co-existence of diverse cultures, transcending national boundaries, rather than the dominance by one superpower such as the United States. Given that Korean people are enjoying many different cultures of Europe, the United States, India, and other Asian
countries, it is evident that cultural globalization has proceeded to a considerable degree in Korea.

The current situation of Korea demonstrates much more complex and diverse society that cannot be explained with internationalization or regionalism. Unlike most of the discussion on globalization, which focuses on the economic sector, globalization has been expanded to broader spheres. The impact on agricultural industry and cultural sector are particularly noticeable in Korea. The transnational trade in agricultural products shows multilayered interactions among several countries, and the impact of foreign movies on Korea demonstrates how the diverse cultures co-exist, transcending national borders. These changes are considerably different from the internationalization or regionalism; therefore the phenomenon of globalization has emerged in Korea.

The State Under Globalization

The impact of globalization on Korea is significant, and it sometimes weakened the authority and power of the government. For instance, when the financial crisis occurred in 1997, the Korean government did not have much power vis-à-vis the International Monetary Fund. Nonetheless, a nation-state still plays an important role domestically and internationally. First, the nation-state remains as an important actor that plans, negotiates, and executes global regulations. As global regulations sometimes restrict the power of nation-states, nation-states also modify and govern global regulations. It is true that the regulations of the WTO heavily influence the policymaking; however, the government actively communicates with the WTO or the partners of FTAs, and expresses its opinions rather than passively acquiescing to their demands.
The interactions between civil society, the state and international organizations in Korea show the significant role of the Korean government to intervene between its civil society and the FTAs. Particularly, Korean civil society's resistance against globalization demonstrates the role of the government. When the global pressures affected Korean civil society through the government by forcing free trade, the civil society also responded indirectly to FTAs by challenging the government. The regulations of FTAs cannot influence civil society without negotiating with the government, and it is also quite difficult for civil society to directly affect FTAs, although it is not entirely impossible.\(^4\)

To begin, the interaction between the government and FTAs shows how the latter indirectly influences the civil society through the state. Although Korea has been forced continuously to follow the regulations of the WTO in broader fields, the government did not accept all the requests, to protect the weak sectors of society, such as the agricultural industry. This is why it took such a long time to conclude the Korea-Chile FTA, and why Korea is experiencing difficulties in conciliating to the United States in negotiations for the FTA. Ever since the negotiation for the FTA with Chile began, small and big farmers’ protests to deter the ratification by the National Assembly have been ceaseless. The resistance against the FTA expanded to other areas of society, such as the working class, and they criticized the government harshly, demonstrating continuous and collaborative protests. Though the FTA was finally contracted in 2003, the negotiation included some requests from civil society. In particular, Korean government excluded rice, apples, and pears—the most sensitive farm products to

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\(^4\) The resistance against the WTO ministerial meetings in Seattle, Cancun, and Hong Kong demonstrates how the global civil society directly interacts with an international organization.
Korean farmers—from free trade. This illustrates how the civil society successfully challenged the government, and therefore, ultimately affected the government’s negotiations on the FTA.

The resistance against the Korea-US FTA has been also demonstrated by several sectors of society. The farmers and the working class are the most significant actors of the anti-Korea-US FTA movements, and the movie industry has also participated since the end of 2005 galvanized by the U.S. request to reduce the screen quota system as one of the preliminary conditions for the FTA. This FTA with the United States is threatening particularly to Korean farmers, since the United States is asking for complete free trade in the agricultural industry, and accordingly, farmers’ organizations are protesting fiercely against it. As the resistance from civil society expands, the Korean government is undergoing difficulties in coordinating different views within Korea with the positions of the United States.

Korean civil society’s anti-Korea-US FTA protests seem to show some influences on the government’s negotiations on the FTA. In October 2006, the fourth negotiation of the Korea-US FTA lasted for five days in Jeju. The results of this negotiation reveal the effect of civil society’s actions on the Korean government, which tried to deliver the demands of civil society to the U.S. government. Jeju is the major producer of mandarins in Korea, and the Korean government tried to inform the United States of the significance of mandarins for Korea during the negotiations. Although the government had not been active in delivering the farmers’ claims of excluding agricultural industry from the FTA, this time it exerted significant effort to make the United States understand the importance of mandarins. The Korean government delivered the proposition to exclude mandarins and oranges from negotiations, and
Wendy Cutler, the U.S. delegate, responded positively, stating that Korean mandarins are meaningful not only economically, but also culturally and historically. It is difficult to confirm to what extent civil society’s anti-FTA movements influenced the government’s negotiations with the United States, because they are still in progress at this writing. It is, however, meaningful at least in that civil society’s resistance against the FTA affected the progress of negotiations by challenging the government, regardless of the final results.

During negotiations for the Korea-Chile FTA and Korea-US FTA, the Korean government has played the role of active arbiter to coordinate different requests from civil society and the international arena rather than simply delivering the requests of free trade to the civil society. Also, civil society’s interaction with the state reveals indirect pressure of civil society on FTAs via its government. Having the ultimate target of FTAs, civil society leveraged its government to influence negotiations on FTAs, and the Korean government played an important role as a mediator between civil society and FTAs.

![Figure 1 Anti-FTA Movements](image_url)

The Global Civil Society and the Nation-State
The resistance against globalization in Korean civil society sometimes involved global civil society. This activism transcends national boundary, which reveals more complicated interactions between civil society, the state, and FTAs. Keck and Sikkink (1998) explained transnational social movements with a “boomerang model,” in which they showed how domestic civil society indirectly challenges the state through global civil society. When the domestic civil society is prevented from expressing its claims, it takes advantages of international political opportunity structures by allying with global civil society, and makes the global civil society pressure the government.

The Korean civil society’s anti-FTA activities during international film festivals also show this boomerang effect. Protesters against the Korea-US FTA took the opportunity to be visible at international film festivals, and were successful in drawing international attention. It particular, this shows how the global civil society gradually came to participate in the Korean domestic issues. When movie-industry resistance against the Korea-US FTA, which heavily affected the film industry by asking to reduce the screen quota, first surfaced in Korea, it was solely accomplished by Korean civil society. After a few international film festivals in which Korean directors and actors demonstrated anti-FTA activities, however, the global civil society began to show interest, and finally participated in the resistance.

The movie-industry resistance against the Korea-US FTA was accelerated by the relay of one-person demonstrations. Korean movie stars and directors pressured the government, criticizing its decision to halve the screen quota, mostly in front of

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5 The relay of one-person demonstrations is one of the most frequently used repertoires of actions in anti-globalization protests in Korea. Only one person participates in the demonstration, and a different person continues the same protest on the following day. The participants usually demonstrate by picketing.
government agencies such as the Office of the President, the Ministry of Finance and Economy, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. These protests of one-person demonstrations still did not provoke the global civil society. With the Director Park Chan-Wook’s protests at the International Berlin Film Festival in February 2006, however, it became the first chance to make domestic claims appeal to the global civil society. Participating in the film festival, Director Park chose times and places of international focus. While protesting, he interviewed with several reporters from diverse countries, and it became an opportunity to draw attention of the global civil society. He could earn some support from movie stars and directors of other countries, and some foreign reporters also supported his protest. Also, by criticizing the Korean government during the interviews with foreign reporters, he increased the strength of the pressure on the government.

Later on at the 63th Venice International Film Festival (VIFF) in August, Korean actors’ and directors’ protests against the Korea-US FTA continued, and finally saw the direct involvement of the global civil society. In particular, Marco Müller, the chairman of the VIFF, participated in the Director Seung-wan Ryoo’s protest, holding the picket reading “Support Screen Quota Against Cultural Imperialism!” Finally, at the Pusan International Film Festival (PIFF) in October 2006, the collaborate activities of domestic and global civil societies against the Korea-US FTA became more active and systematic. Throughout the PIFF, the anti-FTA activities abounded, and protesters pressured the Korean government to undo the reduction of the screen quota. More direct pressure from the global civil society on the Korean government showed up in the International Conference on the Korea-US FTA and the Screen Quota, with one-person demonstrations this time by foreign protesters. Also, the Congress for Reconstruction of
Japanese Cinema, and Murali Nair, an Indian director, showed their support to the resistance against the Korea-US FTA.

These protests and gaining support against the Korea-US FTA revealed how Korean civil society collaborated with the global civil society to increase their collective power vis-à-vis the state. Although it first started domestically, the protests became global through international film festivals, and the pressure on the government increased accordingly. Although it does not clearly show what impact the civil society’s protests brought to the negotiation between the Korean government and the FTA (because the negotiations for the Korea-US FTA are still in progress), it at least demonstrates the role of the state that affected civil society by deciding the reduction of the screen quota, a request from the FTA, and the authority only the state has to undo the reduction of the screen quota system.

The resistance against the Korea-Japan FTA demonstrates more clear effects on the government’s policy. Korea and Japan embarked on negotiations for the FTA on December 22, 2003, and the Korean working class’s resistance was particularly fierce. They built inter-organizational networks with Japanese trade unions, and drew considerable attention from the global civil society through international conferences and press interviews with foreign affairs reporters. The Korean working class’ resistance together with Japanese labors and other international civil societies impacted particularly on the Korean government, and finally led to the cease of the negotiations. The Ministry of Agriculture and Fishery of Japan blamed the suspension of the negotiations upon the Korean government, stating that the Korean government was too suggestible to the working class’s resistance. Also, one Korean protester of the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU), who participated in the collaborate protests of
Korea and Japan, testified that he experienced himself the importance of transnational collaboration and the significant result of their protests heavily relied on the support from the Japanese civil society. This transnational resistance illustrates how the state intervenes between the civil society and international forces by, on one hand, delivering the impact of free trade to the civil society (as it initially intended by trying to contract the FTA), and reflecting the civil society’s demands to the international agreement on the other.

Figure 2 Collaborate Anti-FTA Movements with Global Civil Society

The anti-Korea-Japan FTA movements were also active domestically. The KCTU was particularly influential among many protest groups. It harshly challenged the government through numerous protests, and finally made the government modify the contents of negotiations. When the FTA negotiation between Korean and Japanese governments first opened, the agricultural industry was not included. However, as the resistance of the working class increased drastically, the Korean government tried to counterbalance expected losses in the manufacturing industries (as argued by the working class) by exporting agricultural products. This new request of Korean government for free trade in agricultural products became a serious obstacle of the
negotiations, which has not seen significant progress to date. By directly challenging the government domestically, the KCTU forced the Korean government to face difficulties in negotiations.

This resistance of Korean civil society against the Korea-Japan FTA illustrates a more complex interaction between civil society, the state, and the international agreement than the boomerang model. It consisted of both transnational and domestic movements. Korean civil society sometimes interacted directly with the government, protesting domestically, and sometimes challenged the government indirectly by allying with global civil society. In both cases, however, the state showed its important role to transmit the civil society’s claims to the FTA negotiations.

The protests against the FTAs in Korea together with global civil society show that even actors whose domestic arena is not blocked will use the international political opportunities to increase the influence of their activities. It is not discouraged in Korea to express one’s discontents through protest, and many demonstrations against the FTAs have taken place. This slightly challenges the boomerang model of Keck and Sikkink, which bases itself on oppressive states that keep the domestic actors from expressing their discontents. As Tarrow (2005) argued, the domestic blockage is “sometimes a simple lack of responsiveness to domestic claims [emphasis original],” but not the necessary condition for the boomerang effect to occur. International collaboration of Korean protesters against the FTAs increases the effect and influence of domestic attempts, but does not aim to overcome the domestic blockage.
Many factors are at play in 21st century Korea. The impact of Korean multinationals is expanded, and other multinationals of foreign countries are also playing more significant roles than ever before in Korean society. The role of these multinationals became fundamentally different from that of internationalization. They were not mere firms that sell and buy products, but rather became important actors transcending national borders (Ohmae 1990.) Such change in the roles of the multinationals and the state distinguishes the current era from internationalization, and it is frequently called “globalization.”

The phenomenon of globalization, however, is not restricted to the economic sector. We can witness globalization in broader sectors including social and cultural spheres. In Korea, diverse cultures co-exist. It is not dominated by one culture of superpower, but different cultures from several countries are present. Although it is true that the influence of each culture varies, it shows the cultural globalization maintaining diversities.

The role of the state has undergone some changes under globalization. Nonetheless, the state has maintained its significant authority and role. It is still one of the most important actors in international arena, and actively intervenes between its civil society and international agreements. Therefore, it is fair to say that the role of state has changed rather than decreased. It plays a significant role as a mediator that decides, controls, and executes international influences such as free trade. FTAs rarely influence domestic civil society directly without negotiations with the state, and therefore, the state is the most important actor that transmits the impact of FTAs on its civil society. Directly interacting with civil society, the state also delivers civil society’s
demands to the tables of negotiation on international agreements. It plays a role like a bridge between the civil society and international agreements, making the indirect interactions possible between the two. Sometimes the state tries to persuade civil society so that it can contract international agreements, and sometimes it modifies the global regulations in order for the civil society’s demands to be reflected. The anti-free trade movements in Korea particularly illustrated how the Korean government is intervening between Korean civil society and the FTAs. The civil society actively used the government as a channel through which it expressed its claims, and the counterparties of the FTAs could influence Korean civil society only through negotiating with the Korean government. These anti-free trade activities sometimes involved global civil society, and they showed a slightly modified form of the “boomerang effect,” which demonstrated that rallying of international support can occur without domestic blockage.

A few cases of anti-FTA movements by Korean civil society show the role of the Korean government under globalization. Though the interaction between civil society, the state, and international agreements, of each case is slightly different; however, the state showed its important role as an arbitrator in every case. Further research that can show the role of the state when the civil society and international agreement or international organization interact directly would be helpful to illustrate more clearly the significant role of the state in this era of globalization.
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Orchestrating Classroom Interaction: What Constitutes a Productive Classroom Discourse?

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Abstract

This study investigates the functions that the teacher and student talk served in a second language classroom. Being one of the key medium in teaching and learning, classroom discourse has been investigated by scholars in various areas of education (Cullen, 2002; Ellis, 1988; Lemke, 1990; Long & Sato, 1987; Mehan, 1979; Nassaji and Wells, 2000; Rogoff, 1995). Beginning from 1970s, the triadic dialogue (IRE/F sequence) is accepted to be the main discourse pattern in classrooms. Analysis of video-recorded classroom sessions revealed that the triadic dialogue is also the main characteristic of discourse in this particular classroom. However, it is noted that there were instances when the IRE/F (Initiation-Response-Evaluation/Facilitation) pattern is disturbed by student initiated participations. Further analysis of observations and interviews suggested that student initiated participations may hint for the need to a more learner centered classroom practice. In earlier research, the triadic dialogue is associated with teachers’ authority in the classroom. Although the teacher’s self-initiated participation is usually the dominant pattern, students’ taking the floor by self-initiated participation has been considered to be a desired practice in collaborative construction of teaching and learning. Consequently, this study suggests that student initiated participation is in fact collaborative construction of teaching and learning. However, the findings suggest that further analysis of student participation is particularly necessary in classrooms where the dominant discursive practices are teacher-initiated. It is concluded that student initiated participations may in fact be student feedback when there is a contradiction between student goals and their classroom experiences.
Reading in ESL/EFL classrooms: A discussion of research to inform mediational role of reading in language classrooms

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Abstract

There has been an increasing amount of research on the use of authentic literary texts in language classrooms for the last ten years. It has been widely discussed that using authentic literary texts and encouraging students to join literary discussions enhance language development (Adair-Hauck & Cumo-Johanssen, 1997; Adair Hauck & Donato, 2002; Carter & McRae, 1996; Kramsch, 1993; Lafayette1993; West & Donato, 1995). However, little had been understood and discovered about the use of literature in language classrooms. This review addresses to the following questions: (1) What is the role of text-based discussions in second language classrooms? (2) Do text-based discussions have any influence on language development? (3) Could literary texts be used in L2 classrooms at all levels? (4) What is the role of the teacher in text-based discussions? (5) What is the role of teacher questions and evaluations? A step by step review of the earlier research addressing these questions reveals several gaps in research practices. There is a need for empirical studies and detailed micro-analyses of literary discourse particularly in English language classrooms. Further implications for research and educational practices will be discussed.
The Implication of Sharia Implementation on Human Rights
A case study: Qanun (Regional regulation)–related to women (Islamic Dress Code) in Aceh, Indonesia

Abstract

The application of Sharia (Islamic law) is granted by Indonesian laws and is enshrined in the Helsinki Peace Agreement between the Government and the Free Aceh Movement. The demand of majority people in Aceh to live in accordance with its unique Islamic culture also contributes for Sharia application. However, the implication of Sharia implementation in the practice seems to violate women’s rights. The attempts to implement Sharia by new Sharia agencies, such as Sharia Police may violate women’s human rights under international regulations i.e. CEDAW. This may due to the ambiguity of Qanun leading to misinterpretation by authorities and community. Moreover, the lack of competency of new Sharia institutions seems to contribute to continuing the violations on women rights. The biased perception of the community in interpreting the Islamic laws, the fiqh-male biased may also contribute. The provisions on Islamic dress in Aceh are in fact not too rigid. They do not provide a harsh punishment. Instead, the provision gives three warnings prior to imposing the punishment. The Government and NGO’s should be concerned with the violations which have been occurring during the attempts of the Sharia implementation. It is suggested by providing training the Syariah Officer as means to understand the international human rights standards and promote the equality between men and women. Otherwise, Indonesia’s international human rights obligations under CEDAW maybe becoming seriously threatened.

Personal Biography

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ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE, COMMUNICATION, TASK AND ORGANIZATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS

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ABSTRACT

In this study, an attempt has been made to investigate the relationship between organizational structure, communication, nature of task and organizational effectiveness. Three dimensions of organizational structure namely, formalization, participation and centralization were considered. Organizational effectiveness was measured using perceptual method. However, the measure included output (quality), output (quantity), proper utilization of resources, flexibility and future orientation. Data have been collected from manufacturing organizations belonging to public sector, private sector and multinational companies during management development programmes in India. Multiple regression technique was used to analyse data. The findings indicated that communication openness was positively related to effectiveness. Two dimensions of structure i.e., formalization and participation were positively related and centralization was negatively related to effectiveness. It was found that routine task reduces effectiveness. Among all the independent variables communication, openness and formalization explained more variance in dependent variable i.e., organizational effectiveness. Implications of the finding have been discussed in the paper.

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INTRODUCTION

All organizations try to achieve survival and growth. Organizational effectiveness is a comprehensive measure of success of any organization. Organizational effectiveness has been defined in multiple ways.

1. Etzioni (1960) "The ability of an organization to achieve its goal.
2. Katz and Kahn (1966) "The maximization of return to organization by economic and technical means (efficiency) and by political means".
3. Yuchtman and Seashore (1967) "Organization's ability to acquire scarce and valued resources".
4. “Organizational effectiveness is a combination of several measures”. Pfeffer & Salanick (1978)

These definitions indicate that organizational effectiveness has multiple meanings. Its meaning depends upon perspective of researchers also. Organizations have multiple stakeholders like employees, owners, govt, customers etc. Therefore, there may be conflict in criteria of effectiveness sometimes. Organizational theorists differ regarding the meaning and criteria for effectiveness. This indicates that effectiveness has no universally accepted criteria. As a construct effectiveness is beset with problems.(Steers 1975, Campbell 1977, Cameron & Whetton 1983). Campbell (1977) concluded - "Effectiveness is not one thing. An organization can be effective or ineffective on a number of factors that may be relatively independent of each other. Perhaps a better way to think of organizational effectiveness is as an underlying construct that has no necessary and sufficient operational definition but that constitutes a model of what effectiveness is”.

Models of Organizational Effectiveness

At present the following models of effectiveness dominate research in this area -

Goal Attainment Model

Organizations are viewed as a rational set of arrangements between people and resources that are instrumental for attainment of specified agreed upon goals. From this perspective, effectiveness is defined in terms of goal attainment. In this approach the closer an organization's output gets, to its stated goals or objectives, the more effective is the organization. This approach is useful when goals of the organization are clear, consensual
and measurable. This model has been used by researchers like Price (1962) Campbell (1977) etc. This model has some limitations also. Firstly, an organization does not pursue only one goal but multiple goals. Sometimes one goal may contradict other goals of the organization. The organization can be effective on one or several goals but may be less effective or ineffective on others. Secondly, the goals are decided by the owners of the organization. An organization’s public goal may bear little resemblance with its real objectives. The operative goals of the enterprise are likely to shift with the changing power distribution among interest groups. Another problem with this approach is the determination of whose goals shall rule. There are various groups within an organization. Pickle and Friedlander (1967) found that expectations of organization held by each interest group were quite different.

**Systems Model**

The systems perspective in a sense feeds upon the inherent in the goal weaknesses attainment model of organizational effectiveness. Two systems approaches have dominated research:-

1. Viewing organization as an open system, Katz and Kahn (1966) emphasized two basic factors which contribute to the determination of effectiveness. The first factor is efficiency, which is an energetic ratio of inputs to outputs. The second factor is political effectiveness which is defined as short run attempts to maximize the return to an organization through advantageous transaction and exchanges both with the organization's members and forces outside the organization. Both factors, efficiency and political effectiveness, will, in the long run, exhibit the four proposed characteristics of long-term organizational effectiveness - growth, energetic storage, survival and control over the external environment. The major focus of this model is not so much the end state but the processes by which the organizations come to arrive at the end state.

2. Under the system resource conceptualization effectiveness is defined as the ability of an organization to secure an advantageous bargaining position in its environment and to capitalize on that position to acquire scarce valued resources. Yuchtman and Seahore (1967) state-
"The concept of "bargaining position" implies the exclusion of any specific goal (or function) as the ultimate criterion of organizational effectiveness. Instead, it points to the more general capability of the organization as a resource getting system". Specific goals, however, can be incorporated in this conceptualization in two ways:-

1. As a specification of the means or strategies employed by members of this organization, (2) as a specification of the personal goals of certain members or classes of members' within the organizational system. The better the bargaining position of an organization, the more capable it is of attaining its varied and often transient goals and the more capable it is of allowing the attainment of the personal goals of members.

2. The assessments based on this model have emphasized the interdependence between important functions within the organization and its elements in the external environment. It assumes that some means have to be devoted to such non-goal functions as survival, maintenance etc. Such activities are functional and contribute to organizational effectiveness. The systems model is oriented towards a more long term objective of assessing the organization, i.e. ability to survive in its environment. Systems models implicitly emphasize criteria designed to reflect the concept of the organization as a social system. Some of the criteria used or assessment of effectiveness are organizational flexibility, capability of dealing with conflict, coordination of subunits and allocation of resources etc.

**Ecology Model**

Miles (1980) proposed this model of effectiveness wherein organizational effectiveness is defined as the ability of an organization to mainly satisfy the expectations of its strategic constituencies. Strategic constituencies are those individual, interest groups, coalitions and organizations upon which the focal organization is critically dependent. These include major stockholders, or owners, rank and file employees, suppliers, consumers etc. The ecology model has the features of both the systems model and the goal attainment model. But instead of focusing on means as the system model would argue, this model treats structures and processes within and between organizations as determinants of effectiveness. It recognizes the role of internal and external constituencies in shaping the goals, operations and ultimate
survival of the organization. A central proposition is that before assessing an organization in terms of goal achievement, a prior determination must be made of the appropriateness of the goals themselves. The assessment has three steps:

1. Identification of the strategic constituencies and their expectations
2. Assessing the relative power of these constituencies.
3. Preference ordering of the expectations for the organization as a whole.

The expectations held by these constituencies may be viewed as the goal they seek to impose on the focal organization. Organizational effectiveness can be assessed in terms of an organization's ability to mainly satisfy these goals in accordance with the preference ordering, reflecting the relative power of its strategic constituencies. Firstly, it undermines the value added to maximization of internal resources in organizational effectiveness. Secondly, the linkages, between satisfaction of goals, imposed by the strategic constituencies and internal processes is not elaborated.

As organizations have multiple constituencies, any assessment of effectiveness should have multiple measures. Raymond (1984) compared such models of effectiveness and suggested that organizational effectiveness is both value based and time specific. An analytical model of effectiveness was suggested by Morgan (1995). He suggested a number of internal organization system and external environmental influences affect effectiveness of an organization. Awasthy & Gupta (2004) analyzed perception of Indian executives about organizational effectiveness. It was found that Indian executives tend to define organizational effectiveness as adaptability, innovativeness and accountability to the stakeholder’s interest by following human resource systems and policies. Khandwalla (1985) proposed that organizational effectiveness is determined by a large number of variables which are given below:

1. Contextual variables: Industry in which organization operates, legal and political environment, the type of organization and ownership etc.
2. Strategic variables: Goals of the organization, strategies of the organization, growth rate, and style of top management.

3. Structural Variables: Centralization, formalization, specific functions, division of labour etc.

4. Process variables: Communication, leadership, and conflict resolution

A major gap in research is how does configuration of context, management style, goals strategy, and culture affect different indicators of effectiveness. This study is based on Khandwalla (1985) model of effectiveness. Organizational structure can be rigid or flexible. Earlier studies have not examined the relationship among such variables in Indian context. Three dimensions of organizational structure namely, centralization, formalization and participation in decision-making have been selected for the study. In addition, communication and nature of task have been considered as antecedents of effectiveness.

Centralization describes the locus of decision-making authority along vertical dimensions of organizational structure. A study by Negandhi and Reiman (1973) of thirty manufacturing firms in India examined the relationship between decentralization and effectiveness and found positive relationship between theses variables. Mott (1972) found that decentralization could in some cases have positive effect and in some cases a negative effect, but that depends on specific circumstances of each organization. However, in large organizations centralization of decision-making authority can adversely affect organizational performance.

In addition to centralization, formalization is significant dimension of organizational structure. Hall (1962) defined formalization as a set system of procedures for dealing with work situations and a system of rules covering the rights and duties of members of organization. High degree of formalization can make the work monotonous. Dewar & Walsh (1987) proposed two outcomes of formalization i.e administrative efficiency and influence. It can contribute to effectiveness in an organization’s earlier part but it may contribute to ineffectiveness in the later life cycle of organization. Kasperson (1985) examined the relationship between organizational structure and performance. It was found that greater the formalized structure, lower the satisfaction of employees and performance. Smith (1996)
found that high level of formalization generates large clientele and high revenues in voluntary organizations. A moderate degree of formalization contributes to high effectiveness.

Participation refers to involvement of employees of different hierarchical levels in decision-making about policies, programmes and other business issues which are likely to influence organizational functioning. It can facilitate performance of individual members in the organization by increasing their satisfaction and organizational commitment, and improving interpersonal relationship among employees. Studies have indicated that a decentralized, participatory organizational structure is most conducive to effectiveness in term of confidence and self control and encourages employees to achieve high production goals (Collins, 1996; Srivastava & Ghadially, 1996). Organizational performance is determined by organizational structure, communication as well as nature of task. In any organization, there are routine as well as non-routine activities. It influences job performance as well as job attitudes.

Organizational effectiveness can be measured by subjective as well as objective criteria. In general objective measures include financial indicators like profit, return on investment, share price etc. and subjective measures have focused on overall effectiveness of the organization. Subjective measures are very popular in research studies on effectiveness. Reiman (1982) reported that subjective evaluation of an organization’s effectiveness or competence was found to be an excellent predictor of the subsequent survival and growth of the organization. Des and Robinson (1984) reported the validity of assessing firm performance through subjective measures. Baer & Frese (2003) in a study of 47 medium size firm found positive correlation between subjective and objective measures. In this study objective indicator was an accountancy based index of return of assets. Questionnaire measure assessed degree of goal achievement and success of organization in comparison to other organizations. In another study, Guthrie (2001) found high positive correlation between objective and subjective measures of effectiveness. Sample included 164 firms in New Zealand. Therefore in this study effectiveness has been measured using subjective variables.
Objective of the study

In this study a multivariate model of effectiveness has been examined. Following independent variables were considered:

1. Formalization
2. Participation
3. Centralization
4. Communication openness
5. Nature of Task

The study has been designed to investigate how configuration of dimensions of organizational structure, communication and nature of task influence organizational effectiveness.

Hypotheses:

1. Participation in decision-making will be positively related to organizational effectiveness.
2. Centralization will be negatively related to organizational effectiveness
3. Formalization will be positively related to effectiveness
4. Communication openness will be positively related to effectiveness.

METHOD

Sample

Three hundred executives participated in the study. Some of them were working at middle level and some of them were working as senior level managers. These executives belonged to public sector, private sector and multinational companies. Data have been collected during
management development programmes in India. Educational qualification of respondents varied between B.Tech, M. Tech, M. Sc, MBA etc.

**Measurement**

Following scales were used for measurement of variables:

**Organizational Effectiveness:** It was measured by Mott (1972) scale. It measured five dimensions of effectiveness namely output (quality), Output (quantity), utilization of resources (money, people, etc.), flexibility and future orientation. There are five dimensions in this scale having five point rating, varying from low to very high.

**Formalization:** It was developed by a questionnaire by Hage & Aiken (1967). It has six items.

**Centralization:** It was developed by a questionnaire by Hage & Aiken (1967). It has five items.

**Participation:** It was developed by a questionnaire by Hage & Aiken (1967). It has four items.

**Communication:** Reilly & Roberts (1977) developed a questionnaire to measure two dimensions of communication i.e. accuracy and openness.

**Nature of Task:** It was measured by Hage & Aiken (1967) scale having four items.

Reliability and validity of these scales have been established in earlier studies (Srivastava, 1991). Cronbach alpha coefficient for the scales is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Cronbach Alpha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Organizational Effectiveness</td>
<td>0.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation</td>
<td>0.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centralization</td>
<td>0.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formalization</td>
<td>0.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nature of Task</td>
<td>0.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication Openness</td>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**RESULTS**

Table 2 gives mean and standard deviation of variables. Table 3 presents inter correlations among variables and table 4 gives results of multiple regression analysis. Multiple regression analysis indicated that all independent variable explained 27.47% of variance of effectiveness. Communication openness was positively related to effectiveness. It explained maximum variance i.e., 19.85%. Formalization and participation were positively related to effectiveness also. Two variables i.e., centralization and nature of task were negatively related to effectiveness. All independent variables were significant predictors of effectiveness.

**DISCUSSION**

The objective of the study was to investigate impact of structural dimensions, communication and nature of task on effectiveness. The findings indicated that communication openness was positively related to effectiveness. Communication among employees of different organizational units enhances integration of units. In any organization, it improves understanding of role and responsibilities of executives. Similarly, openness facilitates free exchange of ideas and creativity. It improves job satisfactions also. Therefore, it is likely to improve overall effectiveness of the organization. Thus hypothesis that communication openness will be positively related to effectiveness was supported.
Formalization was positively related to effectiveness. Formalization provides stability to any organization. It ensures that employees working in various groups regularly perform the task, which are assigned to them. Srivastava (1991) found that formalization was positively related to job involvement as well as job performance. It enables the organization to ensure compliance with requirements of internal and external customers also. It provides stability to organization by clearly specifying role of every executives. However, it should be kept in mind that it can create rigidity in organizations.

Participation in decision-making was positively related to effectiveness. In any organization participative climate exhibits more initiatives and show higher motivation level. It improves job involvement and commitment to organization as it provides opportunity for greater attainment of higher order needs such as self-expression, respect and independence. Srivastava (2001) found that flexible organizational structure has positive relationship with job attitudes like, job satisfaction, and organizational commitment. Therefore, it is likely to improve effectiveness.

It was found that centralization was negatively related to effectiveness. It is generally observed that centralization in decision-making reduces speed of the organization. In such a situation needs of customers are likely to be ignored. Employees experience low job satisfaction as well job performance in centralized organizational structure, Srivastava (2003). Thus hypothesis that centralization will be negatively to effectiveness was supported.

Routine task was negatively related to effectiveness. In any organization routine activities reduce motivation and innovative spirit of executives. Executives find the work monotonous and de-motivating, which can reduce their performance. All independent variables explained 27.47% variance in effectiveness. The results of this study provide support for Khandwalla
(1985) model of effectiveness. Schmid (2002) established that there is causal relationship between structural properties of organization and effectiveness. Thus, results of the study suggested that organizational effectiveness is determined by multiple variables like dimensions of organizational structure, open communication and nature of task. The findings have implications for organizational development interventions for improving effectiveness of any organization. Organization should try to create conditions of open communication and provide opportunity for participation in decision-making process for employees. Similarly, there should be opportunity for job rotation, which will help employees to experience variety at the workplace. It will help in improving innovation in organizations. Such efforts will improve organizational effectiveness.

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Hage J & Aiken M (1967) The relationship of centralization to other structural properties, Administrative Science Quarterly, 12 ,73-92

Hall R.H. (1962) Organizational structural variations: Application of the bureaucratic model Administrative Science Quarterly, 7(3) 274-308


Miles, R.H. (1980) : "Macro Organizational Behavior" : Good Year, Santa Monica, California,


Table 2: Mean and Standard Deviation of Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>Organizational Effectiveness</td>
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<tr>
<td>Participation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Centralization</td>
<td>12.81</td>
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<td>Formalization</td>
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<td>2.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nature of Task</td>
<td>10.55</td>
<td>2.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication Openness</td>
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<td>5.90</td>
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Table 3: Inter correlation Among Variables

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<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
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<th>2</th>
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<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
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<tr>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication Openness</td>
<td>.44**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation</td>
<td>.29**</td>
<td>.28**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centralization</td>
<td>-.24**</td>
<td>-.32**</td>
<td>.28**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formalization</td>
<td>.27**</td>
<td>.19**</td>
<td>.21**</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Task</td>
<td>-.22**</td>
<td>-.23**</td>
<td>.19**</td>
<td>.23**</td>
<td>-.07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

r = .13 (p<.05)
r = .16 (p<.01)
Table 4: Multiple Regression Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Corr</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>Unique Variance</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig. of F</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
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<td>.3234</td>
<td>.0540</td>
<td>.1985</td>
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<td>.0001</td>
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<td>Openness</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Formalization</td>
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<td>.1840</td>
<td>.0508</td>
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<td>.0003</td>
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<tr>
<td>Participation</td>
<td>.29</td>
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<td>.0533</td>
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<td>-.0900</td>
<td>.0511</td>
<td>.0073</td>
<td>3.09</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Multiple R = .5241
R2 = .2747
F(5,294) = 23.18 (p<.001)
Variance = 27.47%
Explained
Bollywood

A Group Unifying Instrument

Anthropology Poster Session

Sylvia Stoll

Brigham Young University
Anthropology 490 R: Final Paper
Instructor: Professor Nuckolls

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Introduction

India is one of the most culturally diverse nations of the world. There are 32 major spoken languages and many other dialects. Approximately eighty percent of the Indian people are Hindu and belong to a religion, which consists of more than 2000 different castes. There are also big communities of Moslems and Christians, as well as Buddhists and Jainists. India has the second largest population after China, with over a billion people. It achieved its independence in 1947, after a wave of nationalism swamped the country. Mahatma Gandhi was the main force behind the peaceful resistance movement that led to India’s independence over fifty years ago. He was a strong advocate for equality and the Hindu/Muslim unification – both important factors in making India one nation. However, shortly after India’s independence many Indians abandoned the idea of a unified people. They felt that India’s independence was achieved, and no further unification was necessary. However the truth is that India still struggles with the unification of this immensely diverse population.

Today the need for independence has shifted in its nature. India is already an independent nation politically, yet it tries to move out of poverty and gain economic freedom. One of the factors that are hindering India in its progress is the lack of unity that rises from various Indian classifications such as religion and castes. The kind of unification that is needed today is not for the purpose of gaining independence or some kind of political unity. Rather, there is a need for a cultural unification in this grandiose melting pot of over a billion people. In this paper I argue that the highly successful Indian Cinema Wave called Bollywood, is an industry that can help find and strengthen a new Indian cultural identity, by comparing it to Sigmund Freud’s definitions of group psychology.

Method of Analysis

In order to understand what role Bollywood plays in Indian Cinema today, it is necessary to gain a concise understanding of the history of Indian Cinema and the character of Bollywood today. For this reason I will give a brief history of Indian Cinema first. Then I will give a background on the nationalistic movement in India today with an emphasis on Hindu nationalism. Following the accounts on Indian Cinema and nationalism in India, I will move to Sigmund Freud’s definitions of identification and group psychology. I will elaborate on the items that Freud lists concerning the unification of a group, such as leadership, identification, elimination of distinctiveness, images, extremes, and finally love. I will give examples from the pattern of a typical Bollywood film in order to make a connection between Freud’s definition and Bollywood films.
Analysis

Brief History of Indian Cinema

In the early days of Indian Cinema film industries were scattered throughout the country. They could be found in Calcutta, Madras, Lahore and other cities. Bombay however was and is the center of Indian Cinema. The name Bollywood was invented by combining the words Hollywood and Bombay (now Mumbai). Bombay hosts one of the biggest film industries. Every year there is a production of over 1,000 feature films in all of India's major languages and in a variety of cities.

Indian Cinema started to emerge in the 1930s, however many critics would not associate Bollywood with these early films, because it has become so commercialized. In the following years several classic genres were created in Bollywood. Some examples are the historical epic, the curry western, the courtesan film, and the mythological movie. The genre that mostly comes out of Bollywood today is called Marsala, the name of an Indian spice mix. It represents a film that has many different elements as for example mythology, melodrama, romance, action, suspense, and the expression of sexual feelings. All of these components are accompanied by a variety of songs and dances.

Ashish Rajadhyaksha writes about the increased awareness of Bollywood films:

For something like the past decade, leading up to Newsweek’s final consecration, a range of print and television media have been claiming some rather dramatic developments in the Indian cinema. Practically every newspaper has commented, usually in the same breathless prose as Newsweek, on the phenomenon: there is a craze for ‘Bollywood’ masala that quite exceeds anything we’ve ever seen before; from Tokyo to Timbuktu Khan are circulating in places where people may never have heard of Indira Gandhi, and there seems to be an opportunity, there is apparently money to be made.¹

Rajadhyaksha further said it is not a surprise that this idea of India is one that is sustained by popular Indian culture. To him, he says," Indian films, with all their limitations and outright idiocies, represent part of the hope for India’s future. In a country that is still 50 per cent illiterate, films represent the prime vehicle for the transmission of popular culture and values." One of these values is a new sense of nationalism that has reached India over the last decade.

Nationalistic Movement in India

India is a country that struggles with economical and social problems, such as poverty, food shortages and violence between Hindus and Moslems. The Kashmir conflict is an external manifestation of a problem that also plagues India internally. Continuously growing high-tech industries and economic reforms have been taking place over the last decade or so. They have been giving the nation hope and optimism for a better India. Closer ties to the West, such as

¹ Rajadhyaksha, Ashish. Inter-Asia Cultural Studies; Vol. 4 Issue 1, (Apr2003): 25
improved relations with the United States, have also given reason for a bright Indian future for
many. “India will soon be a great power, and if the economy really picks up, it could be a
superpower at some point as well,” says Ashutosh Varshney, a political science professor at the
University of Michigan at Ann Arbor.

Even though there are great hopes for the Indian future, the present does not look very
rosy. India still struggles with the aftereffects of colonization. An ever more globalizing world
requires a new approach to nationalism. Phrases like ‘Phir Bhi Dil Hai Hindustani’ and ‘Yeh
mera India/I love my India’ show the desire Indians have to become a unified people. These
phrases are found in nearly every Bollywood film in some way or another. Indians hope to move
the country forward with a ‘cultural nationalism’, which is a form of nationalism that is
independent from the State and its citizenship or political rights. It is a form of nationalism that
works from the inside out, and has to come through the minds of the people. These changes are
taking place slowly, because century old traditions cannot easily be done away with in a decade.
There is certainly more than one way possible and needed to move this trend along. Film is one
of these forms and has been uniting the people with the recent Bollywood movement. Another
trend that attempted to unite Indians culturally was the Hindu nationalist movement.

Hindu Nationalism

Even though this is a rather hot topic I would like to mention the Hindu nationalist
movement. Nowadays it has become a problem, because it evolved into a Hindu only interest
group. In its beginning however, it had a different focus. It played a major unifying role in the
years before India's independence in 1947. After that, the fruits of this movement shifted to a
rather exclusive Hindu approach. One of the accomplishments of this fraction of Indian society
was the creation of the Ganesha festivals. These festivals were initiated to focus on the most
powerful and common gods like Ganesha, the epic Krishna and Durga. The purpose of this
practice was to find common ground for all Hindus, because each community worshiped their
own less significant regional gods. In order to unify the people it was necessary not only to
create a new tradition, but also to keep foreign things out, like components of other religions. It
was not uncommon for Indians to individually add aspects of other religions to their worship
practices. A Moslem could worship at a Hindu temple and vice versa.

The Hindu nationalist movement's primary purpose is to unite all Hindus into a
single "community" that can be the foundation of a strong, Hindu Indian nation.
Disunity among Hindus, especially caste divisions, must therefore be overcome
and marginal groups must be integrated into the body of Hindu society; at one
and at the same time, the distinction between Hindus and non-Hindus,
particularly Muslims, has to be reinforced.3

This movement is interesting to look at in regards to Bollywood and its ability to influence
India's nationalistic movement. Since superstars like Shah Rukh Khan are worshipped like gods,
the parallelism lies close. The nationalist Hindu movement is very concerned, especially recently

2 Bratten, Clare L. Can it remain an open and tolerant society? Middle Tennessee State University.
in keeping foreign things out of the Hindu religion. This way, true “Hinduness” can be preserved. Bollywood does something similar with the focus that it puts on Indian values and a new sense of Indian identity. It tries to reform society by sticking to Indian traditions and values, and not letting foreign things in.

Identification and Freud's group psychology: What unites a group?

Leadership

_The film firmament is studded with 'stars' and 'starlets' of greater and lesser magnitude and luminosity. Their position is important, for not only do they rule in their own realm but even influence the lives of those who see them in all their brilliance on the silver screen. They are very often the determining factors in the popularity and financial success of a film, luring audiences to the box-office with the much publicized aura of glamour and fascination surrounding their names._

In the early days of Indian Cinema megastars were often the driving force behind films and not a director or a plot. Even though the audience has become progressively more aware of directors, most of the admiration of the audience still goes to the actors. In 1936, Ashok Kumar and Devika Rani emerged as the first major star pair. Other male film heroes were Raj Kapoor, Dilip Kumar, and Dev Anand in the 1950s and '60s, Rajahs Khanna in the '70s, Amitab Bachchan in the '80s, and Shahrukh Khan in the '90s. Female stars were Madhubala in the 1950s, Mumtaz in the '60s, Zeenat Aman in the '70s, Hema Malini in the '80s, and Madhuri Dixit and Kajol in the '90s.

Maradur Gopalamenon Ramachandran, also known as MGR, is a good example of a superstar and his influence on Indian society. He was a popular actor and a politician. MGR used his popularity and became the leading mascot of a political party. After his death he was deified with a temple in his birthplace Madras. It is not uncommon for Indian actors to be compared to gods or to be worshipped like Gods. A young woman said about a popular Indian actor: "We believe Shah Rukh is God, who has incarnated himself on the Earth." The Cinema has become a place to worship gods like Shah Rukh Khan. This is a temple that can be used by all religions equally, and therefore has a unifying effect on the Indian people. Shah Rukh Khan, who is Moslem himself says: “It’s so strange that in a Hindu nation like India they think of me as God.”

Every group is in need of leadership, and in Bollywood films this role is fulfilled by the protagonists. Gods are a type of leaders, an object of idealization and admiration. Both film superstars and gods, play similar roles in India. This lays the foundation for the comparison between gods and film stars. They each represent a certain kind of ideology, which is a necessary trait for a group leader.

---

“Crowds want their leaders to be fascinated by a set of ideas, a faith, an ideology, and to possess what LeBon calls ‘prestige’. This can be attached to a person or a set of ideas or both. The concept has similarities to Max Weber’s notion of ‘charisma’ – leader with a gist of grace, who can convince followers of his extraordinary powers.”

Identification

Sigmund Freud describes the relationship of a child with his parents as narcissistic. When a child realizes that he will not be able to win over the father or the mother, this narcissistic notion is partly replaced by identification with the parent. The girl strives to be just like the mother, and the son wants to be exactly like the father. Later in life, other figures substitute the father and the mother. Stars are one of the objects of identification that are chosen as a replacement.

Whatever the reason for individual likes and dislikes, the significance of stars lies in the fact that they become the objects of identification. Terry Ramsaye observes: “Stardom is a job of a vicarious attainment for the customers. The starring player becomes the agent in advance for the box-office customer. The spectator tends to identify himself with the glamorous and triumphant player, just as the tense weakling little ribbon clerk in the last run of seats clenches his fists and wins the winner of the prize-fight.”

The stars are the link between the film industry and the audience. They are the focal point on which the critical faculties of the audience centre. The channel through which the stars maintain close contact with their audience is the fan mail and more so the fan magazine.

The contact to the desired object of identification, the actor, is sustained by such services as fan clubs, magazines and websites. Bollywood cannot be simply defined as Indian films only. There is a whole web of supportive features that viewers use to keep or create a connection to their idols. Sara Dickey illustrates a group of young men and the way they connect to their “leaders”.

“On certain evenings in a Madurai neighborhood, crowds of young men cluster on the streets under brightly painted signboards. Each board shows a movie star in a characteristic pose – dancing, giving books to school children, or simply reclining in a track suit and sunglasses, inviting the adoration of his fans. These signs bear names like “Disco King Rajni Fan Club,” ‘Prince Kamal Social Welfare Club,’ or ‘Heroic Leader of the people MGR Fan Club’. The animated young men discuss the star, his movies, the club’s plans.”

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Eliminations of Distinctiveness

In Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego Freud claims that: “In the individual’s mental life someone else is invariably involved, as a model, as an object, as a helper, as an opponent; and so from the very first individual psychology, in this extended but entirely justifiable sense of the words, is at the same time social psychology as well”.  

This quote states that the tendency of an individual to identify with someone, applies to a group as it does with an individual. In cinema this object or model translates to the Bollywood movie star. Even if a fan does not go as far as worshipping the actor like a God, the viewer still can identify with the actor to a different degree. In fact, this kind of identification is necessary in watching a typical Marsala film, as the world that is portrayed in it would otherwise seem very unrealistic. When an audience watches a film, something happens not just to the individual who sits there, but also to the community of the viewers as a whole.

In his chapter “Le Bon’s Description of the Group Mind” Freud refers to Gustave Le Bon and his definitions of a group. Le Bon says that the acquirements of the individual diminish in a group setting. This phenomena supports the community of the group and eliminates distinctiveness. He says that what is “heterogeneous submerges in what is homogeneous. As we should say, the mental superstructure, the development of which in individuals shows such dissimilarities, is removed, and the unconscious foundations, which are similar in everyone, stand exposed to view”. India with over 200 castes is a country that needs this kind of unification. A movie theatre is one of the few places that are open to people from all castes. When the viewers sit side by side in the theatre, it does not matter what cast one is from any more, what matters is the world and the happenings of the protagonists of the film that is being seen.

Moti Gokulsing and Wimal Dissanayake comment on the viewing style of Indians: “Another noticeable difference between Indian spectators and those in the West is that watching a film is an interactive/participatory experience. Some spectators, generally men and usually those in the inexpensive seats near the screen, comment on the parts of the story that make them uncomfortable and whistle or clap if they particularly approve of a scene.”

Images

Le Bon further explains that a group is very easily influenced. It is very credulous and does not criticize. The notion of improbability does not exist within a group. Just as individuals think in images when in a state of free imagination, so do groups make associations with images. Marsala films use the power of images and emphasize its communicative power. Extreme close ups are a widespread technique to show the emotion of a protagonist. Feelings are expressed very visually in flashes to an imaginary moment at the river or any other visually magical location.

“The feelings of a group are always very simple and exaggerated. So that a group knows neither doubt nor uncertainty.”

_The Hindi film labors under the disadvantage of having to explain things for an audience with diverse tastes and backgrounds and who range from the totally illiterate to the highly sophisticated. To find the right common denominator is virtually impossible. It creates a never-never-land that exists nowhere outside the silver screen. Regional differences are more than a matter of language. If the average Punjabi peasant finds the Tamil peasant incomprehensible, it does not necessarily mean an inability to understand dialogue. The Hindi Cinema, concentrating as it does on a common denominator of general appeal at the visual level acts as a unifying factor, because it is generally ‘understood’._

Indian films are of the most visual kind. They make good use of the power of images in order to communicate to a broad and diverse audience. These images encourage the viewer’s imagination, so they enter a state where criticism is eliminated and implausibility does not exist.

**Extremes**

Another group characteristic is the inclination to all extremes. If one wants to excite a group he or she needs to use excessive stimulus. It is not so much logic that is necessary, but a means of communication that “paints in the most forcible coolers, that exaggerates, and that repeats the same thing again and again.” Cinema communicates in each of this ways. Bollywood films are, as mentioned earlier, specifically colorful and follow a similar pattern in most of the films. There always is a crisis concerning the family and the traditional values that needs to be resolved.

Many authors wrote about nationalism in Indian cinema, with the intent to prove the reflection of the nationalistic Indian movement in Indian Cinema. There are some nationalistically oriented films that are very successful, like Ashutosh Gowariker’s 2001 release “Lagaan: Once Upon a Time in India.” These kinds of films are still an exception however, and not the norm. The main concern of most of the Bollywood films is finding and preserving a cultural identity. This tendency shows us that the present day Indian nationalistic movement is much more than an ambition to unify India physically. It has reached a deeper level, which is the quest for cultural unity. Only cultural unity can create a freer India with equal opportunities for everyone.

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13 Freud, Sigmund. Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego. New York: W.W.
The power of Bollywood

Cinema in India has reached as never before, an extreme amount of popularity. Now even villagers can watch the latest Bollywood product in special viewing tents. Madhava Prasad describes the popularity of Bollywood films in Bagalore in his article “This thing called Bollywood.”

It is hardly necessary to list them, so widely recognized are these films, which like teachers in Bangalore schools, are known by their initials. They have figured prominently in the emerging new culture of India, where consumer capitalism has finally succeeded in weaning the citizens away from a strongly entrenched culture of thrift towards a system of gratification more firmly in its (capitalism’s) own long-term control. They have produced yet another variation of the nationalist ideology of tradition and modernity, and, most interestingly, they have relocated what we might call the seismic centre of Indian national identity somewhere in Anglo-America.16

Prasad further described the NRI (non resistant Indian) as a more stable figure in Indian identity than anything that can be found indigenously. This is why NRI productions have become more important than indigenous ones.

Another supporter of the notion that Bollywood has a powerful influence on Indian society is Jyotika Virdi. In his book The Cinematic Imagination he supports this idea.

In this book I take some first steps in a relatively uncharted terrain, reading popular Indian cinema as narrating the nation’s social history. I trace the lay of cultural politics along the topos of Hindi films. The logic of the colonial Empire produced a nation concretized through political, economic, and legal measures. But it is through cultural productions that the nation is imagined: the sphere of education, history, literary fiction, newspapers, television, and the most overlooked of all – Hindi cinema, which popularizes the imagination.17

Virdi not only refers to a sense of nationalism that is created through cinema, he also uses the wording that Le Bon used in describing a group. He claims that “Hindi cinema popularizes the imagination” and Le Bon says that imagination is a common characteristic found among groups. Considering his and Freud’s group psychology, we thus see that Indian Cinema strengthens a group feeling in several ways.

The last characteristic I would like to mention is the powerful role love relationships play in Indian Cinema. Love relationships are a major theme in Bollywood. Almost every movie plot is entangled in some kind of love complication. Freud claims that emotional ties or love relationships are the basis of the group mind. He makes two specific statements about the nature

16 Prasad, Madhace. This thing called Bollywood.
of a group. First, he says, there is some kind of a power that unites the group. “To what power could this feat be better ascribed than to Eros, which holds together everything in the world?”  

Secondly, he says, each individual gives up his distinctiveness to be part of the group. He or she lets other members of the group influence him or her, in order to be in harmony with everyone else. Freud says that one gets the impression that the individual does this “because he feels the need of being in harmony with them than in opposition to them- so that perhaps after all he does it ‘ihnen zu Liebe’ (meaning ‘for their sake’. Literally: ‘for love of them’)”. According to Freud the most important of all the reasons that have been listed so far in uniting a group, is love.

Virdi makes an interesting statement about the role of love in Indian Cinema.

In fact, next to the hero’s “action” in Hindi films, romantic love is the most potent force that overcomes the nation's ills. The all-powerful force of heterosexual love resolves class conflict, the city-country divide, and communal strife. Asserting bourgeois individualism is still unwelcome in the family's code of sexual conduct, so romantic love becomes a perfect site to stage these conflicts and contradictions that are then overcome by “true” love. The family is trope for the ideal nation, a site to invoke the nations; problems through the protagonist relation with his antagonist-his father, brother, or the villain.

Virdi describes the same group characteristic that Freud mentions in group psychology. The unshakable unifying power of love relationship in Indian Cinema is also Freud’s most powerful item on his list of what unifies a group. Some Indian films have shown remarkable unifications through love stories. A couple from different castes fights for the right to love each other against the rest of the family and society. This is a common theme in Bollywood love stories. Love is so powerful that eventually the family ceases their resistance and accepts the relationship. These are very powerful and moving images for the Indian viewer who lives in a society, where this kind of behavior has not yet become reality.

**Film Examples**

'Veer-Zaara' is a film that was directed and produced by Yash Chopra in 2004. It tells the story of an Indian man and a Pakistani woman, who cannot be together and have to overcome obstacles in order to do so. This film is unique in two ways. First it touches on a subject that has not really been addressed in this way before - the separation between India and Pakistan. The second unique character of this film is the fact that an Indian man and a Pakistani woman can be together and overcome obstacles through their love. The film illustrates a kind of love that has no boundaries.

Karan Johar’s ‘Kabhi Khushi Kabhie Gham’ is a more typical Bollywood film considering the theme of the movie. Nevertheless it shows barriers that are broken down and

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boundaries that are crossed, all of which can be attributed to the love of a man and a woman. The main character Rahul falls in love with a girl that is below his class, and marries her. His father is outraged and rejects Rahul. Only after much pain and suffering is the heart of the father softened and the love between Rahul and his wife overcomes their caste difference. This film was released in 2001 with two Bollywood superstars as main figures Amitabh Bachchan (father) and Shah Rukh Khan (Rahul).

‘Lagaan’ is one of the first films that achieved international acknowledgement. It was released in 2001 and directed by Aamir Khan. This film is set in 1893 in an Indian village that has to pay a giant amount of tax called Lagaan. The British authorities decide to settle the question of Lagaan over a cricket match. Hindus and Moslems join together to fight the British authorities in this match. Castes and class barriers are overstepped in an attempt to save the village. Miraculously they are able to win the game and are from then on free from the British authorities and their tax obligations. This film was a big hit with the story of a unified India as it had not been told before. It is truly remarkable to see the Untouchables being able to join in with members of other castes in order to save the Indian people.

Evaluation of the Data

Factors that have not been considered in this discussion are the impact of Indian Cinema on other nations where Bollywood is extremely popular. Some of these places are found in other South Asian countries, Asia and the Middle East. In order to understand the entire impact that Indian Cinema can have, it would be necessary to also look at foreign markets. Demographics would be a helpful hard fact tool to show how immense the Bollywood industry actually is. However I have not been able to find any listings of sales or production costs.

There is a specific characteristic that is part of the description of LeBon and Freud on group psychology, which is not discussed. This characteristic refers to the cruelty of a group and explains what leads violence outbreaks in a group. I have not elaborated on that topic, because I have not found any record of violence outbreaks amongst movie goers.

Besides the lack of demographics and the extension on international impact of Indian Cinema that is very brief, I have a given an extensive explanation of how Freud’s group psychology description applies to the current Bollywood movements. I have backed my claims with quotes from numerous authors that have written on Indian Cinema.

Bollywood Abroad

Bollywood films have raised sales drastically since the early nineties. India’s large population certainly has part in this immense success. However, Indian Cinema is not just important to the Indian citizen. For many that are living in Diaspora today, it has become the only connection with mother India. The Newsweek quotes Plus Channel’s Amit Khanna saying that ‘Indian movies are feel-good, all-happy-in-the-end, tender love stories with lots of songs and dances… That’s what attracts non-Indian audiences across the world.’ and to this we could add ‘family values’ and their palpable, if not entirely self-evident, investment in ‘our culture’.  

21 Inter-Asia Cultural Studies, Volume 4, Number 1, 2003
These in Diaspora living Indians have an influence on the Indian citizens that is highly visible. Since the opening of the borders of the European Union the population of Indians has been increasing in all European countries. Part of the big Indian population in England has moved to Germany were Bollywood films have gained great popularity in the last few years. There are German websites about Bollywood; TV channels like ‘RTL 2’ show Bollywood films. Bollywood films on German TV stations are not only translated, but are now being dubbed. This shows clearly that the audience of Bollywood films does not just consist of Indians living in Diaspora. Germans are also watching these films.

Future research

For future research papers it would be interesting to take the data that has been collected, and project it into early Hollywood successes. Is there a parallel between the development of Bollywood and Hollywood? Was Hollywood also a tool in helping Americans define a new American cultural identity? Did these films help move along a nationalistic movement. Considering the important role that Hollywood plays today in American culture, these would be crucial questions to ask. Then there could be a comparison made between Bollywood and Indian nationalism to Hollywood and American nationalism; which would be a very interesting parallelism, because both countries have big and diverse populations.

Conclusion

Bollywood films are influential in many different layers. They promote a quest for unified Indian culture, not just within India, but also for Indians living in the Diaspora and other fellow South Asians. Many aspects of these films help unify, because they concur with Freud’s group unifying attributes. Some of these are identification with a role model (an actor), the elimination of distinctiveness, the use of images and imagination and the breaking down of barriers between castes. The most important one however was the power of love relationships.

The thought that love has the power to change a society, gives hope and changes the mindset of Indians slowly. Even though India still has a long way to go, and many barriers to break down in order to unify the Indian society, it has a valuable tool in Bollywood films. They are the representation of the quest for a new cultural identity. This is a very different kind of nationalistic movement, not striving for physical unity, but for a unity of the Indian mind.

The cinema being a powerful instrument for the dissemination of ideas and for the stirring of human emotions, the very foundations of a future world civilization depend upon whether we understand this medium and make it work for our good. The film, if properly handled, can create far greater understanding between nations, at the same time being capable of causing widespread trouble if it is allowed to become the plaything of self-interested and self-seeking producers.22

Understanding this topic is important, because film is a very powerful medium that can be used for good or for bad. The influence that Bollywood films have had, in the use of Hindustani being the national language of India, is enormous. This has been a good development for India, because a national Indian language helps define Indian nationalism. I hope that there will be an increased awareness of the influence that media has on the Indian nation, on behalf of those that are involved in making Bollywood films. They can help move India out of poverty with films that emphasize and suggest even more than now, the breakdown of barriers like castes and religions.
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Integrative and Interdisciplinary Management for Social and Global Change Agents

Sustainable Development Paper Session

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During the single week of May 8 to 15, 2006 approximately 900 refugees from West African countries such as Senegal and Mauritania arrived by boat in the Canary Islands, from where they hoped to later get to the European mainland. In the three weeks preceding the 15th of May four hundred fleeing Africans were killed. These fatalities are caused by the absence of political and economical freedom. Therefore, refugees act as voices to make a statement about the wants and hopes of the people in their countries. Those answering these cries for help work in multiple fields ranging from public health to micro finance hoping to improve living conditions in developing countries in all regions of the globe.

Those who manage these development initiatives deal with a twofold problem. For one, there are not enough of the necessary partnerships between policy making government officials and grass roots organizations who work directly with people at the wide bottom of the social and financial pyramid. Often times, large sums of national donations are swallowed up in a labyrinth of corruption and barely reach those for whom they are intended. On the other end, grass roots organizations often work diligently to help individuals and then see their efforts destroyed by the effects of government policies.

The second problem these managers of social initiatives deal with is the lack of interdisciplinary cooperation. Some see the high rates of AIDS in South Africa and concentrate on fighting this disease, when the truth is that it is not just a health problem. It is not enough to educate about AIDS when raping of young girls continues infecting innocent children. It is also not enough to develop and offer medical help for AIDS patients, when there is not enough economical strength available to the patients in order to purchase these services.

This paper will outline ways to build bridges over the just presented gaps in social management. These bridges are not only strategies to combine different areas such as health and micro-credit to benefit both; they also demonstrate ways in which governmental policy makers can work with grass-root practitioners. For this paper I have gathered opinions and suggestions from a variety of people that are
active in the social sector, ranging from the undergraduate anthropology student Jason Brown to Georg Kell, the executive head of the United Nations Global Compact.

**The benefit of networks**

Good networks can help solve the earlier presented problems by increasing interdisciplinary cooperation, and by forming partnerships between government officials and grass roots organizations. Andrew Shipilov, a faculty specializing in networking at INSEAD, has shown by example of investment banks that both generalists and specialists benefit from networking with each other. “Several studies have shown that firms improve their performance as a result of maintaining such relationships.”

This insight can be applied to any kind of firm or organization. Big governmental or public organizations may be compared to generalists, and grass roots or other specialized groups share attributes with specialists. Thomas Friedman claims, “We’re going from a world where value is largely created in vertical silos of command and control to a world where value will be increasingly created by who you connect and collaborate with horizontally.” In order to reach such a state, coordination between these groups needs to be improved horizontally and vertically.

**Horizontal Networking**

One example of horizontal networking is the Scojo Foundation. Their interdisciplinary efforts in the fields of healthcare and micro-franchise not only address the need of reading glasses for those who are the poorest of the poor; they also create jobs among this group.

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Through the application of business and management skills coupled with an unwavering desire to solve the problem, Scojo Foundation has developed and continues to create permanent channels to deliver reading glasses to those in need at a low-cost while generating awareness thereby creating a market. The Scojo Vision Entrepreneur Program, which trains low-income women to accurately dispense reading glasses for profit, is one way in which Scojo Foundation provides access to the 1.6 billion in need.³

Vertical Networking

A fairly new movement is the Egyptian youth initiative called SDA (Sustainable Development Association). Its mission is “to contribute to the education of young people, to help build a better generation where young people are self-fulfilled as individuals and play a constructive role in society.”⁴ It partners organizations from various hierarchical levels such as GTZ, Bibliotheca Alexandrina, Swedish Institute, IISD (International Institute for Sustainable Development), USAID, UNIDO, MCIT, Ministry of Social Affairs, Microsoft and others.

Examples and Opinions about Horizontal and Vertical Networking

I asked my interviewees about the types of networks they are aware of and what could be done to improve them. My fellow student Jason talked about decentralization initiatives for certain institutions in Guatemala.

“Large institutions will put offices in small regions who coordinate efforts with local populations which is happening within the forestry sector. The national institute of forestry has initiated that program under pressure from international organizations. They also coordinate efforts with civil society and reforestation projects. They have connections to international organization such as the forestry sections of the FAO (Food and Agriculture Organizations).”

Aida Perez, a recent graduate of BYU’s Public Administration program referred to the CESR (Center of Economic Self-Reliance) as an example.

³ [http://scojofoundation.org/2_1_1_social.html](http://scojofoundation.org/2_1_1_social.html), retrieved August 11, 2006
“Although it is a rather small organization, its entire purpose revolves around the very idea of creating networks. The Center facilitates discussions between practitioners, academia, and students. It organizes weekly discussions and once a year they have the Self-Reliance Conference.”

Georg Kell from the UN Global Compact said “such initiatives exist in many different shapes and forms already.” Some examples he mentioned were the churches, the Red Cross, and Save the Children.

“In general these networks often respond to demand, like gaps or things that are not happening, which are responsible for all the new opportunities immersing -discovering something new at the bottom of the pyramid; discovering that poverty can be turned into opportunity. So I think it’s a phenomenon that comes with culture and time, and is responsive to demand and opportunities. And in order to gain critical mass, because it needs to somehow be related to the Zeitgeist, the idea must be understood by many at the same time. In other words, it doesn’t help you if you have a great idea and you sit in a basement. And while the idea may be great, but if others are not willing to share your addition, it doesn’t help you. So it must be contextualized with the Zeitgeist.

Enoc Velazquez who works Forestour Tropical Investments Business Development in Panama, has been active in the private, non-profit and consulting arena. He says that without over simplifying „the management and networking challenges found in the world, but really, let’s look at some of the root causes of the lack of attention, resources and cooperation.“ According to Enoc the problem begins with the fact with a society that is „quantifying or monetizing the economic worth of human life.“ He calls for a paradigm shift, which would automatically cause institutions and governments to look at „ALL the issues.“ He realizes that it will not be possible to make this happen immediately, however there needs to be a continual and immediate effort to distribute resources more fairly. He further says:

„As change agents and social entrepreneurs find success in witnessing a changed behavior(s) of a small men’s or women’s group in some small village in the world (pertaining to health, community development, education and harvesting, etc.), we too can utilize a similar approach in addressing better cooperation through stronger policies, regulations and requirements for the private, non profit and educational institutions. If the Coca Colas, Wal-Mart’s, Mitsubishi’s and other like minded entities banded together, although very idealistic, I cannot see anything but more and better cooperation, with them leading the way. For much too long, lines have been drawn in the sand between the private, non-profit and educational worlds. I believe it’s time to erase those and create more overlapping ‘crossroads’ of sorts, where this type of cooperation is not the exception, but the norm. Do we have a choice? Time is of essence.“
Georg Kell and Enoc Velazquez both emphasized how important the mindset and Zeitgeist are in networking efforts amongst so social and global change agents. Graham Macmillan, who is the director of Scojo Foundation points out that “when you are talking about vertical networking from the large entities down to the singular individuals let’s say the village level, often times that’s probably the most difficult networking that takes place.” He says that it is difficult for a poor farmer in Ghana to express his concerns to the highest level such as the prime minister or the president. This communication needs to be taking place through a representation of organizations. The Scojo foundation carries out this kind of advocacy, while applying two important principles. First Scojo Foundation always works through the objectives, ideals and the message they promote to find networking partners. Second it works with existing networks.

“As a result we have been able to work with a variety of organizations and companies, be it large multinational companies such as Hindustan Lever to small community based non-profits in Guatemala and the only reason, and the only way that’s ever done is through clear communication of our message.”

Here Graham gives a precise example of how this kind of networking can take place:

“One of our founders Jordan Kassalow is a member of the counsel of foreign relations, … he was in charge of the health program there. He got the chance to meet some of the world thought leaders in public health issues, and one of these leaders happened to teach at Columbia just for one year. This gentleman is one of the depute executives of BRAC. BRAC is the second part one of the world’s largest NGO and basically is on all parts of Bangladesh. It is in virtually every village of Bangladesh. And they also have a network of about 30 000 community health workers who sell condoms or re-hydration salt, sanitary napkins, that sport of thing. And just networking between Jordan and this depute executive Mushtaq Chowdhury -who actually was awarded at the BYU conference the same award with Jordan- they recognized this opportunity. So they talked about it and they next thing we know, we were working in partnership with BRAC in Bangladesh. Why is that advantageous to us? The same reason it’s advantageous to us as Hindustan Lever. They have an existing network of providers who share the same values and philosophies although they are not distributing the same products.”

The recent MPA graduate Aida made a similar point by referring to a common goal. “I think that each of these organizations can be improved by extending and utilizing their respective networks.
Creating organizational synergy in efforts and resources can bring amazing results in achieving common goals.”

Georg Kell has also commented more specifically on what makes a networks successful. He argues:

“Networks need to deliver. The strength about networks whether they grow or whether they grow weaker - They have a projectary. Networks have to act on a life cycle projectary and some and get stronger, while others stay away. The question is: What makes successful networks? Which ones achieve greater impact, and here the answer is quite simple: If they can demonstrate to those who sustain the networks the value of what they are doing, if they can demonstrate impact, then they come to grow. So it is the ability to produce real change and to be able to communicate this.”

Networking Summary

1. Networks are created through the pressure of international organizations.
2. Networks can be created through discussion groups and conferences.
3. Networks fill gaps and need to be in accordance with the Zeitgeist.
4. Existing networks can be used by more than one supplier.
5. Networking partnerships should be formed through common ideals and goals.
6. Networks will grow stronger when they are able to produce real change and communicate it.

The power of economic force

In his book Micro Franchises as a Solution to Global Poverty, Kirk Magleby compares franchises with networks and gives several reasons why franchise networks are social liberators. Some of these reasons are:

- Networks tend to empower participants by broadening their horizons and giving them a voice
- Networks can be adapted readily to accommodate local diversity
• Networks are often transparent—they generally foster an environment of full and open disclosure

These are some of the reasons why Magleby believes that micro-franchise can not only strengthen a country’s economy, it also can shape politics and decrease corruption by teaching people to play by the rules. Another initiative that encourages businesses to play their part in fighting corruption is Global Compact. It is the UN’s initiative to “bring companies together with UN agencies, labour and civil society to support universal environmental and social principles.”

Examples and Opinions about the Power of Economic Force

Having created sixty country level networks the UN Global Compact franchises out it’s own organization on country levels. It franchises the branch and the authority to commute. Georg Kell says,

“We also franchise access to companies, which are engaged and UN agencies, which are working on the ground. So we basically franchise the organization model of the global contact on community level. And we are still experimenting, so it is still an ongoing experiment, because it works in some places and not in others. It works well in Brazil in SA, in Egypt, some European countries including Germany. Singapore works very well and also Japan. Where we still have challenges is China, in Central Asian countries and in some of the poorest countries in Africa. That is so, because the value proposition is not equally understood and shared. In China we are running a big education program and training program on the issues of human rights. It takes time to establish the same value system.”

When I interviewed Ellen Dietrich, the director of Haus der Hoffnung (meaning house of hope, a German non-profit organization that runs an orphanage in Nepal), she talked about the authority that a powerful and global organization like the UN Global Compact represents. She suggested a network between Global Compact and microfranchise institutions. “Each microfranchise institution should have a label at the store that says they are supported by Global Compact or the UN.” She further says that using a label that represents a powerful organization not only stands for quality, but it also helps microfranchise initiatives to become better known.

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5 Kirk Magleby, Micro Franchises as a Solution to Global Poverty, Microfranchises.org 2006, Page 54-55
6 http://www.unglobalcompact.org/AboutTheGC/index.html, retrieved August 11, 2006
Graham Macmillan from the Scojo Foundation mentions that the question for all the participants is always:

“What’s in it for me? Is it because we want to give back to the community as a corporate social responsibility approach, sort of a philanthropic perspective? Is it about linking our employees to a cause or purpose so they feel that their company does something of value to the community? Or is it a growth opportunity in terms of opening up new markets, sort of as a base of pyramid approach? In my perspective microfranchise actually addresses all those issues. And why does it add value specifically to Global Compact? Well two reasons in particular.

One is that franchising and microfranchising provides a blue print for success. And it is an approach to providing proven business models to micro entrepreneurs in impoverished and marginalized communities to give them an opportunity to success economically. And then I would argue on the Scojo foundation’s approach, that that particular product or service that franchise is offering or selling needs to have a social benefit. It can’t just be about making money for an entrepreneur in our view. In our view it needs to be about adding social value. In our particular case it would be going to see which in turn enables one to earn a living, be more productive and have a better quality of life. It is not just about selling widgets just to make money for the entrepreneur, it should have a social impact. Why is that of value of a company that is involved with the Global Compact? One is that you are obviously empowering the poor to have access to economic opportunities. Microfranchising I argue provides better access to money making opportunities than most approaches. It is not a traditional development approach where you’re just giving away products and services for free. It’s not just microcredit, which only provides access to capital and does not necessarily grantee success in entrepreneurship. Not everybody is an entrepreneur. Microfranchising is a blue print for success; it’s the rules to doing well with your business. An entrepreneur is somebody who conceives, makes an opportunity that most average people can’t. And so from the perspective of creating economic opportunity for people who are marginalized and poor, microfranchising is an added value beyond the traditional approaches to stimulating economic development in these communities.

The second point is that from a growth market perspective microfranchise is creating consumers at the bottom of the pyramid. You are stimulating the demand by respecting the rights and the dignity of the consumer in these particular markets. Traditionally these markets are - I will argue -cheated, because of middlemen, inferior quality, price problems, etc. Microfranchising - I argue in particular to the Scojo foundation’s approach - recognized the right and the dignity of the consumer to have a choice for a product that is of good quality and that has an affordable price, so that they have the opportunity to make the decision of purchase. Well that purchase and transaction represent economic value to potential companies. So it sort of comes back to the base of the pyramid approach where the four billion people who live on four dollars a day or less become potential consumers not just producers. And so there is a huge growth market, it’s just that the companies that are interested in this space need to tailor the products and services to be affordable, to be of high quality and to be of value of these consumers who don’t have as much income as maybe you and I do; whereas more powerful in terms of
purchasing powers than the markets that these companies traditionally focus on. So really to answer the question (How an organization like Global Compact can use the economic force that stands behind micro credit institutions): it’s really economic development and allowing people to provide for their families, providing products and services and adding value and benefit to these communities. And the second point is to know these potential growth markets for these companies.”

Microfranchise Summary

1. Microfranchise principles are already being used by large global organizations like the Global Compact.
2. A microfranchise institution can benefit form the Global Compact or UN label.
3. Microfranchise is a blueprint to entrepreneurial success.
4. Microfranchise creates consumers at the bottom of the pyramid (economic development).
5. Microfranchise institutions can help organizations like the Global Compact to know the potential growth markets.

A power shift through networking

John Hatch, a successful social entrepreneur in the field of micro-credit has said, “What will happen when youth does what it is asked, gets educated, and still can’t find a job? Answer: They get very angry. I submit that youth unemployment, if unchecked, will cause decades of global terrorism. France today is only the tip of the iceberg.”7 To avoid such escalations in youth that feel powerless, it will be necessary to empower the youth specifically in micro-finance and franchise organizations. These network-like organizations will help provide them with the economic force they are lacking.

Innovations and Networking

Within an effective network new ideas are potential catalysts for innovation. They could cause a power shift in a society, but many innovations never come to fruition as a result of inadequate funding.

Personally I experienced how powerlessness hinders innovations. During my undergraduate years as an international student I often experienced that because of a lack of funding, ideas for research projects and other initiatives kept piling up on my desk and could never be realized.

In a review of Friedman’s “The World is Flat” Thomaz Wood argues that,

*Population and economic activity are both spiky, like innovation. For example, using data from the World Intellectual Organization, Florida claims that Japan and the U.S. receive two-thirds of the world’s patents. This does not mean Brazilians, Indians, or Chinese are unable to innovate; instead, they just lack the environment for their capabilities to materialize in new products, services, and business.*

8 Thomaz Wood, Globalization or Brazilianization? The Academy of Management Perspectives, Vol. 20 Nr. 2 May 2006, Page 81

An English proverb claims, “Necessity is the mother of invention.” Within the base of the social-hierarchical pyramid there are countless innovations taking place daily which never become accessible to a wide audience.

*Examples and Opinions about Innovations*

Graham Macmillam agrees with Thomaz Wood’s argument about the lack of a supportive environment for people from the poorer parts of the world. He says that in fact, there are innovations happening, but no civil society to support them.

“So I don’t know if I have an answer how that can actually happen other than to say that factors that support entrepreneurialism at the base of the pyramid need to be aligned so those people can be successful and often times this is not the case. To give an example why there are so many patents in the United States, there are a lot of reasons why that is the case. One is because the government supports innovation and research and development in a whole variety of sectors. The laws protect the individuals who happen to create new ideas and label them to patent it. Also the educational institutions that teach people how to learn and be creative and support them, allow them to be risk takers. So
from an educational standpoint, but also from an economic standpoint entrepreneurs shouldn’t be afraid to fail and a lot of entrepreneurs in these developing countries in these communities have so little room for air, so little margin for air. If they do fail, then they’re in big trouble, so maybe they can’t take as many risks and survive economically.”

To solve these problems the anthropology student Jason Brown suggested using microcredit for entrepreneurial ideas that should be patented. There should be “specific funds for patenting, or courses and orientations on how to get something patented.” Ellen Dietrich from Haus der Hoffnung says that these innovations “should be more evaluated incase there are outstanding ideas that can’t be patented by the individuals.” She further says that there should be competitions in all these countries. “Boards will be created, rewards are give for good ideas, and there should be regular conferences hosted by donors where people can exchange ideas.” Another reason why it is important to pay attention to these innovations is that they

“also teach us something about the culture of this country. The ones who give the money, the donors, should therefore look very carefully at these innovations, because they may help them to understand the culture of the country better, and a better understanding of the culture contributes to more efficient work.”

**Innovations Summary**

1. Innovations, research and development need to be supported by the government.
2. Individuals who have new ideas need to be protected by the law.
3. People need to be allowed to be risk takers through educational institutions that allow them to be creative and support them.
4. Use Microcredit for and educate about patenting.
5. There need to be innovation competitions where little patenting exists.

**The Media and Networking**

It is common knowledge that the media can spread news in a manner of seconds. Today even the most remote places are starting to have access to television sets. When a network uses the media
correctly it can become a very influential tool in shifting power. Rudolf Speth from the *Freie Universitaet Berlin* has researched the influence of economic campaigns on political decision processes. Economic campaigns are networks, because people from different sectors and backgrounds work together on one or on several projects. They use the media to push forward certain ideas with the goal to have an influence on the mass. By economic campaigns Speth means messages from businesses that are distributed through the media. His findings show that there has been a significant increase in influence on political decision processes among focused economic campaigns during the last 10 years.\(^9\)

*Examples and Opinions about the Media*

Georg Kell from Global Compact says these about working with the media:

> “I think the media, the press is fundamentally important for any social change movement, because much if what this change is about is contextualized in the Zeitgeist. Therefore it’s extremely important to keep the issues alive and to use present media to reinforce it - extremely important; also to write background stories, but to be a check and balances. The media and the press often identify real abuses, real bad situations, so they put the spotlight on it. The down side is that the press, the media is very biased, you know they pick one example but not another. And then another down side is that the present media tends to focus on negative stories only, this is what sells better –negative stories, but you also need the positive stories to be around.”

In working with the media Kell suggests that it is best to work with the press and the media directly. He says that it is important to know the journalists, to know what they write about, to be in contact with them, to feed them stories, and to invite them to meetings.

Warner Woodworth, a faculty from the Marriott School of Business at Brigham Young University says that

> “The big need from the media is to tell the story of new global networks in a way that captures the public's heart and builds a new awareness. For example, the microcredit movement was stuck in low-key performance growth for over 2 decades. It wasn't until the late 90s that the print and electronic media became aware of this new innovation. But with their coverage beginning to grow, so did the movement. Then came the Internet and there has been a veritable explosion of information and interest around

the world.”

Woodworth is convinced that the “most efficient tool for using the media is that of the Internet. Everything else pales in comparison.”

Graham Macmillan also mentions how difficult it is to get the media to tell the right story. “What a challenge it is to have a small organization like Scojo foundation not a big cooperation which has a huge PR-department, is telling the story to the media outlet, but then having the media outlet accurately portray the story that you told them.” He says that often things get lost in translations, and that fact requires associates of small organizations like Scojo to be more media savvy. It is important to “what the media is looking for in terms of what’s the story that needs to be told.” When one understand what a compelling story is “then you need to understand how to pitch that story effectively, so the media says “Oh that’s really interesting. We feel like we should tell this story.” And then the third point is as I mentioned is how to teach the media to effectively tell your story.”

Ellen Dietrich says that the media can always be used to inform, but it has been shown that informing the public does not always solve the problem. It is the personality that has to be strengthened. In order to do that “we must show films and give examples of good people with confidence in themselves, so that they become models for others. It is not enough to inform through the media, but to strengthen the personality and character.” These comments go along with the earlier mentioned need in a shift of mindset or principles that are in harmony with the Zeitgeist. Dietrich just explained how the media could help facilitate these changes. According to her there are other ways to use the media in networking “The media can announce the competitions (patent competitions she suggested earlier), show the results and encourage through advertising spots to participate in and develop ideas.”

Jason Brown emphasized that global and social change agents “need to adapt their message to the audience. The imagery has to be appropriate for the group.” They need to send their messages at
appropriate times and advertise for events if they want to create bigger networks. There should be opportunities for managers with limited resources to advertise for their causes. “TV channels could give cheaper rates for social messages.” An entire channel devoted to social and environmental causes would be an even more effective resource for global and social change agents.

Media Summary

1. Global and social change agents should work with the press and the media directly, know the journalists, know what they write about, be in contact with them, feed them stories, and invite them to meetings.
2. The most effective tool for using the media is the Internet.
3. Global and social change agents need to be more media savvy, understand what a compelling story is, and to learn how to teach the media to tell their stories effectively.
4. The media can help build character and encourage through advertising spots to develop new ideas.
5. An entire channel for social and environmental causes should be created.

Conclusion

The participants of this paper have made numerous suggestions for global and social change agents concerning networking in connection with microfranchise, innovations and the use of media. Some of their suggestions were: using existing networks, creating competitions to support innovations, and creating a TV channel that is completely dedicated to social and environmental causes. This paper, which contains a collection of opinions and suggestions, serves as a recourse for those who work on benefiting the world by using business principles. I hope that the information I gathered will be helpful and welcome feedback from readers. In closing I quote Bill Drayton, a very successful social entrepreneur and the founder of Ashoka: "Social entrepreneurs are not content just to give a fish, or teach how to fish. They will not rest until they have revolutionized the fishing industry."10 In that manner, let’s keep pressing forward with

10 [http://www.ashoka.org/fellows/social_entrepreneur.cfm](http://www.ashoka.org/fellows/social_entrepreneur.cfm), retrieved August 11, 2006
reaching and changing the roots of problems, which will eventually result in a change of system.
April, 2007

Voter Rewards: A Field Experiment on Economic Incentives and Voting Turnout*

Santiago Suarez†

Abstract

What is the effect of monetary incentives on voting turnout? Rational choice and consumer theory have long predicted a direct and positive correlation between economic incentives and voting turnout. The larger the incentives, the higher the turnout. We test this proposition by conducting a randomized field experiment in Arizona for the 2006 election. We find that, contrary to expectations, the offering of potential monetary incentives does not lead to an increase in voting turnout and may actually lead to a decline in voting rates. Furthermore, we also test whether gain- and loss-framed have different effects on voting behavior as predict by Prospect Theory, and we do not find evidence supporting such predictions. However, we do find that both economic incentives and the gain and loss frames may have considerable, negative impacts on voting turnout amongst key constituencies. We discuss the implications of these findings.

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I. Introduction

The study of democratic participation has long been one of the fundamental concerns in Political Science. Greek philosophers pondered how to encourage citizens to participate in the polis; in modern times, the study of democratic participation has focused on the act of voting. In American democracy, voting has become the main and usually the only way for citizens to take an active role in democratic government. Unfortunately, recent national elections have seen only 60% of the voting-eligible population (VEP) show up at the polls. Understanding why people turn out to vote allows us to issue policy recommendations that could potentially increase voting turnout.

As important as this may seem, the methodological issues of early studies made it almost impossible to confidently identify the drivers behind an individual’s decision to vote. These studies did show a correlation between canvassing and turnout, but the absence of unbiased statistical analyses limited their ability to draw causal inferences. The advent of experimental research in voting turnout brought a welcome change into the field, allowing scholars to use experiments to identify the drivers behind voter turnout. Early experimental studies (Green and Gerber, 2000) identified door-to-door canvassing as the most effective method to increase voter turnout. Later studies experimented with other canvassing methods and, more importantly, other messages targeted at specific constituencies (Green, 2004; Michelson, 2005). Appropriate to an area dominated by political scientists, most of the messages in these canvassing drives included either appeals to community or civic duty.

Given this encouraging experiments, testing the effect of extrinsic economic rewards on turnout may be substantively interesting. Neoclassical consumer theory has long assumed and predicted rational behavior by each individual agent; therefore, from an economic perspective, we have a strong theoretical case for a positive effect of economic
incentives on voting turnout. We should expect voters who are more informed about these economic incentives to vote more often than those voters who are not. It is along these lines that rational choice theorists have long argued for a rational explanation of voting, where individuals vote because it is in their economic interest to do so. However, we could also imagine how voters may feel reluctant to "put a price tag on their votes." Individuals may see voting as a higher-duty, firmly linked to their political existence, and thus may not respond positively to an economic-based appeal to vote.

The study of the effect of advertising monetary incentives on voting turnout is closely linked to the study of how framing such advertisement can lead to different behavioral alternatives. Prospect Theory provides a predictive account of how people will react differently to equivalent messages that are framed as potential losses or potential gains. Previous studies in psychology (Rothman and Salovey, 1997; Detweiler et. al., 1999) and economics (Bertrand et. al., 2006) have found that different frames have significantly different effects on individuals’ behavior. The lingering question is whether these framing effects also affect political behavior. Empirically, these are two separate questions. Does the advertising of extrinsic economic incentives lead to an increase in voting turnout? Secondly, are the different effects predicted by Prospect Theory evident in the area of political behavior?

This study tries to answer to these questions. Leveraging a ballot initiative in the state of Arizona that proposed retroactively awarding one million dollars to a randomly selected voter after every election, we designed a randomized field experiment to assess the effect of advertising these potential monetary rewards on voting turnout. We added an additional intervention to assess whether people’s voting behavior changes according to whether the message advertising these monetary incentives is framed in terms of prospective gains or prospective losses.

We find that, contrary to our expectations, the mailings did not have a positive effect
on voting turnout. If anything, they may have actually discouraged some voters from showing up at the polls. At the very least, this finding challenges the neoclassical consumer models of voting as a rational, economic calculation. We also find that neither the loss nor the gain frame had a substantive and positive effect on voting turnout, raising questions about the universal applicability of Prospect Theory to political behavior. Interestingly, the results suggest that registered Democrats, and low-income and low-education voters reacted negatively to the mailing and may have turned out at lower rates than other constituencies as a result. Further, we also find suggestive evidence for the existence of different, but still negative, effects of the gain/loss frames on these voters. These last two findings are in the spirit of recent research in Economics emphasizing the importance of context when analyzing framing effects (Bertrand et. al., 2006)

This paper proceeds as follows. In Section II, we review the relevant background on economic voting, Prospect Theory, and experimental studies. The subsequent section describes the Arizona ballot initiative. In Section IV, we describe the sample, the experimental design, and the experimental procedure. Section V presents the results of the data analysis, and we discuss the main findings in Section VI. Finally, we offer concluding remarks in Section VII.

II. A Brief Overview of Economic Voting, Prospect Theory, and Experimental Studies

Our study benefits enormously from the vast amount of research available in these areas. Importantly, we can draw on the economic voting literature to formulate theoretically-framed \textit{ex ante} hypotheses concerning the effect of advertising potential monetary rewards on voting turnout. Similarly, we can draw on Prospect Theory and its applications in psychology and economics to generate hypothesis regarding the different effects of the gain
and loss frames on voting turnout.

1. Economic Voting

The discussion on the economic drivers of political participation extends as far back as Aristotle, who paid considerable attention to this issue in *The Politics.* Aristotle worried about the effect economic inequality would have on democratic participation, as rich citizens did not have enough time or incentives to participate in the *polis* and poor citizens did not have enough time to do so themselves. Eventually, Aristotle crafted perhaps the first market-based solution to a classic problem of institutional failure: he proposed that the government should fine rich citizens who did not participate politically and should offer poor citizens economic incentives to alleviate the economic burden of political participation. Though not the only one, Aristotle was certainly the first of the early political scientists to consider the fundamental interaction between economic incentives and political participation.

The formal analysis of economic voting goes back to Downs (1957), who first formulated the now famous rational choice paradox of voting turnout. The paradox highlights the apparent irrationality of an act that carries with it a high cost (the cost of voting) and a very low utility (the probability of actually affecting the outcome of the election). Downs himself tried to solve the paradox by arguing for the existence of a "Consumption Benefit" - i.e. a benefit emerging from continuing democracy that would lead citizens to vote because it was in their interest to ensure the continuation of democracy. Notwithstanding a few attempts at solving the paradox, Downs’s challenge went basically unanswered until Riker and Odershock (1968) reformulated the calculus of voting equation, adding a new term, which they label $D_i$, to represent the "expressive" component of voting. Given the importance of Riker and Odershock’s paper, it is worthwhile to revisit their voting

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1 See Aristotle, *The Politics,* Books III-IV.
equation. Formally, we have

\[ U_i = pB_i - c_i + D_i \]

where \( U_i \) is the utility of voter \( i \) as a function of the probability \( p \) of being pivotal times the utility \( B_i \) of his preferred outcome, minus the cost \( c_i \) of voting plus the expressive utility \( D_i \) of voting. The innovation of Riker and Odershock was to add the "non-economic" benefits of voting to an economically-based utility equation. They did so without incurring the tautological fallacy that had prevented previous scholars — Downs included — from formulating this utility calculation. The paper also signaled the split of economic research of voting turnout into two different camps. A first camp devoted itself to the study of the effect of macroeconomic conditions on voting behavior, while a second camp devoted itself to the study of the rationality of voting turnout taking the utility calculus as the foundational pillar.

In the former camp, Fair (1978) presents a presidential vote prediction equation based exclusively on economic factors. While Fair’s paper highlights the importance of economic factors regarding voting behavior, his research, similar to most of the research in this area, focuses on candidate choice rather than on voting turnout. Radcliff (1988) provides a great overview of the literature in this area, focusing on the absence of an account for the individual-level mechanism behind the effect of macroeconomic conditions on voting behavior regarding house elections. Indeed, a series of studies prior to 1988 (Kinder and Kiewiet, 1981; Fiorina, 1978; Wides, 1976) finds no evidence supporting a correlation between an individual’s economic well-being and his posterior voting behavior in House elections. Radcliff blames this phenomenon not on the irrelevance of economic conditions, but on the decreased relevance of individual House members regarding economic policy. Radcliff argues that voters are able to discern whether the candidates have an impact on
economic conditions and then vote accordingly. If they realize that House members do not have an impact on policy, then economic concerns will not influence voter choice in House elections.

The seminal paper on the subject of macroeconomic drivers of voting turnout remains Erikson’s (1989) study of the economic drivers of presidential voting. Erikson finds that per capita income predicts presidential voting as well as, if not slightly better, than candidates’ ideologies do. The paper argues that voters will punish incumbents when they feel their income has dropped over the past four years - a phenomenon called retrospective voting. While some recent studies (Wlezien et. al., 1997) argue that Erikson’s findings are substantially overstated, it is hard to dispute the considerable body of evidence showing a relationship between macroeconomic voting and candidate choice. Notice, however, that Erikson’s paper, as do most studies in this field, concerns the subject of voter choice, rather than voting turnout.

The second camp of the economic voting literature has focused on studying the "paradox" of voting turnout under a utility maximization framework. Since as early as 1971 (Stigler, 1971, as cited in Filer and Kenny, 1980), scholars have tried to refine Riker and Odershock’s utility equation to solve the paradox of turnout. Not surprisingly, Filer and Kenny (1980) find that voting turnout is a function of the probability of being a pivotal voter minus the cost of voting. This basic result remains constant throughout the literature. The challenge is identifying the other components of voting (other than the utility of being pivotal) that lead people to vote. Aldrich (1993) tries to solve this problem by reframing voting not as a low-benefit, high-cost affair, but rather as a low-benefit and low-cost affair. If such is the case, then voting, from an economic point of view, does not seem that paradoxical.

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2For a great overview of this literature, please refer to Lewis-Beck (2000) and Suzuki and Chappell (1996).
Matsusaka (1995) expands this area of research by adding the element of information into the voting utility equation. According to Matsusaka, the better-informed a voter is, the more likely he is to show up to the polls, as he knows enough information to be confident about the optimality of his choice. For our purposes, we can easily extend Matsusaka’s implicit argument and postulate that better-informed voters also have a clearer understanding of the benefits of voting. The field attracted substantial attention, with Feddersen and Pesendorfer (1996, 1997) using a game-theoretic approach to formalize how the lack of information makes abstaining a better strategy than voting. Others have followed Matsusaka’s lead (see Larcinese, 2000; Degan and Merlo, 2004), but their refinements are beyond our primary concern with economic incentives and voting turnout.

Dhillon and Peralta (2002) review and expand the research on turnout within a bounded-rationality context. Under a bounded-rationality framework voters learn by trial and error about both voting choice and voting behavior. Of particular interest to this inquiry, Dhillon and Peralta argue that, under a bounded-rationality framework, voting becomes a rational phenomenon; as a result, turnout and cost of voting are inversely correlated (see also Demichelis and Dhillon, 2001; Lassen, 2005). This argument brings back to the forefront one of the earlier conclusions found in the literature: perhaps voting is not a high-cost and high-reward exercise; it could also be that voting is a low-cost and low-reward undertaking. The bounded-rationality framework preserves the intrinsic link between voting and economic considerations and adds psychological elements to the voting equation.

Recent research has shifted its focus to group-based theories of voting utility and voting as altruism (Fowler, 2006), as well as to refining the understanding of voting as a learning process. This new literature has merged elements from the fields of soci-

3 See Geys (2006) for an excellent overview of the most recent advances in the field of rational choice-based research on voting turnout.
ology, social psychology, and anthropology into the basic utility equation, making the game-theoretic analysis of voting behavior more realistic. Nevertheless, the literature overwhelmingly establishes and predicts a direct, positive link between economic incentives and voting turnout. As monetary rewards lower the cost of voting, turnout should increase in turn. This will happen, however, only if voters are informed about the existence of such rewards. Based on these two simple insights, we posit that better-informed voters are more likely to include the monetary incentives into their utility calculus of voting than average voters would. This basic conclusion will guide most of the theoretical framework we outline in Section III.

An alternative to this consensus stems from literature on the crowding out effects of extrinsic economic incentives. Pioneered by Titmus (1970), this literature argues that offering extrinsic economic rewards to increase participation in civic and altruistic activities may actually decrease overall participation rates. Titmus proposes the existence of this effect after he finds that people tend to donate blood at lower rates when offered economic incentives to do so. While later research (Mellstrom and Johannesson, 2005) finds a suggestive link between extrinsic economic rewards and a crowding out effect, the lack of large-scale and replicable studies should make us weary of taking the authors’ conclusions at face value. The suggestive links found by these studies illustrate an interesting perspective on the effect of economic incentives on civic duties, and merit our attention.

2. Prospect Theory

Prospect Theory dates back to Kahneman and Tversky’s (1979) seminal paper that introduced and defined the concept. Further developed in Tversky and Kahneman’s (1991, 1992) more recent papers, the theory postulates that individuals will modify their response to equivalent messages if these are framed differently. That is, individuals’ behavior in
response to a message is sensitive to whether the behavioral alternative is framed in terms of potential losses or associated costs (loss frame), or in terms of potential gains or benefits (gain frame). Accounting for this change in behavioral attitudes, the theory proposes that individuals are more willing to accept risks when they evaluate options based on the potential losses and are less willing to accept risks when they evaluate options based on potential gains (Tversky and Kahneman, 1981).

In Psychology, Peter Salovey and colleagues have tested the effect of loss and gain frames on individuals’ response to messages about health-related initiatives (Bankst et. al., 1995; Rothman and Salovey, 1997; Detweiler, et. al., 1999; Apanovitch, et. al., 2003; Steward, et. al., 2003). They find that Prospect Theory holds in a variety of settings. Moreover, they operationalize Prospect Theory by conditioning its effects on the relevant context. Thus, Salovey and coauthors argue that the loss frame is more effective than the gain frame is when prescribing a behavioral alternative that is "illness detecting" (such as an HIV test); on the other hand, the gain frame is more effective than the loss frame when prescribing a behavioral alternative that is "health-affirming" (such as applying sunscreen). In practice, then, the relative effects of the gain and loss frame will depend on the relevant context. In a recent economic experiment, Bertrand et. al. (2006) find evidence for a differential effect between the loss and the gain frames in a field experimental context. The authors find that prospective borrowers were significantly more likely to take-up a loan offer when the offer was framed in terms of potential losses than when the offer was framed in terms of potential gains.

Given the important amount of evidence for the existence of different behavioral responses to each of the frames, it is natural to inquire whether these different effects are also present in political behavior. In this particular case, loss aversion should lead voters who receive the loss frame to turn out to vote at higher rates than those voters who receive the gain frame.
3. Experimental Mailings

Modern political campaigns have come to rely on direct mailings as an inexpensive and easily deployable canvassing method, and most campaign managers would probably find it impossible to run a campaign without relying on them. Despite their prevalence, and unlike traditional door-to-door canvassing, direct mailings are a relatively recent phenomenon in American political campaigns. The first large experimental study on the effect of large-scale mailings on voting turnout goes back only to the early 1980s. Miller and his colleagues (1981) conduct a multi-method experiment to measure the effect of canvassing on voting turnout for a 1980 primary election. They find that the effect of mailings, and of other GOTV methods, depends on the age of the receiving voter. Further, the authors find that mailings are not particularly effective amongst the youngest potential voters — a fact the authors ascribe to a "general trend in American Society towards a less personal communication environment." (Miller et. al., p. 458). This finding is at odds with later, nonexperimental studies (Hannahan, 1999), which find a strong link between voting turnout and mailing canvassing. The observational character of this and some of the previous studies, however, raises significant identification and self-selection bias problems, effectively undermining our ability to draw causal conclusions from the study's data.

Voting turnout research takes a dramatic turn after Gerber and Green’s (2000) large-scale canvassing experiment in New Haven, which brings experimental GOTV studies back to the center of Political Science.\footnote{See Gerber and Green (2004) for an excellent overview of the literature on door-to-door canvassing, phone calls, and direct mailings. See Stollwerk (2006) and Nickerson (2006) for two accounts of the effect of emailing on turnout.} The authors find that the most effective and cost-efficient method of canvassing is face-to-face contact. They also find that direct mailings increase turnout by a small but statistically significant amount (about 0.5 percentage points). Unlike previous studies, Gerber and Green’s experiment provides a solid statis-
tical foundation for causal inference. Imai (2005), however, disputes the study’s findings and instead proposes a different statistical framework — based on matching on covariates — to analyze the experimental data. He argues that, under such framework, the effect of mailings on voting turnout increases considerably. Further experimental studies in this area (Gerber et. al., 2003a; Green, 2004; Cardy, 2005) have tended to validate Gerber and Green’s (2000) initial findings. Moreover, Gerber et. al. (2003a) show that, even when matching on all covariates, the non-experimental estimators remain biased when assessing the effect of canvassing tools on turnout. Green (2004) goes a step further and suggests that mailings may be more effective in elections where traditional campaign advertisement remains relatively low.

Overall, a consensus has emerged identifying mailings as a statistically effective canvassing method. The question remains on how effective these mailings are, and, consequently, on whether direct mailings can be a cost-efficient tool for increasing voting turnout. Notwithstanding a small subsection of the literature, we also find a consensus regarding the potential effect of extrinsic economic incentives on voting turnout. In this paper, we explore these two key empirical questions by leveraging a ballot initiative in Arizona to conduct a randomized field experiment.

III. Background: The Arizona Voter Rewards Initiative

The Arizona Voter Rewards Ballot Initiative (AVR) was the brainchild of Mark Osterloh. A one-time politician and local doctor, Mr. Osterloh had long advocated for extrinsic economic incentives to increase voting turnout. The AVR proposed awarding one million dollars to a randomly selected voter after every election. In effect, this would have amounted to establishing a standard lottery where people would not buy tickets but

5For more information on the initiative, please see www.voterrewards.org (accessed on March 15, 2007).
would vote to be eligible to participate. Aware of the slim chances the Initiative had of making it through any state legislature, Mr. Osterloh focused his efforts on getting the AVR on a state ballot. In early 2006, he started a political action committee in Arizona with the objective of collecting the necessary signatures to get the proposal on the ballot for the November 2006 elections. By mid-summer 2006, the Arizonans for Voter Rewards PAC had succeeded in collecting the 185,000 signatures required by state law to get the proposal on the ballot. A key provision in the final wording of the proposition established the retroactive nature of the AVR; thus, had it been enacted, the initiative would have applied to both the October 2006 primary and the November 2006 general election.6

As soon as the news of the AVR’s inclusion on the ballot spread, the Initiative received considerable attention. Major Arizona newspapers editorialized against the it, while the national press picked up on its somewhat unusual character.7 While some news outlets, such as The Wall Street Journal and Fortune, supported the ballot, the majority of Arizona newspapers and media outlets opposed what they saw as an attempt to trivialize democracy. Most of the national news coverage, however, limited to describing the unusual nature of the proposal and on profiling Mr. Osterloh as a failed politician who was willing to go to great lengths to see his initiative on the Arizona ballot. Somewhat surprisingly, community-based enfranchisement organizations, such as ACORN and We are America, offered their support for the Initiative, including the AVR in their canvassing materials in the weeks prior to the election (Archibold, 2006). Of relevance to this study, Mr. Osterloh’s PAC did not spend any money in publicity and instead decided to rely on the free attention the proposal generated in local and national news outlets.

On November 7, 2006, Arizonans went to the polls. By the end of the day, the Initiative had been defeated by an overwhelming 32 percentage-points margin, with 66% of voters rejecting the AVR and only 34% of voters supporting it. Nonetheless, the lack of paid canvassing by the Initiative’s supporters, as well as the broad nature of news coverage (emphasizing the macro implications of the proposal rather than the potential individual gains) made the AVR the perfect vehicle for a randomized voting drive using mailings to advertise the pure economic gains the voters stood to make were the initiative to pass.

IV. Experimental Design: Sample, Interventions, Procedure

1. Sample

The original sample frame consisted of all registered voters in two legislative districts in the State of Arizona, districts 19 and 20, totaling 175,041 registered voters. Geographically, the two districts include the southwest Phoenix area, as well as the city of Mesa, where the ASU campus is located. From a socioeconomic perspective, these two districts host mainly middle class families and students, with the median household income at $51,881 dollars in 2000. According the 2000 census, the two districts are predominantly white, with minority residents comprising just under 13% of the population.

Politically, the two districts experienced a slightly higher level of participation than the rest of the state. In the 2004 presidential election, 75% of registered voters made it to the polls, compared to only 71.76% throughout the state (GMU, 2004). For the November 2006 election, 63% of the voters from legislative districts 19 and 20 turned out at the polls, and the statewide turnout rate was a little over 60%. About half of the voters in the district identify themselves as Republicans, and the average age is about 45 years. These differences conform to the socioeconomic and demographic profile of the
district, as middle-class and white voters tend, *ceteris paribus*, to turn out at higher rates than the average voter. In the analysis below, we break out the sample using different demographic and economic indicators to elucidate the differential effect the mailing may have had on different voters.

An early matter for concern was Arizona’s widespread early voting rules. Under current law, Arizona voters can start voting at the polls 30 days before the election and until the last Friday before election Tuesday. Many voters decide to take advantage of this service, and thus they become immune to mailings reaching them after they have voted. This raises potential outcome measurement issues, as it would be difficult to elucidate whether the canvassing effort happened before or after the recipient voted. In this specific case, however, the timing of the mailings excludes that possibility. Given that the mailings used in this experiment only reached voter homes in the afternoon of Friday, November 3 (the last day of early voting), we can safely conclude that the early voters received their mailings after they had already voted. Therefore, we exclude these voters from the experimental sample and perform the statistical analysis using data from those voters who had not voted by November 3. The resulting sample consists of 119,611 voters, of whom 55,039 voted on election day. Table 1 presents the summary statistics for this sample, which will remain the sample frame for the statistical analysis.

2. Treatments

The experimental design consisted of one main intervention — the "overall treatment" — and a sub-intervention consisting of two treatments. This design aimed at maximizing the experiment’s statistical power and at providing an unbiased estimate of the effect of advertising extrinsic economic incentives on voting turnout. The design also provided the opportunity of assessing the different effects of the gain and loss frames on voting
### Table 1.
Summary Statistics (weighted means by household size)

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<th>Full Sample</th>
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<th>Treatment</th>
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<th>Loss Frame</th>
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<tr>
<td>General 2002</td>
<td>0.355</td>
<td>0.353</td>
<td>0.342</td>
<td>0.343</td>
<td>0.342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.004)</td>
<td>(0.006)</td>
<td>(0.006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General 2000</td>
<td>0.419</td>
<td>0.416</td>
<td>0.416</td>
<td>0.415</td>
<td>0.410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.002)</td>
<td>(0.006)</td>
<td>(0.006)</td>
<td>(0.006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General 1998</td>
<td>0.215</td>
<td>0.213</td>
<td>0.210</td>
<td>0.213</td>
<td>0.209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.004)</td>
<td>(0.005)</td>
<td>(0.005)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary 2006</td>
<td>0.114</td>
<td>0.113</td>
<td>0.105</td>
<td>0.106</td>
<td>0.105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.002)</td>
<td>(0.004)</td>
<td>(0.004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary 2004</td>
<td>0.149</td>
<td>0.147</td>
<td>0.146</td>
<td>0.147</td>
<td>0.147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.003)</td>
<td>(0.004)</td>
<td>(0.004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary 2002</td>
<td>0.120</td>
<td>0.118</td>
<td>0.120</td>
<td>0.119</td>
<td>0.122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.003)</td>
<td>(0.004)</td>
<td>(0.004)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
- Weighted Standard Errors of the Means in Parentheses.
- “General” refers to the general election in the year in front of it.
- “Primary” refers to the primary election in the year in front of it.
- Party Identification equals unity if the voter identifies himself as a Republican and zero otherwise.
behavior.

1. Main Treatment: The Economic Mailing

The main treatment consisted of sending registered voters a mailing that outlined the potential economic gains of voting if the initiative were approved. Specifically, the mailing emphasized the fact that voting could earn you the chance to win one million dollars. The mailing also described the nature of the AVR Proposition and the lottery process, explaining how the million-dollar award was conditional on the AVR’s receiving enough votes to become law. Finally, the mailing contained key information on the on the date and time of the election, before finishing with a sentence linking the act of voting to the possibility of becoming a millionaire. The nonpartisan character of the experiment meant that the postcard did not instruct voters to vote for the AVR but only provided information about it.  

Classical economic and rational choice models predict that the mailing should increase voting turnout. We can describe the mechanism driving such an increase as a two-stage process entailing an information update and a posterior utility calculation. First, the voter uses the mailing’s information on the potential monetary rewards of voting to update his economic priors. Secondly, the voter recalculates the utility of voting using the updated economic priors and changes his behavior accordingly. This increase in turnout will come as "marginal absentees" — voters whose voting utility was only slightly negative before receiving the new information — recalculate their voting utility and now find voting economically sensible. Unlike "marginal absentees," voters whose pre-treatment voting utility was substantially negative or positive are unlikely to change their behavior. Formally, if we take the basic utility equation, 

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8Please refer to the Appendix for the exact wording/design of the mailing.
$$U_i = pB_i - c_i + D_i$$

then we can define a new component $\alpha E_i$, such that $\alpha$ represents the probability of both the electorate approving the AVR and voter $i$ winning the subsequent lottery, and $E$ represents the monetary amount of the lottery. Clearly, $\alpha E_i > 0$. If we let $U'_i$ be the post-intervention utility calculation,

$$U'_i = pB_i - c_i + D_i + \alpha E_i$$

It follows that $U'_i > U_i$, we should expect voters who receive the postcard to turn out at a higher rate. This utility comparison also presents the possibility of different effects on certain constituencies. For instance, the relative impact of the utility increase will be higher on low-income voters than it will be on high-income ones. Thus, we should expect low-income voters to turn out at higher rates than high-income voters after receiving the treatment. This view is consistent with previous studies that have found a strong inverse correlation between gambling (in the form of state lottery) and income (Kearney, 2005a, 2005b).

We also expect the treatment to have different effects according to voters’ educational levels. Highly-educated voters may already be aware of the economic repercussions of the AVR, and thus will find the information on the postcards irrelevant or superfluous. On the other hand, those voters with low levels of education may not have been able to discern the economic implications of the AVR and may use the information on the postcard to update their economic priors. However, we note that the strong correlation between low-income and low-education will make empirically difficult to identify whether the different effect is a result of low-income or low-education levels.

Thirdly, we also expect a different treatment effect along party lines. As evidenced by
the reaction of the press, *laissez-faire* leaning voters may be more willing accept extrinsic economic incentives as a legitimate tool to increase voting turnout (both *Fortune* and *The Wall Street Journal* were sympathetic to the AVR). At the same time, traditionally democratic leaning organizations, such as ACORN, supported the proposal, so one has to be careful before making predictions about the differential effect based on different party identification.

An alternative view suggests a radically different prediction. Proponents of this view, which goes back to Titmus (1970), would argue that the postcard should decrease voting turnout because it frames voting as a transactional, almost trivial, economic act. This view stems directly from Titmus’s (1970) experiments, and from subsequent studies, on blood donation drives that found evidence to the effect that extrinsic monetary rewards crowd out civic and altruistic behavior. Nevertheless, the overwhelming theoretical and empirical evidence favoring rational attitudes towards economic incentives leads to the following hypothesis:

- **Hypothesis 1:** *The mailing outlining the potential monetary gains of voting should increase voting turnout amongst those voters who receive it. Further, the magnitude of effect will be dependent on party registration, income levels and educational attainment.*

2. **The subtreatments: Gain and Loss Frames**

As Bertrand et. al. (2006) argue, "the framing of prospects in terms of losses versus gains can trigger discrepancies in attitudes towards risk, and thereby influence choices." To evaluate the potentially different effects of the loss and gain frames on voting turnout, we designed two versions of the mailing. One version the gain frame, sent to half of the voters in the treatment group, framed the potential monetary rewards in terms of
prospective gains; the second version, the loss frame, sent to the remaining voters in the
treatment group, framed the potential monetary rewards in terms of prospective losses.
We emphasize that both frames contained the same information, but just framed its
contents differently.\footnote{Please refer to the Appendix for the full text and the design of the mailings.}

Prospect Theory posits that individuals tend to be loss-averse when presented with
a sure gain. In this case, the loss frame presented the voter with a sure loss in the case
of his not voting, as the voter would have lost the opportunity of entering into the one-
million-dollar lottery. The gain frame presented the voter with a sure gain in the case of
his voting, as the voter would have earned the opportunity of entering into the lottery.
Notice that former option frames voting in terms of a sure economic loss (you lose the
expected value of the lottery), while the former frames voting as an economic gain (you
gain entrance to the lottery). Left unsaid in both frames is the behavioral alternative: not
voting. Under this framework, voters should react more positively to the loss frame than
the gain frame because they want to avoid losing something they have for certain (the
expected value of the lottery). Hence, voters who receive the loss frame should turnout
more often than those who receive the gain frame.

How do these different effects change turnout amongst different constituencies? Prospect
Theory says little about how different demographics will change their behavior as a result
of receiving gain/loss frames. In theory, we expect a relatively uniform difference be-
tween the effects of each frame on the subsamples identified before. We do not expect the
frames to have different effects based on party registration, income level, or educational
attainment.

- **Hypothesis 2:** The two frames should have different effects on voting turnout. In
  particular, voters who receive the loss frame should experience higher turnout than
  those voters who receive the gain frame message. Further, the difference between
the effects should not depend on party registration, income levels and educational attainment.

3. Experimental Procedure

Table 2 presents the final experimental design. We conducted a non-proportional stratified randomization, where we first randomized the mailings at the individual level and then grouped the voters by household. This is roughly equivalent to conditioning the share-odds of a voter being in the treatment group on his corresponding household size. Voters in two-person households were, roughly, twice as likely to be assigned to the treatment group than those in one person households, but only half as likely as those voters in four person households. Statistically, we can control for this conditional share-odds by weighting individual observations using the probability the observation had of being included in the treatment group. For the regression analysis, we include controls for household size.

The randomization yielded about 14,000 voters in the treatment group, making up approximately 12% of the entire sample. Within the treatment group, approximately 7,000 voters were assigned to each the Gain Frame or the Loss Frame treatments, with
272 voters (0.2% of the sample) receiving both. The remaining 105,000 voters were assigned to the control group. This final design maximized statistical power given our sample size. Table 1 reports summary statistics for the entire sample frame, as well as for each experimental group using weighted means.

To confirm the success of the randomization, we regressed the treatment assignment on the covariates, including past voter history, using a multinomial logit. The results, which we report in Table 3, seem to confirm the success of the randomization. As expected, most of the coefficients are statistically insignificant. Yet, Table 3 also shows that voters in the gain frame sample frame were less likely to vote in the 2004 election — a difference that is statistically significant. Given that recent research (Gerber et. al., 2003b) has found evidence that voting may be habit forming, it is reasonable to assume that, ceteris paribus, voters who voted in the 2004 would be more likely to vote in the 2006 election. Thus, any analysis that does not control for past voting history will yield downward-biased estimates for the effect of the Gain Frame intervention on voting turnout. We address this issue by controlling for past voting history when conducting the analysis below.

After assigning voters to the experimental groups, 5.5x4" postcards were designed with the objective of emphasizing the economic dimension of the two messages. A leading mailing services provider in Arizona printed the postcards and mailed them on the Wednesday immediately prior to the election. After the election, the U.S. Postal Service confirmed that postcards were delivered at voter homes between the afternoon of Friday, November 3, and Saturday, November 4. This time window confirms both that the postcards arrived after the early voting period was over but before the general election day.

10This unintended situation (voters receiving both treatments) is the result of the randomization at the individual level, when the analysis and assignment is performed at the household level.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Treatment Group Assignment</th>
<th>Gain Frame</th>
<th>Loss Frame</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L. District 20</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.036)</td>
<td>(0.04)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party ID</td>
<td>0.026</td>
<td>0.014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.031)</td>
<td>(0.031)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age (years)</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>-0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General 2004</td>
<td><strong>-0.109</strong></td>
<td>0.009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(<em>0.035)</em>*</td>
<td>(0.034)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General 2002</td>
<td>-0.062</td>
<td><strong>-0.081</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.043)</td>
<td>(<em>0.043)</em>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General 2000</td>
<td>0.060</td>
<td>-0.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.041)</td>
<td>(0.040)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General 1998</td>
<td>-0.027</td>
<td>-0.037</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.047)</td>
<td>(0.049)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary 2006</td>
<td>-0.069</td>
<td>-0.083</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.052)</td>
<td>(0.053)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary 2004</td>
<td>0.021</td>
<td>0.032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.049)</td>
<td>(0.048)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary 2002</td>
<td>0.007</td>
<td><strong>0.102</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.054)</td>
<td>(<em>0.055)</em>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
* = p<0.1, ** = p<0.05, *** = p<0.01
Robust Cluster Standard Errors (adjusted by household) in parentheses.
“General” refers to the general election in the year in front of it.
“Primary” refers to the primary election in the year in front of it.
Party Identification equals unity if the voter identifies himself as a Republican and zero otherwise.
1. Statistical Power

Following the literature (Gerber et. al., 2003a), we calculate the experiment’s statistical power to detect an increase in voting turnout using a one-sided test. Given the strong theoretical framework predicting an increase in voting turnout, a one-sided power test is appropriate in this case.\textsuperscript{11}

Given the sample size, the experiment’s ex ante power to detect turnout increases of or over one-percentage point is considerable. The experimental analysis will correctly identify a one-percentage-point increase about 82% of the time. Further, the experiment will identify a two-percentage-point increase over 99% of the time. For smaller positive effects, the experimental power decreases quite considerably. Indeed, the experimental analysis will correctly identify a 0.5 percentage points increase in turnout only 35% of the time.

In the end, we are primarily interested in identifying effects that are over one-percentage point in magnitude. Our reasons for focusing our inquiry on such effects are twofold. First, the strong theoretical background in rational choice and Prospect Theory predicts significant and noticeable effects on voting turnout; thus, we want to elucidate whether such predictions actually have a substantive and positive impact on voting behavior. Secondly, we believe that effects under one percentage points have little policy and actual implications outside their statistical significance — that is, effects under one-percentage point are neither cost-effective nor substantively interesting variations in voting behavior.

\textsuperscript{11}Calculating power is an often-overlooked but key component of experimental research. By having an estimate of the experimental power, one can then draw sound causal inferences about both the effectiveness and the ineffectiveness of an experimental intervention. In the absence of statistically significant results, one can then draw upon the experimental power to infer whether the lack of statistical significance is hinting at an absence of an effect or just at the experiment’s inability to correctly identify the presence of such an effect. Of course, the former is as interesting as, if not more so than finding the expected statistically significant result.
V. Results

A few remarks are in order before presenting the results. Following the practice of clinical research, we present all of the relevant coefficients (Karlan and Zinman, 2006; Gerber et. al., 2001). Secondly, to account for the imbalance between the experimental subsamples, we include controls for voting history dating back to 1998 in all stages of the analysis below.\footnote{Specifically, the voting history controls include indicator variables for the general elections of 2004, 2002, 2000, and 1998, and the general primaries of 2006, 2004, and 2002.} Unless otherwise noted, we report robust, cluster-adjusted standard errors, using households as the clustering unit. These standard errors correct not only for the systemic characteristics amongst members of the same household, but also for heteroskedasticity - a common issue in OLS estimations using binary dependent variables.

1. The Effect of the Mailing Turnout (Overall Effect)

We first turn our attention to the effect of receiving the mailing on voting turnout — ignoring the potentially different effects of the gain and loss frames for the time being. To adjust for the non-proportional stratified randomization, we include controls for household size.\footnote{I include four indicator variables, accounting for two-, three-, four-, and five plus-person households. One-person households are the base category. Results remain unchanged when estimating the effect using eight controls for all possible household sizes.} In the interest of easing interpretation, we use a Linear Probability Model (LPM), which we define as follows,

\[
d_i = \alpha + \beta_0 T_i + \sum_{j=2}^{5} \omega_j H_{S_{ij}} + \theta VH + \gamma X + u_i
\]  

(1)

where \(d_i\) equals unity if voter \(i\) turned out to vote, and \(T_i\) is an indicator variable that equals one if voter \(i\) belonged to the treatment group and received a postcard. \(VH\) is a vector containing voter \(i\)’s voting history and \(X\) is a vector of covariates. \(H_{S_{ij}}\) are
Table 4
Voting Turnout: Treatment v. Control (OLS Estimates)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Full Sample</th>
<th>Party Registration*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=119,611</td>
<td>Democrats N=66,715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Republicans N=52,896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1) (2)</td>
<td>(4) (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment</td>
<td>-0.010</td>
<td>-0.009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.005)*</td>
<td>(0.006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-0.004</td>
<td>0.003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.005)</td>
<td>(0.007)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-0.003</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.005)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party Registration</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demographics</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voting History</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HH Size Dummy</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Notes: *p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01
| Robust cluster standard errors in parentheses.
| Demographics include binary variables for age, legislative district, gender, and party affiliation.
| House Size Dummies refers to binary variables controlling for household size.
| * Party Registration data is available at the individual voter level in the State of Arizona.

indicator variables for household size.\textsuperscript{14} Table 4 presents the effect of receiving a postcard on voting turnout on the entire sample frame.

How does receiving the mailing affect an individual’s voting behavior? The first column of Table reports the estimated effect of the mailing without controlling for voting history or demographic characteristics. We include this initial, biased estimate for comparison purposes only. At least at this initial stage, the regression estimates suggest that the mailing had a negative and barely significant effect on voting turnout — decreasing the probability of voting by 0.09. To account for the imbalance between the experimental samples, we re-estimate the model controlling for individuals’ voter histories. Notice

\textsuperscript{14}Given the binary nature of the dependent variable, a nonlinear estimator may seem more appropriate (King, 1989). For comparison purposes, we present probit estimates for the equivalent models in the Appendix. The probit specification is

\[
\Pr(d = 1) = \Phi(\alpha + \beta_0 T_i + \sum_{j=2}^5 \omega_j H S_{ij} + \theta V H + \gamma X + u_i),
\]

with variables and vectors defined as before.
that the estimated effect, reported in Column 2, is now much humbler. The coefficients here suggest that the mailing decreased voting amongst voters in the treatment group by four percentage points vis-à-vis voters in the control group. The inclusion of controls for demographics further dampens the estimated effect of the mailing on voting turnout to a humble 0.3 percentage points. Not surprisingly, the estimates are not statistically significant.

It is tempting to dismiss these statistically insignificant preliminary findings as the consequence of the low statistical power of the experiment. However, a second interpretation may be in order. These initial estimates suggest that, even if the treatment had a small, unnoticed effect, it would be a far cry from the substantively significant effects predicted by the literature. Contradicting the theoretical expectations, the analysis so far shows the absence of a considerable effect on voting turnout. If anything, the negative signs of the estimated effects suggest the mailing have actually decreased turnout amongst voters in the sample. We revisit and expand this discussion in the next section.

1. Subsample Effects

We expand the scope of the analysis to the three classifications of interest we identified in the previous section. Even in an experimental context, we have to be careful not to perform post-hoc comparisons not foreseen in the ex ante theoretical framework. We limit this stage of the analysis to party registration, educational attainment, and income level. Even after limiting the analysis to the subsamples identified ex ante, we still have to be mindful of the perils of performing multiple comparisons. Thus, when discussing statistical significance in this section, we emphasize the importance of using the Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons.\(^\text{15}\)

\(^{15}\)The widely known, but often overlooked Bonferroni correction states that, when performing multiple comparisons, the necessary \(\alpha\)-levels should be divided by the number of comparisons. Thus, if one is performing two comparisons, the p-value necessary for a significance level of 5%, is actually 0.025 (for a
Table 4 reports the estimated effects of the mailing on both registered Republicans and registered Democrats and Liberals. Amongst Republicans, the mailing essentially had no effect, barely increasing turnout by 0.3 percentage points — an estimate that is not statistically significant. We also find that the mailing had a negative effect on Democrats and Liberals, decreasing voting turnout by 0.8 percentage points. The coefficient is not statistically significant, but it indicates that the mailing did not increase turnout amongst these voters; if anything, receiving the mailing discouraged Democrats and Liberals from showing up to the polls. We note that while the mailing was ineffective at increasing turnout, the results suggest that it affected these two groups differently. The difference in the effect estimates suggest — but do not establish — that Democrats and Liberals reacted more negatively to the mailing than Republicans did.

We now consider the effect estimates on voters with different levels of educational attainment. As it is the case with most voter lists, the Arizona voter list lacked information on each voter’s educational attainment. Instead, we relied on 2000 Census data at the zip-code level to create a proxy for educational attainment in each of the 20 zip codes in the sample. For each voter we were able to generate a measure of the educational attainment — defined by the percentage of the population in the zip code that holds a college degree — in the voter’s zip code. In turn, this procedure allowed us to rank the zip codes by the level educational attainment. We used such ranking to classify voters in three categories: high-educational attainment, mid-educational attainment, and low-educational attainment. While imperfect, this classification serves as a good proxy for educational attainment.

discussion, see Altman and Bland, 1995).

16 For the following analyses on the subsamples of interest, I present only the estimates for the full model specification of Equation (1). As expected, substantive and statistical results remain essentially the same when controlling just for voting history.

17 The results are robust to other measures of educational attainment, such as percentage of the population with a high school diploma.
Table 5 reports the estimated effect of the mailing on turnout amongst voters in each of the three education-based sample frames. Amongst voters in the low-educational-attainment sample, the mailing had a substantial and negative effect on turnout. Specifically, the mailing decreased turnout amongst these voters by approximately 1.3 percentage points. The finding appears to be statistically significant the 10% level, but this significance level does not reflect adjustments for multiple comparisons. After applying the Bonferroni correction, it becomes clear that the finding is certainly not statistically significant. Nevertheless, it is clear that the mailing did not have a positive effect on turnout amongst low-education voters.

Columns (2) and (3) of Table 5 report the estimated effect of the mailing on voters in the mid- and high-educational attainment sample frames. For the two sample frames, the
estimated effects are essentially equal. Amongst these voters, the mailing was basically ineffective at increasing voting turnout; the estimated increase is a mere 0.2 percentage points and not statistically significant. We note, however, that the analysis does suggest the existence of a differential effect of the mailing by educational level. While the mailing was certainly ineffective at mobilizing mid- and high-educational attainment voters, it may have decreased turnout amongst low-education voters. This challenges our initial predictions, which expected low-education voters to react more positively to the mailing than voters in the other two educational sample frames. We revisit this discussion in the next section.

Finally, we estimate the effect of the mailing on voters according to income levels. Again, the lack of individual data on income requires us to use zip code data instead. Following a procedure analogous to the one used to estimate educational attainment, we used 2000 Census data to obtain the mean per capita income for each zip code.\textsuperscript{18} We matched this information with each individual voter’s zip code. With this information, we classified voters into three different subsamples based on income at the zip code level, much in the same way that we classified voters into three samples based on educational attainment at the zip code level.

Columns (4), (5), and (6) report the relevant estimates for each of the income sub-samples. Surprisingly, and certainly in contraposition to the hypothesis, voters in the low-income sample frame experienced a one percentage point decrease in turnout as a result of receiving the mailing. The estimate is not statistically significant, but it essentially rules out a positive effect and actually suggests the a possible slightly negative effect on turnout. We also highlight that even though the estimated effect disputes the initial hypothesis, it is in agreement with the decrease in turnout we found on low-education voters as a result of the mailings. Education and income are highly correlated, and thus a de-

\textsuperscript{18}The results are robust to other measures, such as median household income.
crease in turnout amongst voters at the bottom of the educational scale should correspond to a decrease in turnout amongst voters at the bottom of the income scale.

Concerning voters in the mid-income sample frame, we find that the mailing had a barely negative effect on voting turnout. Voters who received the mailing were less likely to show up at the polls than voters who did not by about 0.2 percentage points — an estimate that is not statistically significant. Amongst voters in the high-income sample frame, the mailing had a similarly small, but positive, effect. It increased turnout by about 0.3 percentage points. Overall, the mailing was quite ineffective at changing voting patterns of mid- and high-income voters, but it did seem to have had a slightly negative effect on turnout amongst voters in the low-income frame.

In general, we do not find that the mailing had a positive effect on turnout; quite the opposite, the analysis hints at a possible negative effect on voting rates. We do not underestimate the significance of these initial findings. A significant body of work in Economics and Political Science has argued for the existence of a very strong and positive link between economic incentives and voting turnout. Our findings present an interesting challenge to this prediction, suggesting that political behavior may not be as sensitive to economic incentives as the literature would suggest. Surprisingly, our findings also suggest that registered Democrats, low-income and low-education voters may actually experience a decrease in turnout. We revisit and explore the causes behind this decrease in Section VI.

2. Loss and Gain Frame Effects (Frame Effects)

We now shift our attention to assessing the different effects of the gain and loss frames on voting turnout. Numerous studies in Psychology and Economics have found evidence supporting the existence of these effects, and, thus, it is natural to inquire whether these
effects are present in political behavior. Empirically, the analysis of differential effects can take one of two forms. One can either present the results of each manipulation separately before pooling the manipulations (Bertrand et. al., 2006), or one can obviate the first step and focus on the pooled results. The choice will depend on whether the overlap between the intervention warrants both a separate and a pooled analysis. The almost entire lack of overlap in this experiment (only 229 voters received both mailings) allows us to obviate the separate analysis and focus on the pooled analysis instead.

We estimate a slightly modified version of the model described in Equation (1). Formally,

\[ d_i = \alpha + \beta_0 G_i + \beta_1 L_i + \sum_{j=2}^{5} \omega_j HS_{ij} + \theta VH + \gamma X + u_i \]  

(2)

where \( d_i \), \( VH \), \( X \) and \( HS_{ij} \) are defined as before. \( G_i \) is an indicator variable that equals one if the voter received the gain frame mailing and zero otherwise; similarly, \( L_i \) equals one if the voter received the loss frame mailing and zero otherwise.\(^{19}\)

Table 6 reports the estimated effects of both frames on turnout for the entire sample. For comparison purposes, we include the biased estimates for the regression without controlling for demographics or voting history. This first regression estimates the effect of the gain frame on voting turnout at a negative 1.1 percentage points; the estimate for the loss frame is a smaller but still considerable negative 0.7 percentage points. Columns (2) and (3) of Table 6 report the estimates controlling for voting history, and for voting history and demographics. After controlling for voting history, the estimated effect of the gain frame on turnout drops to a decrease of 0.5 percentage points — the same estimate obtained

\(^{19}\)We also present probit estimates for the equivalent models in the Appendix. The probit specification is

\[ \Pr(d = 1) = \Phi(\alpha + \beta_0 G_i + \beta_1 L_i + \sum_{j=2}^{5} \omega_j HS_{ij} + \theta VH + \gamma X + u_i), \]

with variables and vectors defined as before.
after controlling for both voting history and demographics. The estimated effect of the
loss frame on turnout also drops dramatically after controlling for voting history. Indeed,
the negative frame had a very small, negative effect, decreasing turnout by approximately
0.2 percentage points. None of the coefficients is statistically significant.

The estimated effects strongly suggest that neither frame was effective at mobilizing
voters. Indeed, this initial analysis shows that the slightly negative effect found in the
previous stage of the analysis seemed to have been a result of the negative effect of both
frames. Consequently, these initial findings would indicate the two frames did not have
substantively different effects on voting turnout. We note that such a situation is in
contraposition with our initial expectations and do pose somewhat of a challenge to the
applicability of Prospect Theory to the field of political behavior.

### Table 6
Voting Turnout: Gain and Loss Frames v. Control (OLS Estimates)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Full Sample</th>
<th>Party Registrationa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=119,611</td>
<td>Democrats N=66,715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gain Frame</td>
<td>-0.011</td>
<td>-0.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.007)</td>
<td>(0.006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss Frame</td>
<td>-0.007</td>
<td>-0.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.007)</td>
<td>(0.006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demographics</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voting History</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HH Size Dummy</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: *=p<0.1, **=p<0.05, ***=p<0.01
Robust cluster standard errors in parentheses.
Demographics include binary variables for age, legislative district, gender, and party affiliation.
House Size Dummies refers to binary variables controlling for household size.
a Party Registration data is available at the individual voter level in the State of Arizona.
1. Subsample Effects

Do the gain and loss frames really have different effects on voting behavior on voters according to party registration? We report the estimated effect of each of the two frames on voters according to party registration in Table 7.\footnote{As in the previous section, we only report estimates for the full specification of Model (2). The substantive and statistical conclusions remain unchanged when the model is run without controls for demographics.} We find that the gain frame decreased turnout amongst Democrats and Liberals by approximately one percentage points. The coefficient is not statistically significant but attests to the ineffectiveness of the gain frame at increasing voting turnout amongst registered Democrats and Liberals. Amongst these same voters, the loss frame also decreased turnout by about 0.4 percentage points, though this coefficient is not statistically significant. Still, the difference in signs and in magnitudes present here suggest that the gain frame may have driven the decrease in turnout we found in the previous section.

The two frames were very ineffective at increasing turnout amongst registered Republicans. The gain frame, which had a considerable, if negative, impact on Democrats’ turnout, left Republican turnout almost unchanged, increasing it by only 0.2 percentage points. The loss frame did not do much better either. Receiving it increased turnout amongst Republican voters by a mere 0.1 percentage points. None of the coefficients is statistically significant. Furthermore, neither increase, even if it were statistically significant, would have any substantive implications on actual political behavior.

Our analysis of the effect of the frames on voters according to party registration does not identify a substantive positive effect of either frame on voting turnout. However, the analysis does suggest that the frames may have had different effects on voters who registered with different parties. Our findings seem to illustrate how Democrats reacted more negatively than Republicans did to the mailing, and how the gain and loss frames may have affected this reaction. Given the relatively small sample size, however, we
### Table 7
Voting Turnout: Gain and Loss Frames v. Control (OLS Estimates)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Education*</th>
<th>Incomeb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N=41,520</td>
<td>N=38,714</td>
<td>N=39,351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gain Frame</td>
<td>-0.011</td>
<td>-0.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.010)</td>
<td>(0.011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss Frame</td>
<td>-0.016</td>
<td>0.007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.011)</td>
<td>(0.011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voting History</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demographics</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HH Size Dummy</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: *p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01
Robust cluster standard errors in parentheses.
Demographics include binary variables for age, legislative district, gender, and party affiliation.
House Size Dummies refers to binary variables controlling for household size

* Educational level is defined at the zip-code level: Using 2000 Census Data, mean estimates for proportion of population with college graduates are obtained and zip codes are then ranked accordingly.

b Income level is defined at the zip-code level: Using 2000 Census Data, median estimates for per capita income are obtained and zip codes are then ranked accordingly.

cannot fully establish whether this difference in effect is causal in nature or just a result of random variation.

Following the order we established above, we estimate the effects of the frames on voting by grouping voters by educational attainment levels. We use the same classification used before, and estimate the effect of the frames on voting turnout amongst voters in the three subsamples. The results are reported in Columns (1), (2), and (3) of Table 7.

Amongst voters in the low-education subsample, the gain frame had a negative effect on turnout. Specifically, the gain frame decreased voting turnout by about 1.1 percentage points. Similarly, the loss frame had a negative effect on voting turnout, decreasing voting rates by approximately 1.6 percentage points. These two estimates are not statistically
significant, but, once again, they preclude the possibility of the frames having had a positive effect on turnout. If anything, the coefficients would suggest the opposite. We note that both frames are driving the decline in turnout we found above.

Both the loss and the gain frames had a negative effect on turnout amongst voters in the mid-education subsample. The gain frame decreased turnout by about 0.5 percentage points, while the loss frame decreased turnout by about 0.7 percentage points. The two frames also had barely perceptible effects on turnout amongst voters in the high-educational attainment subsample. Interestingly, the estimates had opposite signs. Thus, the gain frame had an estimated negative effect on turnout of about -0.5 percentage points. Meanwhile, the loss frame had a positive effect on turnout of approximately 0.7 percentage points. Notice, however, that the standard errors for both estimates are quite large, and thus it is very unlikely that the difference in point estimates reflect anything other than random variation.

Finally, we perform the analysis on the three subsamples based on income levels, which we report in Table 7. In line with what we find before, the two frames had both different and negative effects on turnout amongst voters in the low-income subsample. Receiving the gain frame decreased the voter’s probability of showing up at the polls by about 0.007. In turn, the loss frame decreased turnout by 1.4 percentage points. Neither estimate is statistically significant, but we can infer the possibility of the loss frame having had a larger negative effect on voting turnout vis-à-vis the gain frame. Moreover, these findings seem to confirm the existence of a negative effect on turnout amongst voters in the low-income sample. It also appears as if the loss frame is the main cause behind such a decrease in voting turnout.

The frames two were essentially ineffective at improving voting rates amongst voters in the mid-income subsample. The gain frame decreased turnout by 0.2 percentage points, while the loss frame decreased turnout by less than 0.1 percentage points. Amongst
voters in the high-income sample frame, the gain frame decreased turnout by half of a percentage point, while the loss frame increased turnout by about one percentage point. Neither coefficient is statistically significant; moreover, the large standard errors for both estimates suggest that this difference is as likely to be the result of random noise as of a real, underlying difference.

Overall, our findings challenge the *universal* applicability of Prospect Theory’s predictions to voting turnout analysis. Neither the loss frame, nor the gain frame had a substantive and positive effect on voting turnout. On the other hand, our results do suggest that, amongst certain groups of voters, the gain and loss frames may have had different effects on voting rates. Specifically, we find that low-income and low-education voters, as well as registered Democrats, were more likely to decrease their turnout rates as a result of the frames. This finding stresses the importance of understanding the context when measuring and predicting framing effects on political behavior.

**VI. Discussion**

What can we make of these results? We approached two different empirical questions in this experimental study. First, we tried to elucidate whether advertising potential monetary rewards led to a substantive increase in voting turnout. The experimental results overwhelmingly reject such possibility. Secondly, we tried to determine whether loss and gain frames had different, but positive, effects on voting turnout as predicted by Prospect Theory. Our findings reject a positive effect but suggest that, amongst certain groups, the frames may have had different effects on turnout rates. The results certainly challenge some of the initial expectations and theoretical assumptions, hint at the possible existence of differential effect and, most importantly, constitute a call for future research that focuses on some of the constituencies analyzed here.
Regarding the first of the two empirical questions, our results challenge the predictions from rational choice and neoclassical consumer models. The mailing did not have a positive effect on voting turnout, and any actual positive effect that may have gone unnoticed would be too small to have any substantive significance. Indeed, at this point we establish a key distinction between the effect of the message itself and the effect of the mailing as a canvassing tool. We are aware of the very small effects found in previous studies that analyzed the effect of mailings on turnout. We, however, argue that such small effects are the result of combination of a combination of a not-so-great canvassing method — mailings — with a very ineffective appeal — civic duty. Recent research (Suarez, 2007) has shown that civic and community duties are very ineffective ways of mobilizing voters. The small effects found in these prior experiments are likely to be a combination of a not-every-effective canvassing tool with an ineffective message. An effective message significantly increases the magnitude and statistical significance of the mailing’s effect on voting turnout (Frey and Suarez, 2006). Therefore, even after "accounting" for the canvassing tool, the experimental findings at least challenge the neoclassical economic view of voting.

From a scholarly standpoint, this is not to say that the rational choice view of voting is completely wrong. But, to borrow from Bertrand et. al. (2006), context may be everything when it comes to the interplay of economic incentives and voting. The challenge for rational choice and economic theorists is to incorporate such context in the economic models of voting, so that the latter can become useful representations of what really goes on in the field. From a policy-making point of view, both campaign managers and community organizers, as well as Mr. Osterloh — the father of the AVR Initiative —, will find little use for a message that has no positive effect on voting turnout.

We also explored whether the gain and loss frames had different effects on voting turnout. This research question stemmed directly from the overwhelming evidence found
on these differential effects in psychological experiments. Yet, we find that neither the loss frame nor the gain frame had a substantive and positive effect on voting turnout. While it is certainly possible that either of the frames may have slightly increased voting rates, the results certainly fall short of the predictions we derived from Prospect Theory. Furthermore, we find little evidence for the existence of a hugely different effect on turnout between the two frames. Our findings do not challenge the previous studies’ findings on the relative effectiveness of gain and loss frames, but do question whether such relative effects apply to political behavior. Perhaps when it comes to voting behavior, we cannot universalize Prospect Theory’s predictions.

Overall, our two main findings do contradict our initial hypotheses and raise some interesting theoretical challenges that should prompt scholars to engage in related research. However, we note that, while we did not find a positive increase in turnout as a result of the interventions amongst all the voters in the sample frame, we do find some interesting results concerning a subset of such sample. First, we find that registered Democrats, as well as low-income and low-education voters experienced a decline in turnout as a result of the mailings. This finding is puzzling and unexpected. Previous studies have shown that low-income individuals tend to gamble more often than individuals in other income levels (Kearny 2005a, 2005b). Thus, we had expected low-income, and, by extension, low-education voters to be more likely to increase their voting turnout as a result of the mailing. Rather, the opposite happened. These voters were considerably less likely to vote as a result of the lottery offer!

We interpret these results using Bertrand et. al. (2006) as a guidepost. They find that customers were less likely to take-up a loan if offered the opportunity of entering into a lottery to win a cell phone. At some level, there is a fundamental distrust of such promotional offers, and voting does not seem to be the exception to such a rule. Alternatively, to paraphrase Mellstrom and Johannesson (2005), perhaps Titmus was
right. Perhaps low-income voters tend to value their vote more highly than other types of voters and thus refuse to put a "price tag" on their votes. Future research should certainly try to disentangle which of these three mechanisms may have been driving the decline in turnout we saw amongst these voters.

On a related note, we also find suggestive evidence regarding the relative effects of the frames on turnout amongst the voters we just described. The frames did not seem to have different effects on all voters, but they did seem to have a different effect on these low-income, low-education voters. Furthermore, we also notice that these suggestive differences were also present — to a lesser extent — amongst those voters in the high-income sample frame. We highlight this in the hope that scholars will take on this interesting issue and will try to determine whether the differences we found in this study actually reflect the different underlying causal mechanisms.

VII. Conclusion

We should take this experiment as a loud and clear call for further research in this area. The AVR is not likely to make it to the ballot again in the near future, but other instances exist where experimental research would be appropriate. Minimum wage initiatives, tax proposals, are all valid proxies to further the study of extrinsic economic rewards and their effect on voting turnout. Clearly, the study’s findings suggest that some of our current theoretical frameworks may not be able to fully explain the individual act of voting. Further, it also suggests that certain psychological frames may have little effect on affecting political behavior on the average voter. However, certain constituencies may be more susceptible than others to these interventions. Identifying and disentangling these nuances and causal relationships is, fundamentally, an empirical exercise. While every experimental study is certainly a call for further replication, the unusual nature of this
experiment’s findings certainly warrants further studies in this area.

From a policy-making standpoint, our findings should alert policy-makers and community enfranchisers alike. Our results suggest that the offering of economic incentives decreases turnout amongst those key communities that have historically experienced low turnout rates: low-education and low-income voters. While we are unable to identify the underlying mechanism behind such effects, this should not deter us from carefully weighing the important implications of these findings. They suggest that economically-based turnout drives may instead backfire and disenfranchise those groups that were supposed to be mobilized. Until further research takes place, economically-based initiatives should take a backseat to other forms of community mobilization.

We should also be careful to observe the key distinction between a challenge and a rebuttal of a theory. Certainly, it would be almost naive to deny that the experimental results do pose a challenge to some of the established theories of voting in the field of rational choice, as well as to the applicability of Prospect Theory on political behavioral issues. Yet, it would be equally naive, if not more so, to use this experiment’s results to proclaim the total and complete ineffectiveness of both. Rather, we should take these results as a serious warning bell that warrants more research.

While experimental research offers some distinct advantages over other research — namely, the ability to draw sound causal inferences —, it is limited by an inescapable time-place constraint: experiments are certainly context-dependent. Thus, replication becomes all the more relevant in cases where experimental results may differ from our theoretical expectations. In the end, whether the finding is a one-shot effect or a persistent causal relationship is an empirical question. The only solid answer to this empirical question will come in the form of other experiments, which may support or refute, complement or replace, this experiment’s conclusions.
References


Frey, V., Suarez, S. 2006. "¡Mobilización Efectiva de Votantes! Analyzing the Effects of Bilingual Mobilization and Notification of Bilingual Ballots on Latino Turnout." Un-


Reading Eagle. "Reward for Voting is not a Good Idea." The Reading Eagle, August 11, 2006


Appendix

1. Appendix Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Full Sample</th>
<th></th>
<th>Party Registration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=119,611</td>
<td></td>
<td>Democrats N=66,715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment</td>
<td>0.010</td>
<td>-0.003</td>
<td>-0.003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.005)*</td>
<td>(0.006)</td>
<td>(0.006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voting History</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HH Size Dummy</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: *=p<0.1, **=p<0.05, ***=p<0.01
Robust cluster standard errors in parentheses.
Demographics include binary variables for age, legislative district, gender, and party affiliation.
House Size Dummies refers to binary variables controlling for household size
*Marginal probit effect estimates (using means as reference points)
*Party Registration data is available at the individual voter level in the State of Arizona.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Low Ed. ( N=41,520 )</th>
<th>Mid. Ed. ( N=38,714 )</th>
<th>High Ed. ( N=39,351 )</th>
<th>Low Inc. ( N=43,509 )</th>
<th>Mid. Inc. ( N=40,330 )</th>
<th>High Inc. ( N=35,746 )</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Treatment</td>
<td>-0.015 ( (0.010) )</td>
<td>0.003 ( (0.010) )</td>
<td>0.003 ( (0.009) )</td>
<td>-0.012 ( (0.010) )</td>
<td>-0.002 ( (0.010) )</td>
<td>0.005 ( (0.010) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voting History</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demographics</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HH Size Dummy</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: *=p<0.1, **=p<0.05, ***=p<0.01
Robust cluster standard errors in parentheses.
Demographics include binary variables for age, legislative district, gender, and party affiliation.
House Size Dummies refers to binary variables controlling for household size.

* Educational level is defined at the zip-code level: Using 2000 Census Data, mean estimates for proportion of population with college graduates are obtained and zip codes are then ranked accordingly.

* Income level is defined at the zip-code level: Using 2000 Census Data, median estimates for per capita income are obtained and zip codes are then ranked accordingly.
Table A.6
Voting Turnout: Gain and Loss Frames v. Control (Marginal Probit Estimates)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Full Sample</th>
<th>Party Registration*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N=119,611</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gain Frame</strong></td>
<td>-0.011</td>
<td>-0.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.007)</td>
<td>(0.008)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Loss Frame</strong></td>
<td>-0.007</td>
<td>-0.003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.007)</td>
<td>(0.008)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Demographics</strong></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Voting History</strong></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HH Size Dummy</strong></td>
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<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: *=p<0.1, **=p<0.05, ***=p<0.01
Robust cluster standard errors in parentheses.
Demographics include binary variables for age, legislative district, gender, and party affiliation.
House Size Dummies refers to binary variables controlling for household size

* Party Registration data is available at the individual voter level in the State of Arizona.
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<th>Table A.7</th>
<th>Voting Turnout: Gain and Loss Frames v. Control (Marginal Probit Estimates)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gain Frame</td>
<td>-0.013 (0.013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss Frame</td>
<td>-0.019 (0.013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Voting History</strong></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Demographics</strong></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HH Size Dummy</strong></td>
<td>Yes</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Notes: *p<0.1, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01
Robust cluster standard errors in parentheses.
Demographics include binary variables for age, legislative district, gender, and party affiliation.
House Size Dummies refers to binary variables controlling for household size.

* Educational level is defined at the zip-code level: Using 2000 Census Data, mean estimates for proportion of population with college graduates are obtained and zip codes are then ranked accordingly.

* Income level is defined at the zip-code level: Using 2000 Census Data, median estimates for per capita income are obtained and zip codes are then ranked accordingly.
2. Gain Frame Mailing

If you vote this Tuesday,

You may WIN a MILLION DOLLARS!

On Tuesday’s election, the Arizona Voter Rewards Initiative is on the Ballot. If the initiative passes, the State of Arizona will award a million dollars to one of the voters in the election. If you vote, you may be the lucky winner.

Come to vote and you may win a million dollars!

VOTE TUESDAY
3. Loss Frame Mailing

If you don’t vote this Tuesday,
You LOSE the chance to
WIN a MILLION DOLLARS!

On Tuesday’s election, the Arizona Voter Rewards Initiative is on the Ballot. If the initiative passes, the State of Arizona will award a million dollars to one of the voters in the election. If you don’t vote, you lose the chance to be the lucky winner.

Miss the vote and you may lose a million dollars!

VOTE TUESDAY
Post-Apartheid South Africa and the White’s Negotiations to Find a Place

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Post-Apartheid South Africa and the White’s Negotiations to Find a Place

SUL, Ji Yun

In the late 1990s, South Africa underwent political and social changes. Regarded as an official announcement of the beginning of the post-apartheid era, Nelson Mandela’s 1994 presidential inauguration marked a significant point in the history of South Africa. The active engagement and efforts of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in dealing with the legacies of apartheid followed, and it has also been celebrated as a success. As Archbishop Tutu, the chairperson of TRC, claims, due to TRC’s progress, the South Africans “have become a beacon of hope to others locked in deadly conflict that peace, that a just resolution, is possible.” However, it is doubtful whether this “resolution,” the true reconciliation regardless of race, gender, generation and class, really has been achieved in such a short time, within less than a decade. In fact, as depicted in Disgrace, one of Coetzee’s novels, South Africa in the late 1990s went through a social transition. Its whole situation is regarded as an “anarchy,” in which “people just pick and choose which laws they want to obey” (Coetzee 9) and the formal security is not to be depended upon.

Most whites found the situation more threatening than other ethnicities in the new South Africa. While the blacks were gaining the economical power as well as the political one, the white, once privileged, started losing its political and economic influences; and the social situation became increasingly hostile for many whites. Corinna Schuler points out that, under the government of the
African National Congress, many whites are left economically vulnerable because of pay equity laws and affirmative action. According to Shuler, the unemployment rate of the white was doubled in 1999, compared with 1995. The white had become the main target of violence of the racial hatred. In *Disgrace*, three black men attacked Lurie and Lucy at their home and when Lurie tries to pull over the car on the road on the way home, Lucy warns him against stopping since they are on the “bad stretch, too risky to stop.” (157) Like them, many of the white were attacked in their homes and on the road, which was usually taken as something political. Mary Braid claims that more than 500 white farmers have been murdered in the 2,400 attacks on farms during three years after 1994 and statistically most of the attackers were black. Yet, with the transition of the society to the majority governance still going on, the efficiency of the police and other social security forces have been compromised, and the white feel socially insecure and vulnerable. (Attridge, 104)

In this situation, the white had to decide whether to compromise for the social changes of the post-apartheid South Africa or not. *Disgrace* describes the two different courses, which the white South Africans actually have taken in the late 1990s. One is to leave South Africa temporarily or permanently. In the novel, the secretary (significantly named) Dawn plans to leave South Africa and emigrate to New Zealand and, later in the story, it is shown that the children of Ettinger, Lucy’s neighbor, had gone back to Germany, the European country of their origin. Many whites continuously reported their anxiety for the uncertain future, and the insecurity led the white people to flee; they chose to emigrate. According to
Marcus Mabry, approximately 30,000 South Africans between 1994 and 1996 emigrated, the majority of whom were professionals. The country’s high rate of crime, corruption, affirmative action and decaying public services are the main factors that have driven them out.

Nevertheless, there is also another choice: to stay in the country and try to adapt themselves to the social changes. Yet, while Disgrace concentrates on those whites who choose to stay in the post-apartheid South Africa, it clearly depicts that, to the white remaining in the new South Africa, the whole situation is more complicated than it appears to be and indeed ambiguous. Contrary to the general expectation, not all the white are wealthy and socially privileged. Various social strata, divided by generation, gender, social class and one’s economic ability, exist among the white. In Disgrace, Lurie, the protagonist, is a representative of the elderly white, the group that has been marginalized in the new South Africa, becoming not only physically but also socially vulnerable. From the beginning of the novel, he is aware of the fact that by the younger generation, he is now regarded as “the hangover from the past,” unfit in the changing society. He feels about himself that “the sooner cleared away the better.” (40) Pamela Cooper claims that Lurie “becomes an exile in his own land,” when he is perpetually displaced from the university and his house in Cape Town. (27) His age is an important aspect since not everyone feels doubtful and worried about the present and the future.

Unlike Lurie, who finds it harder to cope with the new South Africa, Lucy is “[the] sturdy young settler” (61) of the younger generation: economically conscious, the white younger generation consider
the situation not to be so negative, if not hopeful, and thus continue to live in South Africa. Simon Robinson claims that younger Afrikaners and Afrikaner businessmen maintained a positive view of the country’s situation, while many of the elders did not. Lucy is more determined than her father in adapting herself to the new South Africa. Economically conscious, she runs a farm with a more commercial mind—in a quite different way from the traditional agriculture: she grows and sells flowers instead of “cattle and maize” (62) and sets a painted sign on the road in order to advertise her farm and its products. In the new South Africa, there are more “frontier farmer[s] of the new breed” (62), making profits in the country by non-traditional means. For instance, Mabry introduces a case of P. C. Ferreira who converted a vacant house into a guesthouse. Ferreira has a positive attitude towards his future, who claims, “People are coming to South Africa to make money. Why should I leave to make money somewhere else?” In addition to this, after the economic liberation of 1994, young people have more chances to work abroad or in the multinational corporations, and they are optimistic about the overall situation.

Moreover, those young people are more apt to understand the new South Africa and thus more willing to compromise. After the robbery and rape by three blacks, Lucy proposes the possibility of “another way of looking at [the raid]” and interprets it as “the price one has to pay for staying on.” (158) She is ready to pay for it, even if it means to give up her farm and marry Petrus, a neighboring black farmer who is a brother-in-law of one of the attackers. In this, Lucy represents the younger generation
which denounces the past years of apartheid and thus tries to understand the present situation from an optimistic perspective. Chris Serfontein, 27, a manager at Coca-cola’s bottling plant, asserts, “South Africa will sort itself out.” (qtd. in Mabry)

However, like Lurie in *Disgrace*, the elderly whites find it harder to position themselves in the new South Africa. After the disgraceful dismissal from the university for his affair with one of his female students Melanie, Lurie is “no longer marketable” (88) and there is little or no prospect left for him of regaining his power and influence. In the new South Africa, agedness leads to a certain social and economic inability beside physical vulnerability. There is an economic reference to the old Afrikaner couple who “do less well” (72) at the market while Lucy makes more profit by her trade. With the less chance of finding work and getting help from the family and community, they are exposed to the possibility of becoming “one of those sad old men who poke around in rubbish bins” (189), which increased in number after 1994. Schuler argues that in the 1980s, white beggars were rare, almost non-existing, and yet, it has now increased and often can be seen on the streets. Russell also provides a supporting report about the middle-aged and elderly whites’ unemployment and lack of community. In other words, the post-apartheid South Africa has become “no country, this, for old men” (190).

While there are certainly those who express resentment and show a conservative attitude towards the transitional society, Coetzee takes great pains to portray an elderly white man who comes to accept the terms of living in the post-apartheid South Africa. In the text, Lurie at first resists the new South
Africa, declaring that “He is too old to heed, too old to change. Lucy may be able to bend to the tempest; he cannot, not with honour.” (209) Finally he negotiates for his place in the country through his relationship with Lucy and her unborn child. This does not necessarily mean that he has a positive or hopeful prospective on the new South Africa. Yet, it is certain that staying in the new South Africa for the whites means and requires, as Keane argues, “adjust[ing] themselves to a new dynamic.” The white will have to compromise with the transitional ways of living, whatever the price would be, even though it means to be in disgrace.
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Informal Economy in Dhaka City—Automobile Engineering and Hazardous Child Labor

Abstract

Child labor particularly hazardous child labor is one of the severest forms of child exploitation and child abuse in the world today. Though it is restricted in most countries, many children do work with long and short-term risk (physical, mental and economic). Child labor is a matter of great concern of Bangladesh. On the basis of The National Child Labor Survey 2002–2003, there are above 3 million children are working in various sectors and 0.4 million are engaged in hazardous work in Bangladesh. Automobile engineering is one of the informal sectors of economy in Dhaka City where a large number of children are working under hazardous circumstances. The present study was an attempt to identify the short and long-term hazards, why children work, what and how they work, why employer recruit children, and other aspects on child labor in automobile engineering from an anthropological perspective. The data was collected from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data was collected from three-month fieldwork during the period of July to September 2004. Qualitative and quantitative both types of data were collected during the fieldwork for getting a real, visible and invisible picture of the child labors in automobile engineering. Relevant
Reports of different organizations, articles, newspapers, etc. were reviewed as secondary source of data. A significant number of children were found to work in the automobile engineering in the study area. Almost all children came from the poorest families of the rural area. They worked with a very poor amount of salary and sometimes only for food. They had no weekend and leisure time. Actually all types of exploitation on children and hazards were present there. Though in Bangladesh child labor is illegal and Bangladesh government ratified the ILO Convention No. 182 and established the compulsory primary education system, increasing of child labors especially hazardous child labors has been alarming in the recent years. It is incredibly important to analyze the cause and effect of child labor and taking step for removing those. If suddenly stopped child labor, children can be engaged to violence activities such as prostitution, terrorism, robbery because they are suffering from their poorest situation. But removing hazards and improving working environment of child labor is not difficult and lengthy process. Only need more and more qualitative research on child labor and taking integrating attempt to eliminating the problem.

**Key words:** Informal economy, Dhaka city, Child labor, Hazardous child labor.
Abstract

Catastrophe and Law Change:  
The Impact on Smoking Rates on Two Louisiana College Campuses

During the past two years, Louisiana has been impacted by two hurricanes and a major change in state law to limit smoking in public places. While some effects of the hurricanes are obvious—loss of population, high insurance rates, disputes about how to rebuilding both the physical and economic structure of the state—other effects have been less obvious. Of interest to us is the affect that hurricane-related stress has had on the smoking rates, especially among college students. We found that stress levels rose significantly after Katrina and that smoking increased as a means of coping with stress and boredom. More than 70 percent of those on both campuses were aware of the new Louisiana Smoke-Free Air Act. The law is strongly supported on both campuses, particularly by non-smokers.
Catastrophe and Law Change: 
The Impact on Smoking Rates on Two Louisiana College Campuses

During the past two years, Louisiana has been negatively impacted by two hurricanes. While some effects of the hurricanes are obvious—loss of population, high insurance rates, disputes about how to rebuilding both the physical and economic structure of the state, other effects—such as increased smoking as a way to cope with stress—have been less obvious, and therefore, less observed. Of interest to us is the affect that hurricane-related stress has had on the smoking rates, especially among college students, in Louisiana.

Perhaps surprisingly, in the midst of political and social chaos in the wake of Katrina and Rita, the state legislature passed the Louisiana Smoke-Free Air Act, which protects Louisiana citizens from secondhand smoke and provides cleaner indoor air for both patrons and employees of restaurants and other businesses. This study examines whether stress associated with Katrina and Rita increased smoking rates on both the Louisiana State University and the Southern University campuses in Baton Rouge and whether support for the statewide law could reduce smoking rates below the level prior to Katrina.

Background

As Katrina took aim on the Louisiana coast, a mandatory evacuation was ordered for New Orleans on August 27, 2005. The majority of evacuees left with enough food and clothing for a couple of days. Many left pets behind, expecting to get back to them before their food and water supplies ran out. Among the evacuees were many college students, most of whom had just begun their classes. Among the college affected were Tulane, Loyola, New Orleans University, LSU-New Orleans, Southern University-New Orleans, Xavier, and Dillard. Southern, Xavier and Dillard primarily serve African-American students. Katrina hit on August 29, and as New Orleans, flooded during the next couple of days, most of these college campuses were damaged to the point that some of the buildings could not be used for a long time, if ever. All were closed for the fall semester.

The majority of the displaced students flooded into LSU, SU-Baton Rouge and other Louisiana colleges that were less affected. But, many of them relocated to campuses as far away as Colorado State University and Stanford. Students who were able to come to LSU found themselves in a much larger setting than those to which they were accustomed. Many had difficulty finding housing and students’ loans were tangled to the point where many students were unable to pay their tuition. There were also questions about how credits would transfer from one college to another and whether educational standards were vastly different. LSU and SU students also found their campuses quite crowded. Increased competition for parking spaces and larger classes (sometimes more than doubling in size) further increased stress. LSU was closed for a week, so students were either coping with boredom, were volunteering in one of the shelters or emergency medical facilities on campus or elsewhere in Baton Rouge, or were assisting family members and friends. Many packed four or more people and their pets into dorm rooms or apartments for much of the semester. Some, of course, lost their family homes and saw their relatives scattered across a number of states. Most tried to
remain in school, but some had to leave to assist family members. Stress was everywhere, and many students and adults in the state turned to cigarettes for comfort.

The stress was acerbated when a month later Hurricane Rita slammed into the coastal area near the Louisiana/Texas border, inflicting major damage on the coastline and the cities of Lake Charles, LA, and Beaumont, TX. Once again, LSU was closed for a couple of days and students (many of whose families had been evacuated to Lake Charles following Katrina) saw their families on the move once again. LSU students from the Houston/Galveston area left to help their families evacuate. It seemed that nearly every student not affected by Katrina was now experiencing the stress of Rita.

Hurricane Katrina had an immediate effect on the LSU SmokingWords campaign, an education program designed to influence both Louisiana State University and Southern University students to avoid tobacco products and smoking. In its fifth year as a program, but only in its first year of partnering with the newly formed Louisiana Campaign for Tobacco-Free Living, Hurricane Katrina destroyed TFL’s headquarters in New Orleans and scattered its staff. SmokingWords worked with TFL’s regional coordinator Pam Malveaux and a coalition of volunteer organizations to continue the campaign which was focused on secondhand smoke during the year. We were, however, unable to conduct formal research to determine what was happening to smoking rates on campus. Informal observation of selected smoking areas on campus did indicate that smoking increased at least during the fall 2005 semester when Katrina and Rita hit Louisiana.

The coalition and TFL staffers who remained continued the SmokingWords ad campaign and worked to pass a parish-wide ordinance that eliminated smoking in public places and called for smoking to be prohibited within 25 feet of building entrances. A survey of regular voters indicated widespread support for an ordinance that would prohibit smoking in restaurants and public buildings. Judges had the discretion of sending violators to jail or assessing up to a $300 fine. However, both the LSU and SU campuses considered themselves exempted from the law since they are state, rather than local, entities. Also, restaurants with bars were allowed to continue to have smoking sections.

A survey of LSU students conducted in the spring of 2005 indicated that 25 percent of students who have a job (about 75 percent of all LSU undergraduates) were exposed to secondhand smoke in their workplace with most of these working in the local food industry. Consequently, SmokingWords assisted in promoting a statewide law that would prohibit smoking in all public places, including restaurants.

The strategy during the spring and summer of 2006 was to pass ordinances in the largest population centers in the state, while lobbying the state government for a statewide law. The state legislature passed Act 815, Louisiana`s Smoke-Free Air Act ahead of the expected schedule. The Act became law on Jan. 1, 2007. This act prohibits smoking in most public places and work places, including all restaurants, school campuses, health facilities and retail businesses. The only exemptions are stand alone bars and casinos.

How this law will impact both the LSU and SU campuses remains to be seen. While both institutions prohibit smoking inside campus buildings, there are no designated smoking areas, so smokers tend to congregate near benches and receptacles. In many cases, these areas are right outside entrances, allowing smoke to be pulled into buildings.
and forcing nonsmokers to breathe secondhand smoke. On the LSU campus, the
buildings that are most affected by smokers are the Student Union, the main campus
library and large classroom buildings on the LSU campus and bench areas between
buildings on the SU campus. There are fewer problem areas on the Southern campus, but
residence halls appear to be the most constant problem spots. Although sports arenas on
both campuses are supposed to be smoke-free inside, the ramps and walkways leading
into the areas are not. Southern students also claim that the non-smoking rule inside the
stadium is not enforced at all, while smokers tend to congregate just inside the stadium at
the portal areas at LSU but do not smoke in the seat areas.

Current Research
Because of the stress resulting from the hurricanes and the political activity that
had occurred since the last SmokingWords research, the time seemed appropriate to take
a measure of support for the Smoke-Free Air Act and a smoke-free campus. This survey
marked the first attempt to interview representatives all campus groups: undergraduate
and graduate students, faculty and staff on both campuses. Previous studies focused only
on undergraduate students.

Our research questions are: 1) Has the overall percentage of students who smoke
increased because of hurricane-related stress? 2) Are students, faculty and staff at LSU
and SU aware of the law change? 3) Do students, faculty and staff at LSU and SU
support it? 4) Do students, faculty and staff at LSU and SU support policy changes that
would make both campuses smoke free?

Methodology
Both SmokingWords and TFL had devised surveys used in the past to determine
smoking rates and assess public opinion about smoking issues. TFL’s instruments were
designed to be administered as telephone surveys and were models on National Tobacco
Prevalence surveys. SmokingWords had conducted both telephone and mail surveys in
the past but both approaches no longer work well with college students. The increase in
the number of students who had only one telephone number—a mobile phone number—
and who routinely had caller id, made contacting students very difficult. Additionally, as
the number of mobile phone increased, students’ willingness to allow their phone
numbers to be listed in public directories went down.

We also had considerable difficulty in administering mail surveys. We could not,
for example, gain admittance to residence halls to deliver mail surveys, especially on the
SU campus. Also, because students are asked to complete a variety of paperwork,
increasingly online, returns on mail surveys were low.

When we tried online surveys, however, we were pleasantly surprised at the
return rates. Email addresses are generally available for all college students today and
are usually public. FaceBook and MySpace also have made students more willing to
share personal information about themselves and their attitudes. Because of our previous
successes and failures, we decided to combine the TFL instrument and portions of
previous SmokingWords surveys into an online survey instrument which was then
administered to a random sample of LSU students, faculty and staff and a census of SU
students, faculty and staff. Most were collected prior to the Jan. 1 implementation of the
law, but because SU students left campus a week before LSU students finished the
semester, a second wave was sent to SU students in January shortly after the new semester began.

A cover letter email was sent to the selected subjects, which invited them to click on a link that allowed the data to be collected on an LSU server. The survey was administered through the LSU Public Policy Research Lab and the IT manager at SU. The resulting data was analyzed using SPSS 12 and 15. A total of 1580 subjects responded to the survey (1365 from LSU and 215 from SU). The LSU sample includes 1061 students, 83 faculty and 182 staff. The SU sample includes 76 students, 51 faculty and 83 staff. In addition, 38 respondents from LSU and five from SU did not provide their classification. These are eliminated from much of the analysis.

**Results**

Although we were unable to conduct surveys during the terrible semester of 2005, we expected our subjects to be able to recall the degree to which they were affected and the level of stress that they suffered at that time. We asked our subjects to indicate which hurricane, Katrina or Rita, had the more negative influence on them. Not surprisingly, Katrina had the greater negative impact on the LSU and SU communities. About 55 percent of LSU subjects and 44 percent of SU respondents said they more negatively impacted by Katrina, while only about 6 percent from LSU and 4 percent from SU were more negatively impacted by Rita. However, 21 percent of SU subjects, compared to about 13 percent of LSU subjects, said they were negatively affected by both nearly equally.

On the LSU campus, 77 percent of faculty, 75 percent of students and 69 percent of staff said they were negatively affected. On the SU campus, 75 percent of students, 69 percent of faculty and 65 percent of staff were negatively affected by one or both hurricanes. When the totals from each campus are combined, 75 percent of students, 73 percent of faculty and 67 percent of staff were affected negatively.

Subjects were asked first to think back to the time just before Katrina and rate their stress levels on a scale from 0 to 10 with a 0 indicating little or no stress and a 10 representing extremely high stress. Interestingly, 16 percent of the campus community at SU rated their stress levels at 0, compared with only 5 percent of the LSU group. The overall average stress level was only about 4.36 and the median rating was 5 prior to Katrina. The mean increased to 6.62 with a median of 7 after Katrina. The overall ratings fell to an average of 5.47 with a median of 6 after Rita. The standard deviations ranged from 2.29 to 2.65 to 2.751 for each rating.
Post-Katrina, only 9 percent said their stress levels were at 0, but it increased to 21 percent following Rita. So, it is clear that stress levels overall rose and then fell for those on the LSU and SU campuses. This result, of course, excludes students who were at LSU temporarily and those who graduated or left campus since 2005.

The next step is to assess whether smoking levels were affected by the hurricanes and the resulting stress. Smoking prevalence was ascertained in two ways. First, subjects were asked whether they had smoked at least 100 cigarettes in their lives. As expected, the percentage who said they had smoked at least that many cigarettes was statistically significantly lower for SU when compared with LSU (p=.002). A quarter of the students, 28 percent of the faculty and 33 percent of the staff at LSU had smoked at least 100 cigarettes compared with only 7 percent of the students, 28 percent of the faculty and 23 percent of the staff at SU. However, when those who had smoked that many cigarettes were asked if they now smoke every day, some days or not at all, 37 percent overall smoke every day, 22 percent smoke some days, and 42 percent said they don’t smoke at all. Again there is a statistically significant difference (.005) between the campus responses. Thirty-seven percent of those on the LSU campus compared with 33 percent on the SU campus smoke every day, while 24 percent on the LSU campus compared with only 5 percent on the SU campus smoke some days. Nearly twice the number who had smoked at least 100 cigarettes on the SU campus now never smoke—63 percent compared with 39 percent on the LSU campus. Also, students on the LSU campus were the most likely to smoke every day or some days, while students on the SU campus were the least likely to smoke every day or some days when compared to faculty and staff.

The second assessment involved asking subjects to characterize themselves as regular or occasional/social smokers, former smokers who had not smoked in the past 12 months, and non-smokers who had never smoked. SmokingWords has consistently used these categories to track changes. However, previous surveys had assessed only undergraduate students. Based on the total sample, 12 percent said they are regular smokers, 11 percent said they are occasional or social smokers, 11 percent are former smokers and 66 percent are nonsmokers. But, as with previous results, there is a statistically significant different in the results between the two universities (p=.000).
Students made up the largest percentage of regular and occasional/social smokers in the LSU sample, while about 20 percent of the faculty and staff said they were former smokers. Staff at SU were the most likely to be regular or occasional/social smokers, but the staff also was the most likely (76 percent) to be non-smokers.

Next, respondents were asked whether they had begun to smoke or increased the amount smoked in response to the hurricane stress. Almost 20 percent of those from LSU compared with 16 percent from SU said that they had consumed cigarettes during this time. The rate was about 8 percent for LSU students and staff, compared with only 4 percent of the faculty. About 5 percent of all groups from SU confirmed an increase in smoking.

To break down these results even further, about 2 percent from both campuses said they began to smoke during this time. Nearly all of these respondents are students. Eleven percent of those from LSU, compared with 8 percent of those from SU, said they increased the amount they smoked.

The subjects were asked specifically whether relieving stress, coping with boredom or being with others who smoked led to their smoking behavior. Sixteen percent of those from LSU compared with 11 percent from SU said they used smoking to relieve stress. Ten percent from LSU and 7 percent from SU said they smoked to relieve boredom. Finally, 9 percent from LSU and 8 percent from SU said they were with others who were smoking. It should be noted that respondents could select more than one of these responses or write in their own reasons. Most of these other reasons had to do with simply enjoying smoking or being addicted.

Because of the obvious increase in stress on both campuses, SmokingWords began to run “stress” ads as part of its campaign in student newspapers on both the LSU
and SU campuses during the fall of 2005 and spring of 2006. The ad presented a series of statements for students to check and then assess their stress level. These lists included such things as “living in a FEMA trailer” and “credit card bill due.” The point was to encourage students to not reach for a cigarette in order to relieve stress. (See attached ad.)

The summer and fall of 2006, however, focused more on the passage of the city ordinance and the statewide law. The message changed in order to create awareness of the law and to encourage students to stop smoking (or not to start if they weren’t currently smokers) because the law would make it more difficult to smoke in public as well as encourage nonsmokers to speak up more about their right to a smoke-free environment.

Consequently, one of the things we measured in this survey is awareness of the law. (In addition to SmokingWords’ campaign, TFL was also running good quality ads on television and radio, in newspapers and on billboards, so we expect awareness to be the result of both campaigns.)

There were few differences between the campuses or student/faculty/staff designations when it comes to awareness of the Louisiana Smoke-Free Air Act or knowledge about the specific provisions. About 86 percent of all respondents were aware of the law. (Although some of the Southern data was collected after the law went into effect Jan. 1, 2007, there is no evidence that there were differences in knowledge between those who responded before Jan. 1 and those who responded after.)

When statistically significant results were found, they indicated that those on the SU campus were more aware of some provisions of the law. For example, 75 percent of those from SU, compared to 62 percent of those from LSU, were aware that the law prohibits smoking in public places. Eighty-four percent, compared with 77 percent from LSU, were aware that smoking is prohibited in restaurants. Sixty-one percent, compared with 45 percent from LSU, were aware the smoking is prohibited in workplaces with more than two employees.

There were no statistically significant differences between the campuses in support for the law. Almost 71 percent strongly favored and 11 percent somewhat favored the law at LSU (total of 82 percent). At SU, 77 percent strongly favored and 13 percent somewhat favored the law (total of 90 percent).

Not surprisingly, most of the opposition to the law came from regular and occasional smokers, while nonsmokers were the strongest supporters. Former smokers were more likely to support than oppose the law.

**Conclusions and Discussion**

We make the following conclusions in regard to our research questions:
1) Has the overall percentage of students who smoke increased because of hurricane-related stress? We did detect an increase of about four percent and do see an effect from the hurricane-related stress.
2) Are students, faculty and staff at LSU and SU aware of the law change? The vast majority on both campuses were aware of the law change.
3) Do students, faculty and staff at LSU and SU support it? Yes, they did show strong support for the law.
4) Do students, faculty and staff at LSU and SU support policy changes that would make both campuses smoke free? We cannot conclude that this is the case, but we also think the question lacks validity for this survey.

Clearly, there is a strong link between stress and smoking. Stress both triggers smoking and increases the frequency of smoking. While it is important to educate the campus community about the health issues involved with smoking and second-hand smoke, there also is a need to offer stress reduction classes or support to break the link. While these results were obtained only from those who either work on or attend classes on college campuses, these results likely indicate what will happen to large populations when stress is prevalent. For example, smoking has likely increased among the residents of New Orleans and other communities that were decimated by Katrina and Rita. When stress is combined with boredom, smoking is likely to increase even more as is the case with American soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan. Journalists who have covered the battlefield have indicated that smoking is prevalent, even among those who smoked very little or not at all before being thrust into dangerous situations where entertainment options are limited.

Katrina and Rita contributed to an increase in smoking among undergraduate students. The overall rates had increased from about 23 percent prior to Katrina to about 28 percent today (with regular and occasion/social smokers combined). Another interesting pattern also emerged. Only about 57 percent of the seniors were non-smokers who had never smoked (compared with about 70 percent of the freshmen, sophomores and juniors). Seniors also were the most likely among the students to say that they had been negatively affected by the hurricanes. These are also the students who are under the most pressure to decide whether to remain in Louisiana or leave the state for employment. The rates for the rest of the undergraduates are closer to the pre-Katrina smoking rate. So, we can hope that the new law with the increased pressure on smokers to not smoke in public places will further reduce smoking rates among young people. However, life in Louisiana will continue to be stressful for many of its citizens, so stress reduction education should be a priority, especially on college campuses.

We did have difficulty with determining whether students, faculty and staff will support a smoke-free campus. The question that was supposed to assess this was: The new law does not prohibit smoking on university campuses. How much do you agree that the law should be extended to include university campuses? But, the response codes were set up to read: strongly opposed, somewhat opposed, neither opposed nor in favor, somewhat in favor and strongly in favor. The mismatch between the question and the codes resulted in 63 percent of those from the SU campus and 41 percent of those from the LSU campus indicating strong opposition to extending the law to campuses. Additionally, no one said they were strongly in favor of the extension. These results simply do not mesh with our other findings. Consequently, we are going to repeat this question on a spring survey after Kick Butts Day (March 28) and after everyone has adjusted to smoking restrictions in restaurants and other public places.
STRESS

How high is your stress level?
Find out. Check the statements that apply to you.

__ You aren’t ready for finals.  __ You’re living in a FEMA trailer.
__ You’ve gained five pounds.  __ You have to work all summer.
__ Your best friend is graduating, but you’re not.  __ You have to pay your credit card bills from Spring Break.

1-2 check marks, you probably would smoke a cigarette if someone offered it to you.
3-4 check marks, you are probably buying one carton of cigarettes and bumming all you can from friends.
5-6 check marks, you are buying two cartons of cigarettes and scouring the ground for any used butts you can find.

When stress makes you want to smoke ... take an exercise break, swallow a multi-vitamin, get more sleep, relax in a hot tub, call a friend who doesn’t smoke, save the money you’d spend on cigarettes, think about the poison you’d be breathing in and exhaling out for others to breathe.

For help to quit smoking, call 1-800-QUIT-NOW (the Tobacco Free Living quit line) and visit the smokingwords website at www.jh.edu/smokingwords or the TFL website at www.tobaccofreeliving.org.
PATTERN OF HEALTH EXPENDITURE AND UTILIZATION OF HEALTH CARE SERVICES IN ANDHRA PRADESH, INDIA; A CLOSER EXAMINATION

ECONOMICS

FOR PANEL SESSION PRESENTATION

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Economic growth and population health are positively related and the latter is a precondition for ensuring higher incomes and better wages. There are studies which proved that the ill-health and sickness have resulted in low or minimal wages in some cases no income at all. Further, it is observed that the income poverty has a direct bearing on the health condition of the families in developing countries. Therefore, improvement in people’s health is instrumental for the attainment of the twin development goals of poverty reduction and economic growth.

In fact, India spends less than one per cent of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) on public health, which is grossly inadequate. Public investment in health and essentially in primary health care needs to be much higher to accomplish health targets, to reduce poverty levels and raise the rate of economic growth.

In developing countries poverty of a family reflected by low incomes and low wages which in turn, results in poor health. Again low income coupled with poor health leading to low productivity resulting in lack of employment. Lack of employment ultimately results in lack of having minimum food to sustain and shelter. In fact, it is a circular causation of poverty that needs to be broken to free millions of people who are groaning under poverty. Although we are a signatory of Millennium Summit of the United Nations in September 2000 with regard to the adoption of the Millennium Development Goals.

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The Report of the Commission of Macroeconomics and Health in 2001 (CMH 2001) rightly argued that poor health was one of the most important determinants of poverty and urged the governments of developing countries to improve their health systems by investing in their people’s health through increased budgetary allocations.

Provision of Primary Health care by the governments is a basic precondition for ensuring better people health at least in developing countries. In the wake of globalization and privatization the poor communities in India are not able to pay their health expenses and approaching quacks and registered medical practitioners (RMPs) with limited borrowed funds at their disposal. On the other hand, the lower middle class and middle class people are the ones who are increasingly spending on health and utilizing the health care services of private sector in the absence of public provision of primary health care. As a result, health expenditure in a family’s budget has risen since a decade especially from 1995-96 at the expense of other items or needs. Therefore, it is important to see the reasons behind the rising health expenditure and also examine the utilization of public and private health care services.

The Case of Andhra Pradesh state

The state of Andhra Pradesh (AP) has a variety of health services available to its population. On the one extreme there are the high tech hospitals and diagnostic centres in Hyderabad city and on the other one has village health guides, folk healers, faith healers and quacks in remote villages. In between these two extreme situations there are district general hospitals (civil hospitals) private hospitals and general private practitioner dispensaries and clinics (allopathic, ayurvedic and homeopathic) rural hospitals, primary health centres and sub centres.
For instance, in 2002 in India there were 15393 government hospitals in total, 15 hospitals per ten lakhs population, 89 beds per one lakh population and 82 nurses per lakh population. On the other hand, in 1999 there were 54 doctors per one lakh population in the country. As per the standards set by the Bhore Committee in 1946 the ratios should have been 1: 1600 (doctor per population) and 1: 175 (bed per population) respectively, distributed evenly all over the country. On the contrary, the situation in AP is different. As on 31.03.2003 doctor per population is 8788; bed per population is 2151 and the hospital available for every 43,000 population in the state. Although an extensive primary health care infrastructure provided by the government exists in the country as well as in the state yet it is inadequate in terms of the coverage of the population, especially in rural areas and grossly underutilized because of the dismal quality of health care provided.

As a result, most people in the state even the poor choose expensive health care services provided by the largely unregulated private sector. Not only do the poor face the twofold burden of poverty and ill-health, the financial burden of ill health has pushed some of the non-poor families into poverty.

Secondly, the private sector has outgrown the size of public sector in the medical care in AP. According to the 52nd round of the National Sample Survey (NSS), the private sector accounted for about 75 per cent of inpatient and outpatient care in AP in 1995-96. In 1999-2000 the per capita household expenditure on medical care in AP was Rs. 363 p.a. which was two and a half times more than the state government expenditure (Rs.149). Again within private health expenditure it appears that the lion’s share is taken away by outpatient medical care services. Therefore, there is a need to look into the pattern of expenditure and utilization of health care services in rural and urban areas of AP.

The question is, are there an adequate number of health care providers in the state to meet the health care needs of the population. If one looks at the official/
published data then the aggregate ratios that emerge (doctor, bed, nurse and hospital as a ratio of population) reveal that there is a large shortfall when one considers any adequate minimum standard.

Andhra Pradesh (AP) is perhaps the first state to introduce health reforms and create awareness among people about public delivery of health care services in rural areas. The initiatives taken up include user charges, urban health centres managed by NGOs, 24 hour (round the clock) PHC with gynaec and pediatric specialists in some selected PHCs and other services.

**Objectives and methodology**

The objective of the study is to examine the pattern of health expenditure in public and private sectors and delivery of health care services offered by the state government.

The methodology of the study include a structured questionnaire meant for eliciting peoples’ perceptions and views on health care services in the state. As part of the study sample has been taken randomly from three districts (representing each one of the regions namely Telangana, Rayalaseema and Coastal Andhra) viz., Karimnagar, Cuddapah, and West Godavari and interviewed people from different income classes. The selection of different income classes, viz., poor, lower income, middle income and higher income classes is based on purposive random sampling, and it is to know the perceptions of people who are dependent on public health care over a period of time. The use of secondary data enabled us to have a broader picture of health sector in the state, draw conclusions and recommendations about rising health expenditure and health care services provided by the state government.
Results and Discussion

Health expenditure and health indicators in selected countries showed that India is lagging behind and it is reflected in low HDI rank (127). Even some of the neighboring countries like China, Srilanka, Indonesia and Vietnam are faring well compared to India. Besides, health expenditure as a percentage of GDP, in 2001, in the private sector registered 4.2 whereas the public sector has 0.9 to its credit (table-1). It is an indication of neglect of health sector in the budget allocations and encouraging the private sector to enter into the key areas of the state. Given the structure of the population in terms of income about 75 per cent people are depending on public sector health care services whereas 25 per cent are able to buy the private sector services. In such a situation increased state intervention is highly essential in catering the medical and health needs of majority population.

According to the Report of National Commission on Macroeconomics and Health 2005 health care spending by private households accounted for 73.4 per cent public sector 19.4 per cent and others 7.2 per cent.

It is an irony that 25 per cent of population accounted for 74 per cent of health care spending whereas 75 per cent of population accounted for 26 per cent of health expenditure in the state (table-2). Therefore, ‘health for all’ has become a mere slogan in the country for the last one decade in the absence of adequate public spending.

Health expenditure, in current prices, over a period of time has clearly shown that it has been declining steadily from mid seventies (10.8 per cent) to recent time 2006-07 and finally stood at 4.5 per cent of the state budget (table-3). The increase in per capita health expenditure in constant prices is also very minimal when compared to the demand for health care services. It is clear that the health expenditure in the public sector has come down over a period of fifty years in the state. Added to this the privatization of health sector has aggravated the problem
and resulted in ‘private sector’ as the Hobson’s choice. On the other hand, the initiatives like collection of ‘user charges’ in government hospitals from poor and lower middle classes while the richer sections have moved away from public health has really resulted in penalizing the poor. As a matter of fact, the better off utilizes health services more than the poor have shifted towards the private sector in view of the low quality public health systems and the user charges. Therefore, when a person falls sick he/she has to go to private hospital whether affordable or not leading to debt ridden families. This is clearly observed in the rural areas in the state.

A study conducted by NCAER has proved that the public sector subsidies benefit the better off more than the poor. While public sector subsidies for PHC and immunizations tend to benefit the poor this is more than offset by the concentration of public subsidies for inpatient care on middle and higher income groups. It was also shown that 86 per cent of subsidies at all India level accounted for hospital care while inter-state variations exist.

The benefits are distributed in a more equitable manner in Gujarat, Tamilnadu, Kerala and to some extent Punjab because the poor tend to have relatively more access at all levels of facilities in these states. On the other hand, the distribution of public subsidies in Bihar, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Northeastern states, Orissa, Rajasthan, and Uttar Pradesh is less equitable than for India as a whole. In a way the state of Andhra Pradesh also comes in this category as PHCs are neglected in public spending.

Further, from the perspective of equity, clearly the levy of user charges is likely to hurt the cause of equity, as a large section of hospital beneficiaries is the poor who are generally exempted from payment of user charges. Also at the same time the well to do people are shifting away from public health care system to the private one. This has resulted in the dismal performance of the user charges as is evident from rather small collections on this account. Thus user charges apart
from hurting equity have also put a question mark on the sustainability aspect as well. Therefore, if we have to ensure both equity and sustainability of projects in the health sector we have to seek other options of raising funds such as health insurance, and providing additional resources while focusing on improving the allocative efficiency.

As per NSS data the per capita medical expenditure (PCME) of Andhra Pradesh is Rs. 363 in 1999-2000. Further, PCME is not rising consistently in relation to the growing demand for the public provision of health care services in the state. Rural, urban disparities in PCME are less as opposed to the needs of the people in rural areas which are higher than urban people.

Health and family welfare expenditure has registered an increase up to 1998-99 and thereafter declined steadily reflecting the neglect of health of people. When we look at the health infrastructure in terms of hospitals, beds and doctors although it has shown an increase it is not sufficient when it is seen from (aggregate ratios) per lakh of population.

District wise analysis of health infrastructure showed that there are regional variations in provision of public health services. Number of beds per lakh of population during 1961 to 2004-05 shown that there is a declining trend in coastal Andhra, Rayalaseema and Hyderabad whereas north and south Telangana have registered an increase. Further, number of beds per lakh of population is the least in south Telangana (34.50) followed by north Telangana (39.19) as against the state average of 47.76 during 2004-05. On the other hand, north coastal Andhra has the highest 51.32 followed by Rayalaseema 45.88.

Contrary to the above situation, number of doctors per lakh of population region wise showed that there is an increase during the period under consideration. Going by same indicator the Rayalaseema, north and south coastal Andhra regions have more number of doctors compared to the north and south
Telangana. It shows that the successive governments led by Andhra rulers have neglected the Telangana region. A mention about some of the districts in Telangana (Khammam, RangaReddy, Nalgonda, and Karimnagar) is essential as they are very backward in provision of health care services. As a result, they have witnessed more number of deaths, epidemics and high rate of morbidity.

To cross check the situation discussed above and to know the pattern of health expenditure and the utilization of health care services provided by public and private sectors in the state we have interviewed 84 men and 48 women in rural and urban areas of three districts (consider table-7).

Majority respondents informed that they have visited private hospitals for emergency services followed by chronic diseases. They opined that they are not receiving better health care during emergency situation. Therefore, though it is very expensive, they approached private hospitals and incurred huge money in some cases. There is also worth noting point that people are visiting private hospitals even for safe deliveries in the absence of lady gynecologist in PHCs inspite of health reforms initiated in AP. The prevailing situation in the health sector corroborates the fact that the public health care in the state is in a bad shape while the government is making tall promises like 100 per cent institutional deliveries and ‘health for all’ (consider table-8).

When enquired about the reasons for rising health expenditure they told that it is chiefly due to absence of public spending in the health sector which got reflected in the lack of medicines, diagnostic facilities such as X-ray and finally absence of quality health care services. When seen these reasons independently men and women respondents expressed in the same tone that lack of diagnostic facilities and medicines are the main reasons which compelled them to go in for private hospitals and thereby leading to rising health expenditure. This is particularly observed very much in the case of lower middle classes whose annual income does not exceed Rs. 35,000. Most of the time, they say, that they borrowed
money from others at a rate of interest or taking loans from workplaces and other sources. This is how their debt burden is increasing and affecting adversely the expenditure pattern of a family. Ultimately they say education is the casualty in these families. Otherwise they would have sent their children to a private school which is a luxury for them (consider table-9).

The expenditure made on health check ups and treatment in private sector has been worked out and shown as average amount spent by each household. It is clear from the field data that it is rising since 3 years in all the three districts. It is very high in the case of Karimnagar district followed by West Godavari district. We can see that the people are ready to spend any amount when there is an exigency (health problem) as the awareness levels are very high. But ultimately the health expenditure is pushing them into poverty and making them vulnerable (consider table-10).

The data show that a family whose annual income is just below Rs. 35,000 is prepared, though not affordable, to spend in private hospitals in the absence of proper public health care facilities. In many cases it is observed that if a doctor is available medicines and diagnostic facilities are absent. If the latter facilities are available the former may not be attending the hospital. This is true in most of the PHCs as the doctors are having a strong lobby in not yielding to the government orders. In rural areas the doctors visit the hospital once or twice in a week whereas it is still worse in tribal areas. Therefore, the outbreak of a gunya fever in the last year in AP has taken the lives of hundreds in tribal areas.

**Conclusions and Emerging Issues**

It was also observed that the rate of morbidity, treatment and health expenditure is high among lower income classes whereas it is low among higher income classes. There is also a perception that the health reforms have adversely affected the poorer sections in the wake of user charges and absence of free public health care services. The results showed that the large chunk of health
expenditure is towards private sector in the absence of proper and adequate public sector health care services in the state. One of the plausible explanations for this situation is that the state health expenditure as a percentage of GDP is less than 2 and medical services expenditure as a percentage of GDP is below 1. It corroborates the fact that the social sector allocations particularly to the health sector by the government have come down while the demand for it has increased tremendously.

Given the situation in the health sector it is important to have a look at the options like raising funds such as health insurance, and providing additional resources while focusing on improving the allocative efficiency.

Hence, there is a demand for universal and relatively equitable health care and the need to curb rising cost of health care services. It was observed that in both cases only increased state intervention would help sort out the matters. Thus one needs to look at the private health sector and private health expenditure closely in this context.
## Table-1

<table>
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<tr>
<th>HDI Rank</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Health Exp.as % of GDP</th>
<th>Exp. On Health (PPP US $)</th>
<th>Out-of-pocket Exp.as % of Private Exp</th>
<th>Life Expectancy at Births</th>
<th>Infant Mortality Rate for 1000 Live Births</th>
<th>Per Capita GDP (US $)</th>
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# Table-2

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**Source:** Report of National Commission on Macroeconomics and Health
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<th>Medical and Public Health</th>
<th>Family Welfare</th>
<th>Total Expenditure</th>
<th>Health Expenditure %</th>
<th>Per Cap Health Expenditure (93-94 Prices in Rs.)</th>
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**Source:** Various Budget Issues of Govt. of A.P, Hyderabad.
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**Source**: Various NSSO Rounds, Government of India.
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**Source:** Various Budget Issues of Govt. of A.P, Hyderabad.
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### Table-7

**Distribution of Sample Respondents in Three Districts**

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<th>District</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Karimnagar</td>
<td>29</td>
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<td>47</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. West Godavari</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>40</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Kadapa</td>
<td>32</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>84</td>
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Source: Field-data

### Table-8

**Visit to Private Hospitals and Type of Service Received in Three Districts**

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<th>Percentage</th>
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<td>2. For Chronic Diseases</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. For Safe Deliveries</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. For Children’s Health</td>
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<td>5. For Gynic Problems</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. For Fever, Flu and Cough</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. For Better Treatment</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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Source: Field-data
### Table-9

<table>
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<td>2. Lack of Quality Health Care Services</td>
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<td>3. No Proper Medicines in Govt. Hospitals</td>
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<td>67</td>
<td>100</td>
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<td>4. No Proper Diagnostic Facilities in Govt. Hospitals</td>
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<td>58</td>
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Source: Field-data

### Table-10

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<td>18166</td>
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Source: Field-data
References;

- Bajpai Nirupam and Goyal Sangeeta: Primary Health Care in India; Coverage and Quality Issues, CGSD Working paper No.15, June 2004


- World Bank 2001: *India – Raising the Sights; Better Health Systems for India’s Poor*


Report on Issues Related to Teaching:

DISASTER RECOVERY CASE MANAGEMENT:
SOCIAL WORK & MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

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A key finding resulting from recent natural disasters is the need to reexamine and enhance training and education programs that prepare public service professionals for work with diverse populations in multiethnic communities during disaster occurrences and long-term recovery. In general, there is a lack of education and training in cultural competence among emergency management and other disaster relief professionals, who are usually members of the majority and do not reside within those minority communities in which they may provide services. The problem is further complicated when one considers intercultural diversity within ethnic groups and its impact on the helping process during a disaster occurrence. According to Hogan (2007) and associates, many good intentions are often lost when disaster relief workers and professionals “think” they are culturally sensitive, but are not familiar with the realities of intercultural diversity and its impact on the helping process.

The purpose of the panel session is to demonstrate how social work education programs can collaborate in the development of culturally sensitive practitioners to prepare them for the realities of disaster recovery case management within multiethnic communities. A particular emphasis is placed on the development of partnerships between two academic social work education programs and a nationwide faith-based organization. Another goal is to understand how intercultural diversity affects disaster recovery case management with indigenous populations in the mainland U.S.A. and the Pacific Islands. Common themes and differences in responses to a disaster occurrence by
multiethnic groups will be discussed. The participants will introduce attendees to the broad array of issues needed to prepare public service professionals for culturally competent practice with multiethnic groups during disaster relief occurrences. The discussion will include information on methods for designing training and educational opportunities for social work practice with diverse intercultural populations in a disaster occurrence. We will also introduce a model for training social work students in multicultural case management for disaster recovery. Our approach involves the integration of crisis intervention and emergency management research into a self-paced, web based training program designed to develop culturally competent service providers and professionals. A central component of the program places emphasis on cross-cultural and intercultural awareness, program evaluation and evidence-based knowledge development, culturally sensitive mental health intervention, assessing and shaping organizational cultural competence, and strategic planning for assisting vulnerable populations in disaster relief and long-term recovery. Particular attention is placed on the development of a model that can be replicated in other domains that will not only educate and train mental health professionals for culturally competent practice, but also provides feedback for the development of best practices and evidence-based practice measures that are specific to the needs of a given community.

**BACKGROUND AND NEED**

In recent years, natural disasters have hit more frequently in the United State. An earthquake at 6.7 in magnitude hit the Hawaiian Island of Kailua in October 2006 and was followed by heavy rain fall in parts of the state. The quake caused widespread power outages, hindered telephone communication and was followed by numerous aftershocks.
The August 2005 Hurricane Katrina is on record as one of the worst floods in the history of the U.S. and has displaced over 100,000 individuals with over 2000 reported deaths. Florida has been hit hard during hurricane seasons.

In 2004 Charley and Ivan marked the first time that two major hurricanes, Category 3 or higher, hit Florida in one year since 1950. Over 100 people lost their lives and approximately 25,000 homes were destroyed. With another 40,000 homes suffering major damage, the cost has been estimated at $42 billion in total property losses. Charley devastated the state's central east coast and is considered the worst natural disaster to hit Florida since Hurricane Andrew in 1992. Florida’s tourist and agricultural industries suffered billions of dollars in damage and loss wages. The citrus industry alone, the mainstay of Florida agriculture, suffered almost $500 million in initial damages and an estimated over 2 billion dollar in overall loss.

One of the major challenges to disaster relief and crisis intervention professionals is the development of methods for initial access and long-term services to vulnerable populations such as rural minority residents, migratory families, persons with disabilities, low-income families, the homeless, and the elderly. Beyond the general risk that all geographic localities face during hurricane season, many of these communities and individuals face greater risk due to their sometimes less than adequate access to public resources (Zakour & Harrell, 2003).

Coupled with this problem is a general lack of education and training in cultural competence among emergency management and other disaster relief professionals, who are usually members of the majority and do not reside within those minority communities in which they may provide services. These professionals often struggle in the long-term
case management process with the most vulnerable populations due to language barriers and other cultural factors that, if not understood, can hinder the helping process. As such, the research literature in this area is replete with examples of stress, burnout, and posttraumatic disorders related to long-term case management with the most vulnerable populations (Puig & Glynn, 2003).

SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION AND DISASTER RELIEF

The social work profession with its emphasis on advocacy and empowerment of vulnerable populations has much to offer disaster relief education and training. The presentation outlined a three-part demonstration project developed by Florida State University College of Social Work in collaboration with Catholic Charities USA and the University of Hawaii School of Social Work. It outlines the development of a self-paced, on-line computer-based education and training program as well as face-to-face instruction. Program certification is within one of three modalities (1) a degree seeking certification program with a dedicated internship for MSW students; (2) a non-degree certification program which does not require field placement for MSW and can be attended by non-social work students, particularly those engaging in continuing education; (3) and an on-line special topics course entitled: Culturally Competent Emergency Management which is open to degree seeking and non-degree seeking individuals. The training website can be found at www.disasterrecoverytraining.org. Individuals interested in the on-line training program can contact the program chair, Martell Teasley: mteasley@mailer.fsu.edu.
I. Program Objectives

After successful completion of this training program, participants will be able to:

- Understand the meaning of cultural diversity and how it affects the helping process during and after a natural or human induced disaster.

- Understand the signs and symptoms of stress, burnout, and posttraumatic stress syndrome as they relate to disaster recovery.

- Understand how to become culturally competent and how to determine individual, group, and organizational levels of self-awareness towards cross-cultural sensitivity in the helping process.

- Demonstrate awareness, skills, and strategies for dealing with stress, burnout, and other mental health challenges that result from short-term and long-term recovery case management.

- Understand how vulnerable populations may be disproportionately affected by the impact of disasters and methods for advocacy and facilitating healthy outcomes for these populations.

- Assess and facilitate community risk and preparation for a disaster occurrence, crisis intervention, and long-term recovery.
• Understand and assess organizational culture including administration, management and staff in terms of cultural competence and preparation for crisis intervention and long-term recovery with vulnerable populations.

II. Structure of the Training Program

This is a self-paced training program that should be completed within 120 days from the start. Depending on the individual reader, this training will take approximately 60 hours to complete. The curriculum consists of five modules with each demonstrating micro, mezzo, and macro-level implications.

Module 1: Understanding Cultural Diversity and Cultural Competence

Module 2: Racial & Ethnic Diversity and Disaster Relief

Module 3: Vulnerable Populations & Disaster Relief

Module 4: Case Management & Long-Term Disaster Recovery

Module 5: Cultural Competence & Disaster Relief Organizations: Strategies, Skills & Community Practices

The bulk of the program consists of chapters of text for review, followed by a test in each chapter. Tests contain multiple-choice questions and true/false questions and are based on the materials from the corresponding chapter. This program uses video and audio streams and PDF files as part of the training. It is necessary for the user to review all video and audio components of the training in order to successfully complete the certification program. Listed throughout this program are links to websites that provide
additional in-depth information about specific topics. After completion of the entire program, users will have to take a posttest. The posttest is designed to see how much of the information provided in the curriculum has been retained. In order to receive certification, users must achieve a passing score on the posttest.

III. Research Components

The evaluation plan for this project consists of three phases: (1) It gathers data from all components of the project including on-line and face-to-face classroom education; (2) structured interviews with emergency management professionals and volunteers are conducted; (3) finally, recipients of services will be part of structured interviews to discuss their experiences. Both quantitative and qualitative methods will be used through survey research and structured person-to-person interviews.

The evaluation plan will also consist of data collected from both Florida State University College of Social Work and the University of Hawaii School of Social Work. Findings from both quantitative and qualitative methods used for the project will be discussed to include the results from data collected through survey research and structured person-to-person interviews by personnel from Florida State University.
References


The Role of Nuclear Policy in Bulgaria’s Accession to the European Union:  
A Case Study in Sociopolitical and Economic Compromise

Eastern European Studies
Paper Session

Julia Terlinchamp
Fulbright Research Student
In affiliation with American University in Bulgaria

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(206)963-9447
The Role of Nuclear Policy in Bulgaria’s Accession to the European Union: A Case Study in Sociopolitical and Economic Compromise

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In affiliation with American University in Bulgaria
Email: jterlinchamp@gmail.com

Abstract:

In 1993, Bulgaria agreed but later failed to decommission the four older Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant (KNPP) reactors, deemed unsafe by the IAEA. In 1999, the EU required Bulgaria to commit to the closures before it could begin Accession talks and in 2002 they signed a third agreement affirming their promise. The last reactor was closed on December 31st, 2006 only hours before Bulgaria became an EU member. The EU claims that KNPP is still not considered "safe," but the plant has come to represent a warning in Bulgaria’s ability to comply with its past agreements. In contrast, the Bulgarian government declares these closures as “absurd,” given the recent safety modifications, and has launched a campaign to reopen them. This struggle to save KNPP symbolizes Bulgaria’s fight for its pride and sovereignty. The "forced" closures of the Soviet-era NPP have thus become central to the continuing controversy over the EU, in which some see the solution to Bulgaria's economic woes and others see the threat of further imposition. Analyzing Bulgarians' reactions to the EU demands, this paper reveals the intensity of these feelings and the degree to which Bulgaria's integration into Europe will challenge their future together if they are unable to resolve their differences.
Bulgaria has endured a long history of foreign influence, from the Romans to the Ottomans to the Soviets. Since the 1989 Revolution, Bulgaria has paved its way toward a fresh new future, one proud of its own accomplishments and actions, and one where sovereignty prevails. However, as with many nations of relatively small stature, it often requires the security and strength of a greater power, achieved through alliance, in order to help accomplish its own agenda. Timm Beichelt argues that, concurrent with the fall of communism, nearly all the political elites in Bulgaria recognized the importance of establishing a strong partnership with the European Union, in order to have favorable access to the West European market.\(^1\) However, as part of EU Accession, Bulgaria was asked to pay what it viewed as a high price in order to gain membership.

As part of the EU’s requirements for accession, Bulgaria was told to decommission Units 1-4 of the six reactors at Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant (KNPP). Bulgarians have since come to view KNPP as more than just an economic asset, but rather as a symbol of what sovereignty still remains in the face of EU imposed regulations. It is an example of Bulgaria asserting its autonomy despite potentially negative social and economic consequences. In contrast, the EU views the Kozloduy reactors as unsafe, and the campaign to reopen them, as threats to Bulgaria’s ability to follow through on its promises. Since Bulgaria has signed three treaties thus far agreeing to close the units, the EU sees the KNPP reactors as indicative of trustworthiness.

\(^1\) Beichelt, 2004.
This paper is more than just a discussion about energy security, economic development and international treaties; it is a commentary on the relationship between the European Union and its newest members. For the EU, it is about a partnership based on trust and commitment, while Bulgaria, as one of the EU’s more recent members, believes in its right to maintain a certain level of independence, respect and control over its own resources. This paper attempts to present both perspectives from a neutral point of view, not to provide advice or solutions, but rather to delineate the stalemate created by these opposing points of view. This complex issue first must be understood through the lens of Bulgaria’s history before any attempt can be made to understand the profundity of the tension within the current EU and Bulgarian relationship.

History: A brief review

Construction of the first KNPP reactor began in 1970, the first of four VVER-440/230 units planned.2 Soviet-era reactors first attracted international attention after the April 26, 1986 Chernobyl disaster in Ukraine. Both technical error and the lack of a safety culture played significant roles in the grave disaster. In turn, nuclear safety dominated the 1992 G-7 Summit where the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was commissioned to study all 66 Soviet-designed reactors in Eastern Europe. Consideration was given to replacing less-safe reactors with alternative energy options and increasing energy efficiency. A proposal was made to countries in Central and Eastern Europe to take part in a multilateral Action Program to promote safety and encourage early closure of their NPPs. Slovakia, Lithuania and Bulgaria were categorized as operating the most “dangerous” nuclear power plants in the region. According to the

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2 Units 5 and 6 are VVER-1000/320 models, put into operation in 1988/1993 and feature additional safety measures.
G-7, the four oldest KNPP reactors, Units 1-4, were considered “non-upgradeable to international safety standards at a reasonable cost.”

Soviet-designed VVER reactors are virtually the same type of water-pressurized model as seen in the West. However, during the Socialist period, Bulgaria did a poor job of ensuring the safety and efficacy of KNPP. IAEA inspectors were horrified when they visited the plant in the early 1990s, remarking how appalling and poorly run they found it to be. Nicole Foss of the Oxford Institute for Energy Studies wrote about a 1991 IAEA visit to KNPP, where they reported that, “the probability of a serious accident, potentially arising from any one of a range of critical defects, was very significant.”

Furthermore, the G-7’s major complaint about Units 1-4 is that they have no containment structure in case of a leak or accident. Therefore, Bulgaria signed the Nuclear Safety Account Agreement (NSAA) as part of this Action Program in conjunction with the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) in June 1993. According to the NSAA, Bulgaria agreed to decommission Units 1 and 2 by 1997 and Units 3 and 4 by 1998, accepting 24 million ECU ($30.5 million) to help with preparation of the closures as soon as the energy situation would allow. Funding for this program was provided by a number of countries around the world in addition to the European Community.

Due to a number of factors, including the crash of Bulgaria’s economy from 1996 to 1997, the reactors were not closed as promised in the NSAA. In fact, throughout the 1990’s, Bulgaria spent millions of dollars to implement an extensive safety modification program in an attempt to meet Western standards. During a visit to Bulgaria in late 2002

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3 Peric Zimonjic, December 2006.
4 Foss, June 1999.
5 EBRD, February 2006.
the President of the World Nuclear Association, John Ridge, touched on this issue, stating that, “Back in 1993 Bulgaria had the choice either to close the small units of Kozloduy or to modernize them. And Bulgaria took the decision in favor of modernizing the small units.” However, the modifications seemed to make little impact on the EU’s decision to hold by the provisions of the NSAA, still viewing Units 1-4 as “unsafe.” Therefore, as a candidate country for EU membership, Bulgaria was pressured to sign an agreement once again committing to decommission the four reactors as a condition to begin EU Membership talks. On November 29, 1999 a Memorandum of Understanding was signed by Bulgaria and the European Commission, stating that Bulgaria agreed to decommission Units 1 and 2 of KNPP by 2002. The closure dates for Units 3 and 4 were to be agreed upon at a later date. Negotiation talks commenced less than two weeks after the Memorandum was signed, when Bulgaria began discussions with the EU about closing all 31 chapters of the *acquis communautaire*. 7

Over the next few years, the Bulgarian government enthusiastically encouraged a campaign to keep all four reactors open, in addition to spending several hundred millions of dollars more on Units 3 and 4. In July 2002, IAEA experts were invited to assess the improved safety features of KNPP; they concluded that Units 3 and 4 met the same levels of safety of any other Western European reactor of similar age. The Bulgarian Parliament even passed a nearly unanimous, non-binding vote in 2002 to keep Units 3 and 4 operating until after Bulgaria joined the EU. However, the Bulgarian government, due to the pressure placed by the EU, felt obligated to close the reactors if they wanted to join

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7 The *acquis communautaire* refers to the total body of common rights and obligations that connect the EU.
by 2007. Therefore, a third agreement was signed in November 2002 as part of the ministerial meeting in the Negotiations Conference, specifying that the closures of Units 3 and 4 would take place no later then 2006. However, Bulgarian officials declared that they had in fact agreed to close the reactors down sometime between 2006 and 2008. Furthermore, according to Matthew Tejada, the Energy chapter was only provisionally closed, creating the possibility that it could potentially be reopened in the future. Recognizing this reality, “The EU had in fact sent a weak yet unmistakable signal that it would severely look down upon the reopening of a closed chapter.”

On December 31, 2002 Bulgaria closed down Units 1 and 2 as agreed upon in the 1999 Memorandum. Over the next few years, Bulgaria cited the likelihood of a severely adverse economic impact due to the loss of exports and need for the construction of alternative means of generating the lost electricity as its reason for wanting to delay the closures. As of 2005, Kozloduy Units 3-6 were responsible for 42% of the nation’s electricity production. In addition, KNPP had helped Bulgaria ensure its place as the region’s top energy supplier, exporting 7.6TWh of power to the Balkans in 2006 alone. Although some argue that the estimated loss of 6TWh of power can be covered by national reserves and an increase in energy efficiency, prices are expected to rise by 20% due to the closures in an already economically fragile region. Currently, Eurostat

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9 The text from the Negotiations Conference reads, “…the EU notes that Bulgaria agrees with the EU Common Position (CONF-BG 79/01) and commits to the closure of units 3 and 4 of Kozloduy NPP in 2006 (CONF-BG 53/02)” (Primatarova, 2005).
10 Belin, December 2002.
12 Raxhimi, October 2006.
measures Bulgaria’s level of energy efficiency to be 2.3 times worse than the EU average.13

The EU remained unmoved by Bulgaria’s arguments, declaring its belief that Bulgaria must honor its past agreements if it were to join in 2007. In turn, Bulgaria shut down Units 3 and 4 on December 31, 2006 hours before it became an official EU Member on January 1, 2007. Though the reactors are now closed, the Bulgarian government continues to argue over the unjust nature of the EU’s lack of willingness to renegotiate the closures. This is reinforced by the claim that Bulgaria never signed a “true” treaty in the recent past, especially in reference to the 2002 agreement. In contrast, the EU continues to insist Bulgaria should end its campaign to reopen the reactors, as the Accession process has ended, and the negotiations were final.

EU Perspective: Can Bulgaria be trusted?

Over the process of its Accession, the European Union has come to question Bulgaria’s hesitancy to cooperate and whether it can be trusted as a new member. The controversy over Bulgaria’s commitment to the closures, as originally outlined in the NSA Agreement and then later by two more agreements, led to a perception in the EU that Bulgaria has difficulties remaining true to its negotiated commitments. Subsequently, as Bulgaria was preparing for the last of the closures in 2006, the EU voiced concern about Bulgaria’s willingness to finalize the decommissioning of its reactors. Bulgaria may be perceived by some as gambling with its own reputation within the international community, by hesitating to follow the “rules” and permanently close the four reactors.

From the European Union’s perspective, Bulgaria has signed three international agreements, promising to decommission Units 1-4. From the 1993 NSAA, 1999

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13 Petrova, November 2006.
Memorandum of Understanding and then to the 2002 Agreement over Units 3 and 4, Bulgaria seems continually to appear in search of loopholes to help avoid its previous arrangement. Despite recognizing the economic impact that the closures will have, the EU remains firm in its decision to close the reactors, arguing that they still do not consider the reactors to be safe enough. In a December 1999 report in *The Guardian*, the U.S. Department of Energy classified KNPP as "one of the seven most dangerous nuclear plants in the world," while the Nuclear Information Resource Service, a U.S. environmental group, labeled KNPP as, "the most dangerous nuclear plant in the world." More recently, Handelsblatt newspaper reported Kozloduy to be one of the most dangerous plants in Europe. In 2002, the EU head of the mission in Bulgaria, Dimitris Kourkoulas stated,

"The EU has a responsibility for the safety of our citizens and also for the citizens of future member states…We don't ask the Bulgarians to close Kozloduy altogether but only the first four units which we believe have some designs problems that could not be upgraded."

Several months before Bulgaria became a member, the EU criticized it for its inability to comply with its commitments as seen in the 2002 closures of Units 1 and 2. According to the European Commission’s May 2006 report, Bulgaria had yet to begin the irreversibly dismantling Units 1 and 2 despite having closed them down in December 2002. The report also noted that Bulgaria had yet to comply with necessary measures that would lead to the “definitive” closures of 3 and 4, in order to ensure their decommissioning.

It is challenging for the EU to fully trust Bulgaria, when only days after meeting a 14 year-old commitment, government officials began campaigning to overturn that very

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17 Cooper, June 2006.
agreement, claiming that Bulgaria should retain the right to decide whether and when to close its reactors. However, membership in the EU, or any multinational organization, involves a certain loss of sovereignty for all member states. The European Commission notes that, “Bulgaria has decided of its own free will that its interests are best served through EU membership,” which requires agreeing to the EU’s wishes to close the reactors.\(^{18}\) Nevertheless, Bulgaria continues to protest the required closures post-accession. It promotes its own “action plan” which includes large monthly open forums to discuss saving Units 3 and 4, with the disclaimer that these events are not intended to give any false impressions that they will in fact be saved.\(^ {19}\) In turn, the European Commissioner for Energy, Andris Piebalgs, has stated that Bulgaria’s lobbying to reopen KNPP Units 3 & 4, sends “a bad signal for investors and citizens of the EU, as the country entered the Union on certain conditions and then the same conditions would be changed.”\(^ {20}\) Furthermore, as written in Capital, a Bulgarian newspaper, on October 18, 1999, "The EU is not willing to have a new agreement on Kozloduy every time a Bulgarian government changes. They want a fixed timetable, and this is not unreasonable, since a legitimate government did voluntarily agree to such in 1993."\(^ {21}\) However, Bulgaria believes it is holding firm not for whimsical reasons, rather, it is attempting to salvage what sovereignty remains.

**Bulgaria’s Perspective: Straddling sovereignty and its EU alliance**

From the very beginning, the details of the NSAA are somewhat vague, as the Bulgarian government never believed that the agreement was legally binding. Every time

\(^ {21}\) Karadjov, March 2000.
discussion about the early closures was raised, the EU still continues to defend its
decision based on a technical argument.\textsuperscript{22} As a result, given that there is no \textit{acquis} or
unified EU policy on nuclear safety, it is challenging to justify whether or not a nuclear
reactor is considered “safe.” The EU argues that Units 3 and 4 do not have a proper
containment structure to ensure a means of securing any possible nuclear leak or spill.
However, Units 3 and 4, the reactors in question, are VVER-230s, and though they may
not have a containment structure in the western sense, according to the World Nuclear
Association, they do have proper safety measures to prevent a radioactive leak.\textsuperscript{23} A large
scale upgrade program was implemented between 1997 and 2002 on Units 3 and 4. The
IAEA was then invited by Bulgaria to review the reactors in June 2002, and they
concluded “that the operational and design safety at Kozloduy now corresponds to the
level of improvements seen at similar vintage plants.”\textsuperscript{24} Furthermore, in 2003, the World
Association of Nuclear Operators conducted a separate inspection, and reported that the
units met all necessary international standards for safe operation.\textsuperscript{25} In addition, the
President of the World Council of Nuclear Workers, Andre Maisseu, recently wrote a
public letter of support for the continuation of the reactors, noting that Bulgaria has a
“moral obligation” to do so.\textsuperscript{26} Likewise, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences Chairman, Ivan
Yukhnovski, recently discussed how the level of safety since the modernization of Units

\textsuperscript{22} Primatarova, 2005.
\textsuperscript{23} WNA, 2007.
\textsuperscript{24} The IAEA review also confirmed that, “Many of the safety measures taken by the plants exceeded those that were
foreseen in the design, operation and seismic areas. Plant management and technical personnel were found to be
dedicated to giving the highest priority to safety issues on a continuing basis” (IAEA, July 2002).
\textsuperscript{25} WNA, January 2007.
\textsuperscript{26} BBC, February 2007.
3 and 4, “meets the highest standards achieved in Finland, Hungary and the Czech Republic which operate similar reactors.”

From the Bulgarian perspective, this issue is more about politics than about nuclear safety. The EU has pressured Bulgaria into following through on commitments made long ago, under ill-advised Bulgarian politicians during an extremely challenging politically transitional environment. During the time that the NSA Agreement was signed, legislation was typically drawn up by the executive bureaucracy and submitted to the parliament, offering very little time for Members of Parliament to review and make changes to the policies. Therefore, legislators would often just accept whatever information the government provided them, making it fairly easy to pass through something as controversial as the NSAA.

The third agreement signed in 2002 was more about poor negotiations. According to President Georgy Purvanov, “Our politicians made a huge mistake by bonding Bulgaria's EU entry to the decommissioning of Units 3 and 4 at Kozloduy power plant," even suggesting that this may have even been deliberately done as, "Bulgaria failed to provide strong arguments for modernizing, rather than closing units 3 and 4. It could be that someone just did not want to put all the arguments on the table." In another address recently made, Purvanov acknowledged that the Bulgarian government, and those negotiating the terms of the agreement, were unable to reach an understanding equal to the conditions for accession set by the other candidate countries. Purvanov’s position implies that his new administration, presumably because it is better prepared and more

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actively involved than past politicians, should be allowed to renegotiate the original terms of the NSAA. Considering the documented proof of the safety of Units 3 and 4 by reputable sources, Energy and Economy Minister Rumen Ovcharov argues in defense of Bulgaria’s right to renegotiate, saying that the only reason for the reactors’ decommissioning is bureaucratic.31

Admitting mistakes and wanting to live up to its future commitment, Bulgaria hopes to be afforded more flexibility by the EU in return. The consequences of the closures may be immensely detrimental to the social and economic sector. The Bulgarian government does not believe that there is enough time or resources to make up for the loss of electricity.32 Furthermore, Bulgarians fear the personal impact of these closures, “Bulgarians, who have an income thirty times lower than the average income in the EU, have to pay for electricity which is less than two times cheaper compared to that in the EU. This means that, in practice, during winter months their heating and electricity bills exceed their monthly income. This can clearly account for the emotional reaction they have toward the threat that these costs may continue to rise.”33

According to some experts, the NSAA is extremely out of date and unnecessary, as even the IAEA signed off on the reactors’ bill of health, making it appear as though the EU has demanded more of Bulgaria than of any other candidate country.34 Such behavior has not only further destabilized its economy in addition to affecting regional energy demand, but the EU has also undermined Bulgaria’s strength, sovereignty and pride. The 1999 EU decision that the reactors be decommissioned was “seen both by the public and the political elite as unfair, while Brussels was portrayed as issuing dictates on Bulgaria.”35 Furthermore, it was challenging for Bulgarians to understand why Lithuania and Slovakia were not required to close their reactors until several years after

31 BBC, March 2007.
32 Cooper, 2006.
34 Semov, 2005.
membership, while Bulgaria was required to close their reactors before they entered the EU. Bulgarians feel personally affected by these closures.

As Bulgarian journalist Christopher Karadjov wrote, “The idea to close Kozloduy has always been considered European, not Bulgarian.” Georgi Ganev of the Center for Liberal Strategies, discussed how, “Closing down Kozloduy is identical to closing down Bulgaria in the public mind.” This impasse over the reactors closing has contributed to public fear of the EU’s power to dictate whatever it wants, regardless of whether or not Bulgarians agree. In light of these opposing interests, it is difficult to hope that a resolution of this disagreement will come easily or soon.

**Conclusion: Setting a precedent?**

What started as a debate over the technical safety of KNPP has evolved into an intense political conflict. As a result, the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant has become more than a mere source of electrical output, but also stands as a symbol of power and pride for Bulgarians. At the same time, from the EU’s standpoint, Kozloduy has become an exemplar of Bulgaria’s possible lack of trustworthiness.

The EU views the controversy surrounding the KNPP closures as a representation of a relationship that has been pushed to the limits as Bulgaria walks a fine line between what it can and cannot do as a new member. In some cases, influential politicians are

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36 Belin, December 2002.
38 Brunwasser, April 2004.
making statements regarding past compromises which are interpreted by the EU as contradictory. Bulgaria’s Energy and Economy Minister Rumen Ovcharov agreed in June 2006 that it was useless to talk about reopening the Energy chapter of the *acquis*, noting that such action would paint a negative picture of Bulgaria to the EU.\(^{39}\) However, in February 2007, less then two months after its accession, Ovcharov announced that Bulgaria “demands” Units 3 and 4 to be reopened based on Article 36 of the Accession Treaty. This stipulates that in the case of serious economic difficulties inflicted upon the member state, introduction of security measures will be allowed.\(^{40}\) EU Energy Commissioner Andris Piebalgs stated that, theoretically, Bulgaria’s newest approach to save the reactors can only work if enough scientific evidence of the safety of the units is presented, and all 26 EU members agreeing to the changes. However, Piebalgs argues that since no new scientific data *has* been presented, the decision to decommission the reactors will not change. Piebalgs noted that the decision was made under basic EU law and nothing has since been presented or changed that would influence the European Commission to change their minds.\(^{41}\)

Bulgaria appears to recognize the possible long term effect of its actions as it continues to defend the socioeconomic rationale for reopening the reactors, while the EU feels challenged in trying to educate Bulgaria about the importance of keeping its agreements and establishing a relationship based on trust. The EU is dedicated to Bulgaria’s development and future success, having pledged €4.6 billion in funding through 2009, making it the highest per capita accession funding in the EU so far.\(^{42}\) The

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\(^{39}\) Cooper, June 2006.

\(^{40}\) Financial Times, February 2007.


\(^{42}\) Bulgaria will receive €9 billion by 2013 in EU accession funds (Brunwasser, December 2006).
EU sees Bulgaria’s willingness to close the KNPP reactors as an act of loyalty, respect and faith in its new alliance, hence the frustration and tension incurred by Bulgaria’s persistent campaign to reopen them.

Bulgaria holds the position that these closures represent an infringement of a nation’s right to control its own resources, especially because they believe in the reactors’ safety and intrinsic value to society. Fighting to save the KNPP reactors has become symbolic of preserving Bulgarian sovereignty within EU membership. Compensating for a long history of foreign influence, saving Units 3 and 4 metaphorically becomes a way for Bulgarians to demonstrate strength and the ability to advocate for Bulgarian interests within the EU. “Most see the closures simply as something Brussels is arbitrarily taking away, much as Moscow once did,” wrote Matthew Brunwasser in the International Herald Tribune. During an active campaign, some lobbyists went so far as to create bumper stickers that read, “Save Kozloduy, Save Bulgaria”. In response, many Bulgarians have come to support the government in its “fight” to reopen Units 3 and 4 as a matter of national pride. Concerns about the domestic rise in the price of electricity, as well as fears of regional instability due to diminished capacity to export electricity to neighboring countries are additional factors included in arguments presented by the Bulgarian government. According to President Purvanov these closures are seen as “the greatest compromise the government and the negotiating teams made,” At this moment, Bulgarians view the EU’s decision to decommission the reactors as unjustified given the numerous outside experts’ positive reviews of the reactors and a lack of EU common policy on nuclear safety. In light of the more lenient nuclear policies negotiated with the

43 Brunwasser, December 2006.
44 Interview: Georgy Ganev, October 2006.
other EU members, Bulgaria feels that it is within its rights to continue pressuring the EU for the sake of the salvation of KNPP. It is hard for Bulgarians and their sympathizers to understand why the EU will allow Czech Temelin NPP to continue operating despite its current leaks of radioactive water, and not KNPP Units 3 and 4, which appear to be completely safe.\textsuperscript{46}

Considering its unique treatment of Bulgaria as the only candidate country required to agree to such a significant and potentially economically detrimental request as the closures of Units 1-4, Bulgaria feels that the EU is being hypocritical and is asking for too much. The loss of electricity due to the closures will be compensated by the construction of more coal-fired plants, which goes against the EU’s pledge to fight climate change.\textsuperscript{47} Furthermore, as President Purvanov said in an interview three months before Bulgaria’s accession, "Bulgaria today has the same level of preparedness as the 10 countries which joined the European Union in May 2004 had at the time of their accession," emphasizing his hope that there would not be any double standards and that the EU should treat them with the same equality they applied to all previous accession countries. He continued by adding that,

``...This decision wasn't fair to Bulgaria and to the Bulgarian people...Therefore it is very important for Europe to understand and take into account the sacrifices and deprivation people are going through to meet their commitments. The European Union itself needs to make an effort towards Bulgaria's integration."\textsuperscript{48}

The discussion that has come about as a result of this issue marks an important moment in history. The EU is an emerging superpower, and within the next few decades, it has the possibility to become the most dominant socioeconomic force in the world. Yet something as seemingly marginal as the closure of four Soviet-era nuclear reactors, has

\textsuperscript{46} Eastbusiness, March 2007.
\textsuperscript{47} BBC, March 2007.
\textsuperscript{48} Financial Times, September 2006.
the potential to generate a devastating tear in the gentle fabric comprising the newly
formed 27 member European Union. Apart from Bulgaria’s sovereignty concerns, this
discussion also highlights trust and power within the EU. If the EU lets Bulgaria reopen
the reactors, it will set a precedent for new and future members concerning the EU’s
vulnerability to implement negotiated laws and agreements, thereby potentially
undermining its viability as a unified alliance. Such a resolution could have ramifications
for European and international relations for years to come. However, it is important to
question whether Bulgaria will face equally detrimental consequences if the EU ensures
that the reactors remain closed.

As an emerging democracy, Bulgaria may find that it must shed some of its fear
of foreign dominance as it enters a new set of realities by aligning with its neighbors
under the EU umbrella. The advantages of such association will be judged by future
generations, as Bulgaria will hopefully benefit from the collective experiences of these
EU nations. However, the EU must be mindful of the economic backlash of suspending
current resources such as KNPP Units 1-4 and the resultant political fallout for those who
negotiated the agreements with the EU. Any such negative impact can easily create a
ripple effect within the EU, hence the importance that members work together to ensure
the best possible solution available. In turn, the EU will be able to flex its muscle but
must do so with an awareness of the cultural realities of its newest member. It is hoped
that this consideration backed by pragmatic aid, steeped in cultural understanding, will
strengthen the bonds within this new coalition of countries.
Bibliography


Determinants of Child Labor in Thailand

Student Paper

Cross-Disciplinary Area

Paper Session

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Abstract

According to the National Educational Act of B.E. 2542 (1999), all Thai citizens are entitled to basic, quality education for at least 12 years. While this education is supposed to be free, in reality there are many costs associated with schooling. Whether young people go to school depends upon the basic optimization theory, whereby households maximize their utility subject to the budget limitation. The effects of free education on household decision are still in doubt as many researchers indicate that the family’s income and indirect cost of education play an important role especially in developing countries.

In this study I consider whether child labor and schooling decisions are made in a rational way and I explore which factors influence families’ decisions. I utilize the ‘Luxury Axiom’ (Bazu and Van, 1998), which states that when a family is below the poverty level, then they will need income from child labor. Using data from the Thailand Labor Force Survey (2003), I will test the luxury axiom along with other determinants that might have an influence on the supply of child labor. This study targets children between the ages of 15-17, which is the upper-secondary school age. I found no empirical evidence confirming that the luxury axiom exists, after controlling for the effects of parental schooling. It is possible that parents who are well educated tend to earn more income and the influence of poverty has been absorbed into that of parental education.
Application of transaction cost theory to features of mobile phones in Japan

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Abstract

The purpose of this research is to apply transaction cost theory to describe the current features of mobile phones in Japan, which are associated with the evolution of information and communication technology. According to the framework of transaction cost theory, transaction costs vary according to the degree of specificity. The higher the specificity, the higher are the transaction costs, and the lower the specificity, the lower are the transaction costs. Further, the degree of specificity tends to decline due to the evolution of information and communication technology. Therefore, there is a tendency for transaction costs to also decline together with the evolution of information and communication technology. The evolution of information and communication technology ushers in improvement in the multifunctionality of mobile phones, and this improvement in multifunctionality leads to a reduction in physical asset specificity. The portability of mobile phones also leads to a reduction in site specificity. In light of these facts, this research indicates that there is a tendency for transaction costs related to mobile phones to decrease.

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Title Page:

a) “The ‘CSI Effect’: television crime and its influence on public understandings of forensic science within the criminal justice system.”
b) Communication
c) Paper session
d) Professor Michael Tracey, Aubri McDonald
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Abstract:

The ‘CSI Effect’ refers to the belief among a growing number of legal professionals that programs such as CBS’s “CSI” and other TV shows about crime and forensic science have a growing influence on real-world expectations about forensic science. It’s suggested that an influence is particularly evident among jurors who view these programs. Proponents for the ‘CSI Effect’ hypothesize that these shows provide criminals with tips for covering up crime and alluding capture, create unrealistic expectations for crime scene investigation and skew juror expectations about forensic evidence, resulting in tainted verdicts. It is also believed that the ‘CSI Effect’ has sparked a newfound interest in forensic science, with a boom in courses being offered at a growing number of educational institutions. It has also been suggested that the ‘CSI Effect’ has no meaningful evidential foundation, and that perceptions of criminal investigations can be attributed to other social factors. As of now there is no conclusive evidence proving the ‘CSI Effect’ exists. The ongoing research, of which this paper is the initial formulation, will develop into an extensive review of the available, albeit limited, literature, and a series of interviews with prosecutors, defense attorneys and crime scene investigators. The object of the research is to try to bring some clarity of understanding to a development, which if it is established to be happening, would have enormously significant consequences for the practice of the law and the integrity of the jury system. The paper also examines a number of theoretical arguments as to why there may be real substance to the idea of a “CSI Effect.”
Title: Equality or Propriety: A Cultural Models Approach to Understanding Social Hierarchy

Topic: Psychology (Cultural Psychology)

Format: paper session

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ABSTRACT

Two cultural models of relationship were proposed to understand social hierarchy. The *equality* model is rooted in European American (EA) ideas and practices of individualism and democracy. It constructs hierarchy as problematic and negative and as associated with oppression, injustice, and institutional practices that need to be justified. The *propriety* model is rooted in East Asian ideas and practices of Confucianism and relational interdependence. It constructs hierarchy as natural and positive, and as associated with family, respect, and roles that need to be maintained. Using social scenarios and a memory recall task, Studies 1a, 1b, and 2 confirmed the existence of the two models. In comparison to EA, Asian Americans (AA) preferred more hierarchy-oriented responses, liked a hierarchy-oriented peer more, rated themselves as more similar to the hierarchy-oriented peer, and were quicker to recall hierarchical relationships. Study 3 showed differences in the meaning space of hierarchy. Consistent with the equality model, EA generated more negative associations (e.g., dominance, discrimination) to hierarchy. Consistent with the propriety model, AA generated more positive associations (e.g., family, respect). Study 5 conducted with participants from Taiwan devised a reliable and valid measure that captured the practice and definition of social hierarchy according to the propriety model. Studies 4 and 6 examined hierarchy in the laboratory using a paradigm developed by Chen, Lee-Chai, and Bargh (2001). Student participants completed a word identification task while seated in a professor’s chair (violation of hierarchy condition), a student’s chair (hierarchy condition), or a lab chair (control condition). In the professor’s chair, AA were more nervous and responded in a respectful manner to a message from the professor. EA showed no difference in their responses regardless of condition. Study 6 used the Social Hierarchy Scale (Study 5) to define a group of Taiwanese students who endorsed hierarchical ideas and practices (high-hierarchy) and a group who did not (low-hierarchy). When seated in the professor chair (violation of hierarchy), high-hierarchy participants were more nervous and performed worse on the identification task than low-hierarchy participants. When seated in the student chair (hierarchy), low-hierarchy participants were more annoyed/disgusted and performed worse than high-hierarchy participants.

**Title:** Youth making sense of resilience: A critical exploration of the social processes of resilience amongst ethnically diverse young people in East London, UK.

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**Abstract:**

Numerous studies acknowledge social capital (in its broadest sense) to be key in bettering the educational and health outcomes of young people. We recognise the importance of social capital; however the degree to which family and friends or peers can enhance and/or inhibit the resilience of young people in adverse circumstances deserves further investigation.

This paper asks: Why are some young people reluctant to turn to their families (nuclear and extended) and their peers during times of adversity? What strategies are youth themselves creating to overcome daily obstacles in their ‘impoverished’, ‘troubled’ and/or ‘at risk’ environments?

The following discussion is of a recently completed qualitative and community based study with 84 participants of diverse backgrounds that explored the social processes of young people’s resilience in East London.

The narratives of young men and women are explored to illustrate the critical dialogue taking place amongst youth themselves to change and better their own situations. Attention is paid to some of the unique ways some participants have overcome peer and familial pressures in their desire to be independent and to create their own self-identities. Furthermore, self-initiated strategies and developments are also highlighted with the intention of challenging deficit and helplessness stereotypes that are often associated with young people from ‘at risk’ societies. For, in the words of one participant, “We want to break the stereotype people have of youth in East London.”

The concluding section explores the limitations of current interpretations of resilience for ‘at risk’ youth and communities. In turn, we, alongside the young participants, suggest resilience to be an intermittent and ongoing transitional process that is unique to each individual in different cultural, social and local spaces.
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The European Union’s Consideration of Potential Member States: Explaining Romania and Bulgaria’s Inclusion and Ukraine’s Exclusion

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The European Union’s Consideration of Potential Member States:
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Lisa Turkewitsch

Abstract

On January 1, 2007, Romania and Bulgaria joined the European Union, while Ukraine’s current relations with the EU are framed within the context of the European Neighborhood Policy. It is obvious now that the gap between Romania and Bulgaria and Ukraine is wide, but in the early to mid-1990s this was not the case. In the context of the debate over normative and geopolitical explanations for EU enlargement, this paper seeks to explain why the EU did not consider Ukraine as a potential member state at the time when it considered Romania and Bulgaria as potential member states. The paper presents a challenge to the argument that “meritocracy” and the adoption of liberal norms and values were the most important factors in the EU’s consideration of potential member states. Instead, the paper argues that factors related to geographic proximity, namely linkages and ties to the EU and its member states, along with security issues, were the main reasons behind Romania and Bulgaria’s inclusion and Ukraine’s exclusion. A qualitative comparative analysis of the domestic situation in the three countries, corroborated by data from Freedom House’s “Freedom in the World” democratization rankings, serves to demonstrate that the domestic situation in Romania and Bulgaria was the same as, and in some respects worse than, that in Ukraine. Ukraine’s exclusion as a potential member state is seen in light of the uncertainty of its independence from Russia in the early 1990s, while Romania and Bulgaria’s inclusion stems from support from EU member states that advocated for their membership, coupled with the EU’s desire to secure the two countries as stable allies in the Balkans. This paper presents an alternative view to the consideration of Romania and Bulgaria as slow reformers compared to their Central and Eastern European counterparts. Instead, when compared to Ukraine, they were opportune and benefited from their geographic location. In light of the Orange Revolution, the question of EU membership for Ukraine is again in focus. Ukraine now shares a common border with the EU, and the Central and Eastern European countries are emerging as advocates for Ukraine’s EU membership.
Title: Positive Reinforcement: The Effects of Instant Rewards Versus Prolonged Rewards

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Request paper session
Positive Reinforcement: The Effects of Instant Rewards Versus Prolonged Rewards

Tamiko F. Tutt

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Positive Reinforcement: The Effects of Instant Rewards Versus Prolonged Rewards

Student discipline has been a focus of educational research for over 30 years. Check (1979) writes:

The past two decades have held many tense and uncertain moments in the establishment of acceptable behavioral patterns in our society, so much so that even those who had commanded the highest respect for their intelligent and stable decisions were shaken by the disruptive activities of our youth (p. 134).

Classroom discipline is a concern for all. The focus of this paper deals with that concern and attempts to explain ways to manage student behavior so that the educational process is a worthwhile experience. Stated more precisely, this study will attempt to answer the following questions: (a) Do positive reinforcement behavioral management systems truly work? (b) Are students more likely to respond better to reward systems that offer instant gratification in the form of smaller and more numerous rewards or rewards that are larger and occur on a weekly basis?

Since the study is conducted within the realms of one classroom, certain limitations are obvious. The population is relatively small (21 students) and four of those students transferred in after the initial start date of the current school year thus limiting the population size even further. Another limiting factor is that the students attend “specials” (physical education, art, and music) several times a week and during those periods, other teachers monitor their behavior. In addition to that, approximately 50% of the class has what is known as an Early Intervention Plan. Students with Early Intervention Plans are pulled daily to work with another teacher in the areas of math and reading. This interruption also interferes with the direct behavioral monitoring of
the students by the researcher. During these time periods, the researcher will have to rely on the reports of others concerning student behavior.

The purpose of the research is to explore different management strategies and their effects on student behavior. Check (1979) denotes the importance of behavioral studies of children when he states, “Acceptable behavioral patterns must be clearly defined in order for students to develop the ability to self-monitor their own behavior” (p. 135). Check (1979) further states, “The ability to self-monitor one’s own behavior is not only important in a classroom setting, but to society as a whole” (p. 135). The rationale for choosing to research different classroom management strategies is based on Check’s statements. In addition, this research will investigate whether students’ understanding of classroom rules and expectations carry over into settings outside of their base classroom. The exploration of this dynamic will aid in understanding which classroom management techniques are most appropriate for third grade students in a public elementary school setting.

The literature review is organized to help explain some of the aspects that must be taken into account when dealing with student discipline. The first section describes some of the root causes of discipline problems. The major focus is quality of life/urban setting and cross-cultural competence. The next section discusses the location of negative behaviors within the school setting. Third, the research explores whether or not discipline problems vary according to grade level and/or the sex of the instructor. Fourth, there is the exploration of two school-wide discipline models. Those models are the Constructive Discipline Model and the Positive Behavioral Intervention Support Model. The last component of the literature review focuses on studies done in the area of delay of gratification behaviors of children and youth. More
specifically, the literature review will describe gratification delay as it relates to visualization, developmental trends, rewards, and delay termination.
Literature Review

Characteristics of Discipline Problems

Joan Gaustad identifies several characteristics that are associated with discipline problems in her research. Gaustad (1992) states the following contributing factors in behavioral problems in our schools:

- Rules were unclear or perceived as unfairly or inconsistently enforced; students did not believe in the rules; teachers and administrators did not know what the rules were or disagreed to the proper responses to student misconduct; teacher-administration cooperation was poor or the administration inactive; teachers tended to have punitive attitudes; misconduct was ignored; and schools were large and lacked adequate resources for teaching. (p. 1)

Gaustad (1992) further notes, “Orderly schools usually balance clearly established and communicated rules with a climate of concern for students as individuals. They also have fewer formal rules and a more flexible approach to infractions” (p. 1). Gaustad found that positive behavior must also be increased. She cites a study from Denise Gottfredson done in 1989. Gaustad concedes, “Schools must work to increase academic success for low achievers and strive to make school enjoyable and interesting” (p. 2).

Quality of Life/Urban Settings

Carol Ascher acknowledges how many students see school as a haven from their home lives. Ascher (1994) states, “The most resilient are students who can use teachers and other staff as mentors and role models and their time at school as profitable refuge” (p. 2). Ascher goes on to say the following:
New tasks—from “wading” students with metal detectors, to talking to social workers and teaching socialization skills are being added to the teachers’ already stretched rosters of daily responsibilities. At the same time, national uncertainty about how to handle potential conflicts between discipline, safety, and students’ rights has made teachers unsure about what parents and the larger society want them to do. (p. 3)

Hank Bohanon and his colleagues further support this notion in their case study of positive behavior support in an urban high school. They found that the quality of life of the students is a direct link to discipline problems in schools. Bohanon (2006) states, “Factors that can affect the quality of life experience for individuals and families are race and poverty issues, differences in language and culture, and living in areas with limited resources and dense populations” (p. 132). Bohanon (2006) continues, “Urban school districts have unique challenges due to factors such as size, high poverty rates, and limited resources” (p.132).

**Cross-cultural Competence**

Schwartz (2002) writes:

> U.S. society has long been characterized by ignorance about African American social styles, denigration of African American traditions, and persistent negative and fear inducing media images of African Americans. Thus, as products of this society, educators may project attitudes about African American students to avoid, rather than mentor them. (p. 1)

Schwartz (2002) continues this argument by saying:

> In class, many African American students speak out loudly and interrupt as a way of showing interest, or even argue as they press their point; their intention is to participate, not to misbehave, although some teachers might consider them disrespectful. (p. 4)
Schwartz surmises that using a model that takes cultural differences into account would also require an explanation of student wrongdoing. He also argues that the students have to learn why certain behavior may not be appropriate in all settings in order to ensure that these behaviors will not be repeated (at least not in the school environment). Schwartz gives an example of this in her writing. Schwartz (2002) states the following:

A graffiti-writing student should be helped to understand why he should clean the dirty wall, and should be able to do so when it would not interfere with a school activity or seen by other students; should a custodian clean the wall before a student can, the student should offer thanks. (p. 4)

**Location of Disruptive Behavior**

Colvin and Fernandez (2000) state, “Negative student behavior was excessive in common areas such as hallways, the cafeteria, recess, and bus lines” (p. 252). The researchers claim that they were able to validate this perception by taking a staff survey. In the survey, Colvin and Fernandez (2000) state, “Staff rated the school very low in all critical areas of school-wide behavior management” (p.252).

**Grade Level/Sex of Instructor Differences**

Check (1979) states, “Lower elementary and middle school teachers reported a greater number of problems than senior high school teachers. The ratio of slightly more that 2 to 1 (79%: 38%)” (p.135). Check then compared the number of incidences for female teachers versus male teachers. He suggests that the sex of the teacher has no impact on the number of discipline problems that the teacher encountered in the classroom. Check (1979) states:

Furthermore, whether the teacher was male or female was of no importance to the incidence of reported problems. As eluded to earlier, the grade level at which the teacher
worked was a significant contributing factor on the number of problems reported and their severity. (p. 135)

**School-Wide Discipline Models**

Muscott (2004) states the following:

Despite the fact that the overall rate of school violence has leveled off since the early seventies, milder forms of problem behavior such as disrespect, disruption, and noncompliance appear to be on the rise and the overall state of children’s mental health appears to be deteriorating. (p. 454)

According to Muscott, educators in New Hampshire have devised a plan called the Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports that takes all these things into account. Positive Behavioral Interventions Support systems require three components. Muscott’s research indicates that those components are (a) positive approaches to interventions such as teaching the appropriate behavior rather than relying on punishment alone [sic], (b) matching the level of intervention resources to the level of behavioral challenge presented by students, and (c) designing multiple systems that deal with the full range of discipline challenges that schools face. Positive Behavioral Interventions Support also uses a 3-tiered system of behavioral support. Muscott (2004) writes:

- **Level 1**, universal prevention, is designated to address the entire school. The emphasis here is on reaching the 80-90% of the students who do not have serious behavioral problems or mental health needs. Level 2, secondary prevention, is aimed at roughly 5-10% of students or subgroups. These children are considered at risk for developing behavioral disorders or mental illness. Level 3, tertiary prevention, targets the remaining
1-5% students who are displaying symptoms or behaviors related to emotional behavioral disorders or mental illness. (p. 455)

Muscott concedes that the goal is to target the students who fall into these perspective groups and provide more suitable replacement behaviors that will compete with the inappropriate ones.

Mayer examines what is commonly known as Constructive Discipline and how it is best used in the classroom setting. According to Mayer (1999), “It has reduced violence and the other antisocial behaviors and offers a disciplined environment conductive to learning” (p. 1). Mayer (1999) states the following:

At the very least, discipline codes list the dos and don’ts, or the behavior standards required by students. The better ones also specify consequences for violating and following rules. They are designated to influence how students behave and how educators respond when students violate or follow rules. (p. 2)

Mayer (1999) then goes on to say, “Many codes are hastily conceived, arbitrary, overly punitive in nature, and have little evidence of the effectiveness” (p. 2).

Mayer’s description of an effective Constructive Discipline model is comprised of three key components. The first component is clarity of classroom rules. Mayer (1999) speaks of a California law that requires every principal of every school to “take steps to insure that all rules pertaining to discipline of students are communicated to students at the beginning of the school year and to transfer students at the time of their enrollment in schools” (p. 3).

Mayer deduces that the clarity of the rules does not just apply to students though. Mayer (1999) states the following:

All relevant parties-including administrators, counselors, psychologists, teachers, parents, and students—should be represented when school-wide discipline rules are developed.
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Rules tend to be better accepted, understood, supported, and enforced when all concerned parties have been included in drawing up a conduct code. (p. 4)

The next component discussed by Mayer for a Constructive Discipline model is the establishment of staff support. Mayer implies that administration must consistently be supportive to staff when rules are broken, otherwise teachers will not cooperate in the implementation of this discipline model. Mayer (1999) states, “A lack of support also can be aversive for staff, perhaps fostering a greater reliance on punitive methods of control in managing student behavior” (p. 5). The final component of this discipline model that Mayer lists is recognizing individual differences in students.

**Delay and Visualization**

Klineberg believes there to be a relationship between a child’s ability to delay gratification and the power of visualization. Klineberg (1968) states, “There is empirical evidence supporting the relationship between delay of gratification and one’s ability to visualize the future event and endow the image of that event with a sense of present reality” (p. 253). Schack and Massari (1973) reiterate this point by stating, “In order to accomplish the delay, the child must frequently remind himself of the contingency imposed on him and in doing so, logically the child must recall the delayed reward for which he is waiting” (p.170). Nisan seemingly agrees with this assumption. Nisan (1974) states, “The strengthening of a child’s representation of the delayed outcome should increase the probability that he will delay gratification” (p. 376). Nisan (1974) continues:

One seemingly straightforward means of strengthening the representation is the exposure of the child to the delayed reward. Furthermore, the effects of this exposure ought to be even greater when both immediate and delayed rewards are seen, since value is the
salient attribute determining the choice of the delayed outcomes, and the difference in value between the two rewards is accentuated by their juxtaposition. (p. 376)

Fry and Preston drew a different conclusion. Fry and Preston (1980) state, “Waiting in the presence of reinforcements is seen as aversive” (p. 282).

**Developmental Trends**

Nisan (1974) also found what he termed to be “a clear developmental trend toward delay of gratification” (p. 378). Nisan (1974) states, “The results show no effect of exposure among the six-year-old children, who show a predominant choice of the immediate reward” (p. 378). Nisan (1974) continues, “The eight and nine-year-olds chose predominantly the delayed reward and were similarly unaffected by the exposure to the rewards” (p. 378).

Likewise, Ebbesen and Mischel described a correlation between development and the ability to delay gratification. Ebbesen and Mischel (1970) state, “Preliminary observations of the actual waiting behavior of nursery school children suggested that the capacity to wait for long-term goals and to inhibit both immediate gratification and motor activity seems to develop markedly at about ages 3-4” (p. 331). Ebbesen and Mischel (1970) continue, “The network of associations found here so far indicates significant relations between the preference of delayed rewards and indexes of achievement orientation, social responsibility, age, socio-cultural and rearing conditions, and intelligence” (p. 329). Shybut (1968) agrees and adds, “Relations have also been found with resistance to temptation and with severity of psychological disturbances” (p. 465).
Rewards

The rewards themselves are also viewed as noteworthy in delay of gratification studies. Dmitruk (1973) states, “There is no correspondence between what adults think children like and the children’s actual preferences” (p. 340). Burns and Borrego had similar findings. In their research, they used Mexican coins as rewards. Burns and Borrego (1985) state, “The coins are easily manipulated, generalized rewards and have been found to be ideal rewards as opposed to points or stars in studies involving children” (p. 391). Burns and Borrego (1985) continue, “The immediacy of token rewards and the opportunity for the subjects to exchange them for a wide variety of back-up items makes the token ideal for this research” (p. 391).

Delay Termination

Delay termination was also a concern in these studies. Kanfer (1977) explains, “Delay-produced frustration activates cognitive processes that then produce changes in the perceived values of the rewards” (p. 367). Kanfer (1977) continues, “One of these possibilities is that the preferred but delayed reward becomes less attractive as the children continue to wait” (p. 367). In contrast, Karniol and Miller (1983) state, “The dynamics of the situation is that the preferred but delayed reward increases in value over time and that this increase in reward value serves both to increase frustration and decrease the ability to tolerate the delay” (p. 936).
Method

Question/Issue

This study is a correlational design. Through the use of prolonged and immediate rewards it will attempt to answer the following questions: (a) Do positive reinforcement behavioral management systems work? (b) Are students more likely to respond better to reward systems that offer instant gratification in the form of smaller and more numerous rewards or rewards that are larger and occur on a weekly basis? It is hypothesized that positive reinforcement behavioral management systems are effective tools for classroom management. It is also believed that students will respond better to reward systems that offer instant gratification as opposed to systems that offer prolonged rewards.

Limitations

As stated earlier, a possible limitation (threat to internal validity) was data collector bias. Several times per week, the students were not under the direct supervision of the researcher due to certain scheduled activities. During those times, the researcher relied on the observations of other teachers to determine whether or not students earned points. To control for this, teachers were not made aware that the accumulation of points was being analyzed in any way. Modifications to the school discipline plan were not discussed. The teachers carried on with the stated objectives of the discipline program just as they had been instructed to do at the beginning of the school year.

Maturation was another possible limitation. The possibility of scores rising due to an increase in the students' comfort levels with the rules and classroom expectations was a major concern. To control for that, the study began at the beginning of the school year and was completed in eight weeks.
Variables

The variables used to complete this study were the different types of rewards and the behavior of the students. \((X=\text{prolonged rewards/immediate rewards}, Y=\text{behavior})\). The prolonged rewards (independent variable) were given on a weekly basis. They included extra recess, a movie and popcorn, an ice cream party, and arts and crafts. The immediate rewards (independent variable) were given at the exact moment a desirable behavior was observed by the researcher. Students had the opportunity to earn a limitless number of rewards throughout the day. The immediate rewards included (but were not limited to) candy, “no homework” passes, coupons for free ice cream, and activity sheets (coloring sheets, crossword puzzles, etc.). The behavior (dependent variable) was measured using a point system. The higher the point accumulation, the better the behavior.

Population

This eight-week study was conducted in a third grade classroom (due to students entering and leaving during the experiment interval, \(N=17\)) in a Title I school. The school is located in a school district of the suburban Atlanta area. The percentage of the population receiving free or reduced lunch was 82% free and 18% reduced.

The population consisted of eight boys (six African Americans and two Hispanics) and nine girls (six African Americans, two Hispanics, two Asians, and one Caucasian) most of whom have been labeled “at risk” of failing the state mandated Criterion Referenced Competency Test at the end of the 2006-2007 school year. In order for a student to be labeled “at risk”, one or more of the following conditions applied:
(a) The student failed to reach a minimum score of eight hundred on the reading portion of the Criterion Referenced Competency Test during the previous school year, (b) the student received small group reading assistance through the state Early Intervention Program (EIP), (c) the student had an oral reading fluency score of less than seventy-seven words per minute at the beginning of the school year, and (d) the student had an Individual Learning Plan (IEP-special education). Of the seventeen participants, fourteen (82%) fell into one or more of these categories.

**Sampling Process**

The students were not randomly assigned to the class. Instead, they were grouped in such a way that the majority functioned below grade level. The class assignments were based on data from numerous test scores. As mentioned before, the students’ Criterion Referenced Competency Test scores from the previous year were evaluated and used as one determining factor for placement in specific classrooms. Another test that was given to the students and later analyzed was the Star Reading Test. The Star Reading Test is a timed computerized test that seeks to measure reading comprehension skills. Students were challenged to read passages and subsequently answer questions concerning what was read. At the conclusion of the test, the program generates a reading score (level) based on how well the student answered the questions. According to the Star Reading Test, 92% of the participants read below grade level.

Likewise, oral reading fluency was also measured electronically. The program used is called the Dibels program. With the Dibels program, students are given a passage to read to the teacher and are challenged to read has many words as they can in one minute. The reading passage is changed on a weekly basis. The goal is for the student to be able to read seventy-
seven words per minute at the onset of the third grade. Only 36% of the participants achieved this goal.

**Time Frame and Process**

The unit lessons were taught during the first two weeks of the eight-week study in order to clearly define the classroom and school-wide expectations of the students. During that time, as well as the six weeks that followed, the school day was divided into three distinct periods. The divisions were made for the purpose of awarding points. The periods were from 8:00 AM to 10:00 AM, 10:01 AM to 12:00 PM, and 12:01 PM to 2:30 PM. A student could earn one behavioral point for each of these three time periods. The structure of the program allowed the students to have numerous opportunities to make appropriate behavioral choices.

At the end of the week, each student’s points were calculated. If a student acquired the desired amount of points for the week, that student was allowed to participate in “Fun Friday” activities. These activities included (but were not limited to) watching a movie, recess, arts and crafts, and ice cream parties. The students who did not earn enough points to participate were given assignments to complete during that time.

Due to holidays and breaks, at times the required points varied from week to week. For a regular five-day school week, a student had to earn fifteen points to be eligible to participate in “Fun Friday” activities. For a four-day week, the requirement was thirteen points and a three-day week the requirement was ten points.

For the first four weeks of the study, the students were told of the “Fun Friday” activity at the beginning of each week. Their behavior was then monitored according to the discipline plan and recorded on the discipline report sheets. At the end of each week, students were advised of their point totals and based on the totals received or did not receive the reward.
The second four weeks was handled the same except for the addition of immediate rewards. During the second half of the experiment, the students had the opportunity to earn multiple small rewards along with the points. The smaller rewards included “no homework” passes, candy, pencils, erasers, and coloring sheets. The points were calculated at the end of each week just as before. At the conclusion of the eight weeks, the class’ point averages for the first week were compared to the averages for the second four weeks.

**Data Collection**

To measure behavior, Pupils are Leaders in Self Control (P.A.L.S.) discipline sheets were used. The Pupils are Leaders in Self Control program is a school-wide discipline plan that is based on an “earned point” system. Each student has the opportunity to earn three points per day and an additional three bonus points each week. The basis of the program is to encourage students to make appropriate choices regarding their behavior.

**Data Analysis**

The data was analyzed quantitatively. Student behavior was measured using a numerical system (an accumulation of points). The more points a student earned, the more compliant with the rules the student was considered to be. Likewise, the fewer points a student earned by week’s end, the less compliant with the rules that student was considered to be.

The statistical analysis used was a combination of descriptive and inferential statistics. The mean class score and the standard deviation were calculated for the first four weeks and the second four weeks respectively. Pearson’s r was then calculated (X=scores without immediate rewards, Y= scores with immediate rewards). Finally, a t-test was used to determine the significance of the variables.
**Assessment/Evaluation**

The study can easily be replicated due to its simplicity. The findings were appropriate to generalize to populations with similar student body characteristics. The findings cannot be applied to classrooms comprised mostly of students who were functioning at or above grade level because those classes tended to have fewer behavioral issues. In those cases, there would not be enough change to observe.

The study progressed with few problems. The major concern turned out to be a previously anticipated issue. That was the issue of having to rely on other teachers’ observations when the students were not in the care of the researcher. It was discovered that when rule enforcement was not the same across the board, it was sometimes difficult to access student behavior.

Despite the difficulties, the study was still meaningful in the respects that it accurately measured student behavior within the realms of the classroom. A final report was prepared and discussed with administration. When compared to the number of discipline referrals from the previous year, it was determined that the behavior of approximately 25% of the students had improved.
Results

In this study, the researcher sought to determine whether the mean class behavioral point total would increase when an immediate reward system was used as opposed to a system that used prolonged rewards. Table 1 reports the means and standard deviations of each variable.

TABLE 1

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<thead>
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<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>58.82</td>
<td>11.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>64.35</td>
<td>8.62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each student could earn a maximum of eighteen points per week. Since each measurement period lasted for a total of four weeks, the maximum weekly total was multiplied by four resulting in a total of seventy-two possible points in a four-week time frame. During the initial phase of the experiment, the students scored an average of 58.82 points with a standard deviation of 11.02 points. After the immediate reward system was introduced, the students scored an average of 64.35 points with a standard deviation of 8.62 points.
In order to examine the results more thoroughly, Pearson’s $r$ was calculated and a t-test was conducted. Table 2 reports the t-test information.

**TABLE 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Calculated t-test Information</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Correlation Coefficient ($r$)</td>
<td>.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated Error of Mean Differences ($S_0$)</td>
<td>1.77</td>
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<tr>
<td>Critical Value of t (one-tailed test)</td>
<td>1.746</td>
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<tr>
<td>Calculated Value of t</td>
<td>-3.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degrees of Freedom (df)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number in Sample (N)</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The research hypothesis stated that the mean of $X$ was less than the mean of $Y$ ($H_0$: $X=Y$). A t-test was conducted to see whether or not the results supported that theory. When the calculated value of $t$ ($t=-3.12$) was compared to the critical value of $t$ ($CV_t=1.746$) the null hypothesis was rejected ($| -3.12 | > 1.746$). It was determined that there was a significant difference between point accumulations for pre and post immediate reward implementation, $t(16) = -3.12$, $p < .05$. The results of the research also determined that there was a strong positive correlation between increased point totals and immediate rewards ($r = .75$). As the immediate rewards increased, the point totals increased. Farther analysis showed that the coefficient of determination ($r^2$) = .5625. This indicated that 56% of the variance in point totals could be explained by the addition of immediate rewards.
**Literature Review Discussion**

**Summary**

The review of the literature established that disciplinary problems of children and efforts to deal with those problems were not new topics to researchers. Check wrote about his discipline studies back in 1979. Although some aspects of the problems have changed, many still remain the same. Check reported that teachers often felt that the discipline problems were a direct result of problems that the students had encountered within their living environments. Check (1979) wrote, “More than half of the respondents identified the home as the primary cause of their school problems” (p. 135). Twenty-seven years later, Bohanon had similar findings when he reported that quality of life experience was a contributing factor to disciplinary problems. Bohanon (2006) wrote, “For students who face dangers walking through their own neighborhood to get to school, being ‘ready to learn’ as they walk into the classroom is not likely to be a high priority” (p. 132).

Another issue discussed in the literature was the lack of cross-cultural competence. Schwartz found that misunderstandings and misrepresentations of African American culture have lead educators to have negative attitudes toward African American students. These negative attitudes often promoted an antagonizing relationship between the teacher and the students. Schwartz believed that what might be perceived as a lack of discipline on the part of some African American students could most likely be explained by a lack of cultural understanding of the African American community.

In order to have an effective behavioral management plan in place, the rules must be understood. This understanding is not just limited to the students. Teachers, parents, school
staff, and administrators must understand the rules as well. Gaustad (1992) wrote, “Orderly schools usually balance clearly established and communicated rules…” (p. 1). Mayer agreed with this statement. He saw the need for all interested parties (from students to administrators) to be included in the development of the rules. Mayer (1999) wrote, “Rules tend to be better accepted, understood, supported, and enforced when all concerned parties have been included in drawing up a conduct code” (p. 4).

Current school-wide discipline models tend to rely less on punishment and more on positive approaches to correct disciplinary problems. Muscott spoke of this when he described the Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports school-wide discipline model. Muscott (2004) stated, “It is important to teach the students the appropriate behavior. Too many discipline plans focus on punishing negative acts without ever addressing the correct way to do things” (p. 455). Mayer also wrote of this in his description of the Constructive Discipline model. Mayer (1999) wrote, “At the very least, discipline codes list the do’s and don’ts, or the behavior standards required by students” (p. 2). Mayer (1999) continued, “Many codes are hastily conceived, arbitrary, overly punitive in nature, and have little evidence of the effectiveness” (p. 2).

In terms of delay of gratification in children, it was suggested that the developmental level of a child had a direct effect on the child’s ability to sustain the delay. Nisan wrote of this in his studies with six-year-old children. His results showed that children in that age range mostly chose the immediate reward when offered a choice. In contrast, Nisan (1974) wrote, “The eight and nine-year-olds chose predominantly the delayed reward and were similarly unaffected by the exposure to the rewards” (p. 378). Shybut also discovered this trend when he
worked with mentally challenged students. Shybut (1968) wrote, “Relations have been found with the resistance to temptation and with severity of psychological disturbances” (p. 465).

The rewards offered to children must also be considered. The rewards have to be meaningful to the children. Dmitruk (1973) wrote, “There is no correspondence between what adults think children like and the children’s actual preferences” (p. 340). Burns and Borrego agreed with Dmitruk. They used Mexican coins as rewards in their studies and allowed the children to trade the coins in for a reward of their choosing.

**Interpretation**

I agree with much of the information that was presented in the literature review. In order to fix the problem, it must first be understood. It is important to recognize what constitutes misbehavior. That means that as educators, we must consider all possibilities. Is a student really misbehaving or are we misinterpreting that act due to cultural differences? Do the students know the correct behavior? Are issues in the home affecting the child? These are all important questions that must be answered when dealing with disciplinary problems. It is only after these questions are answered that we can begin to plan a course of action.

If after completing these steps I wish to use a reward system with my students, I will still have other issues to consider. I need to first know the developmental stage(s) that the students are in. They may be unable to handle all the elements of the plan I am trying to devise. If I use rewards, those rewards must be meaningful to the students. Finally, I must be willing to modify the rules to suit the needs of the children.
Conclusion

I believe that disciplinary issues and management strategies are important topics in the field of education. Even the best teachers would find it difficult to educate a classroom filled with students who had no sense of what was expected of them. For this reason, it is important for teachers to have an idea of the different management styles so that they can choose one the works well for them and the students who they are teaching. It is also important to realize that teachers are in the business of not only educating youth, but also developing productive citizens. Once students learn what the rules are and the importance of abiding by them, they will be well on their way to achieving that goal.

Recommendations

The information presented in the literature review was pertinent to the study in the respects that it offered a guideline for the development of a classroom discipline plan. It began by explaining the characteristics of discipline problems and providing some underlying reasons for student misbehavior. It also served as a report of where misbehavior occurred most often and whether or not a child’s grade level or the sex of the instructor made any difference in the amount of student misconduct. Next, the literature review outlined two school-wide discipline models. Attaining this information was necessary in the development of the disciplinary strategy used in this study.

Once the decision was made to use a system of positive reinforcement for the study, delay of gratification was researched. It was important to determine why some children were able to function without their senses being constantly gratified and why some were not. The specific rewards that were used in these studies were also relevant. When the rewards were important to the children, the delay was sustained for a longer period of time.
If a researcher chose to replicate this study in the future, I would recommend that he or she take time when selecting the rewards to use with the children. I definitely see the need for establishing a list of rewards that are meaningful to the students. Given the opportunity to do this study again, I would have the children to complete an interest inventory so that I would have a better idea of their likes and dislikes. If giving an interest inventory was not an option, I would have given myself enough time to get to know the students on an individual basis instead of starting the study during the very first week of school.
Research Studies Discussion

Results Summary

The study attempted to answer the following questions: (a) Do positive reinforcement behavioral management systems work? (b) Are students more likely to respond better to reward systems that offer instant gratification in the form of smaller and more numerous rewards or rewards that are larger and occur on a weekly basis? From the results of the study, it can be concluded that not only do positive reinforcement systems work, but also that students will respond better to reward systems that offered instant gratification as opposed to rewards where gratification was delayed. Three studies in the reviewed literature were directly related to these results.

In the case of the first question, Muscott’s research was relevant. In his discussion of the Positive Behavioral Interventions and Support system, he described the components needed to make the model a success. Muscott (2004) wrote, “There must be positive approaches to interventions such as teaching appropriate behavior rather than relying on punishment alone” (p. 456). Likewise, Mayer insisted that steps had to be taken to insure that all rules of discipline were communicated to students at the beginning of the school year. In this study, the appropriate behavior was taught to the students during the unit implementation. Through the lessons, students were reminded on a daily basis what the appropriate rules of behavior consisted of.

In terms of the second question, it was suspected that although the students initially desired the larger rewards, delaying those rewards devalued them in some way. This view was supported by Kanfer’s delay termination study. Kanfer (1977) wrote, “Delay produced frustration activates cognitive processes that then produce changes in the perceived values of the
There was a definite increase in the mean class point total during the second four weeks of the study when the students’ positive behavior was immediately gratified.

**Interpretation**

Positive reinforcement behavior systems are effective strategies for classroom management. Children seem to behave better when more focus is placed on rewarding positive behavior as opposed to punishing negative behavior. Punitive approaches to inappropriate acts do little to curtail their occurrences. In fact, they may perpetuate the problem because they do not provide any motivation to make students want to handle a given situation differently the next time that it occurs.

**Conclusion**

I feel that behavior management plans that solely focus on punishing inappropriate behavior are obsolete. Some kind of reward system must be put in place when developing any discipline plan that deals with children. The reward system cannot be arbitrarily conceived if it is to have any effect. The rewards must be worthwhile to the children. Educators can no longer assume that they know what children like.

It is also important for the children to have an understanding of the expectations. Rules should be taught on the very first day of school and the children should be reminded of the correct behaviors on a regular basis (not just when they do something inappropriate). It is helpful when the students feel like they have been a part of the rule development. This not only promotes understanding, but also gives them a sense of responsibility in terms of making proper behavior choices.
Recommendations

In retrospect, if could do the study again I would make a few changes. First, I would take time to get to know my students better to make sure that the rewards were meaningful. Like most educators, I assumed that I knew what the kids would like. Although I had already reviewed the literature prior to the experiment, I did not fully comprehend the importance of knowing exactly what the children liked and disliked. I reconsidered the importance during the experiment. Secondly, I would have given the immediate rewards during the first half of the study and the prolonged ones during the second four weeks instead of vice versa. It may have been easier for the children to delay gratification if they were sure that they would actually receive the reward. There was no time to establish a relationship of trust between the kids and me due to the time frame of the study. They really had no reason to believe that I would reward their behavior at the end of the week. Maybe if they had seen a pattern of rewards from the inception, it would have been easier to sustain the delay. Finally, I would do the study with older children to see if the results would be different.
References


Appendix

Reflective Essay

I decided to do a study on discipline because I was looking to explore a topic that I felt was important in the field of education, but was not prevalent in current research. While I am not saying that I have never been exposed to discipline strategies during my teaching career, the majority of the educational conferences that I have attended and the classes that I have taken have mainly dealt with ways to educate children academically. In elementary education the upmost importance has been given to the areas of reading and math. Granted, these subjects need to be addressed, but I think that other areas are equally important. Since I have been teaching, I have seen (through my own eyes and the perceptions of others) an abundance of programs implemented in schools that focus only on reading or math. Classroom teachers have found it to be very difficult to work with the numerous programs that are required to teach reading and math and still find time to devote to the areas of social studies, science, and health education. It is unfortunate that because of the demands placed on teachers in areas of reading and math, the other subjects often get limited attention during the school day.

I have always been amazed to see so few people correlate behavior to academic achievement. To me, the relationship between these two entities is obvious. If a teacher has to spend over fifty percent of his/her time correcting negative behavior in the classroom, the instruction of the students suffers. That is why believe behavior management plans should be given a higher priority in the field of education.

Implementing the unit allowed me to do two very important things at the same time. First, I was able to teach appropriate behavior. This was achieved through the role playing activities, the story reading, and the subsequent class discussions. Secondly, I was able to focus
on social studies education. During the unit implementation, I had the opportunity to cover the Constitution, America’s symbols of freedom, the divisions of government, laws, and the concept of civic duty. The way that the information was taught made it easy for the students to relate to because it was applied to the classroom. I was pleased with the outcome and I do plan to teach the unit again.

I am still using the immediate reward system in my classroom; however, since the overall behavior of the students has continued to improve, I do not have to give as many as I did during the study. I feel that the students are in the beginning stages of taking responsibility for their own behavior. When they do not think that I am listening I often hear them correcting each other. They seem to have developed their own sense of checks and balances within the group and they are holding each other accountable. Incidentally, I have seen some academic improvement in several of the students.

The completion of the study was a worthwhile experience. I found it to be very rewarding and I have already discussed my findings with several colleagues. I hope to one day get the opportunity to present this information at an educational conference so the more people will be aware of the importance of discipline in the field of education. I look at it as my contribution to the field.
**Definition of Terms**

*Constructive Discipline*

Roy Mayer (1999) describes Constructive Discipline as “a form of discipline that stresses preventive measures for discipline as opposed to punitive ones” (p.2).

*Delay of Gratification*

The *Encyclopedia of Psychology* (2001) defines delay of gratification as “the ability to forgo an immediate pleasure or reward in order to gain a more substantial one later” (p. 41)

*Disciplinary Problem*

Disciplinary problem is defined as any behavior exhibited by a student who consistently disrupts classroom instruction and/or one in which physical aggression is displayed.

*Positive Behavioral Intervention Supports*

Muscott (2004) and his colleagues describe Positive Behavioral Intervention Supports as “a three tiered system that teaches appropriate behavior instead of just punishing it” (p. 455).

*Positive Reinforcement Behavioral Management System*

Positive Reinforcement Behavioral Management System is defined as any system that rewards positive behavior in an effort to promote its consistency. In this system negative behaviors receive little focus.

*Rewards*

Rewards are defined as any object or opportunity given to a student for desired behaviors. (Instant rewards are given at the exact moment that the desired behavior is displayed by the student).
Unit

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<td>Civic Participation</td>
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<td>Acquire knowledge of the basic principles of government and appropriate classroom behavior while creating a classroom community.</td>
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Stage 1

QCC Objectives For 3rd Grade: Strands-Civics and Core Social Studies Skills

Big Ideas

Civics
- 3.3 Distinguishes the difference between rights and privileges.
- 3.4 Explains that rules and laws protect the rights of people.
- 3.5 Explains the differences among making laws, carrying out laws, and determining if laws have been violated.
- 3.6 Describe how violations of law produce consequences.

Core Social Studies Skills
- 3.38 Proposes alternatives possibilities for solutions.
- 3.42 Shows respect toward others.
- 3.43 Observes set rules of procedures.
- 3.45 Participates in planning for effective civic actions; demonstrates appropriate civic actions.

Enduring Understandings

Students will understand
- 1. Rules/laws are necessary.
- 2. Rules/laws are set up to protect the rights of all.
- 3. There are consequences for breaking rules/laws.

Unit Essential Questions

In order to understand, students will need to consider such questions as…
- 1. What are rules/laws?
- 2. Why are rule/laws necessary?
- 3. Who makes the rules/laws?
- 4. What is a consequence?
- 5. What are the consequences for breaking rules/laws?
Assessment Evidence – What evidence will show that students understand?

Performance Task
1. Classroom constitution.
2. Community guidance card.
3. Chart-Important jobs.

Other Evidence- Informal Assessment – observation
1. Role playing activities.
2. Classroom discussions.
3. Participation in "community involvement activity.
4. PALS point sheets.

Student Self-Assessment and Reflection
Students will respond orally after each assignment to questions:
1. What have I learned?
2. How can I use what I have learned?

Stage 3

Learning Plan – How will learning experiences be designed to achieve understanding of the concepts and mastery of the reasoning, knowledge and skills to achieve the desired performance?

Day 1
Materials:
Miss Nelson is Missing
Harcourt Brace Communities-Social Studies Textbook page 293 (or resource containing information about the U. S. Constitution)
Why Laws are Important-worksheet

Procedures:
1. Read Miss Nelson is Missing by Harry Allard to the students. At the conclusion of the story, discuss the behavior of the children in the story. Ask open-ended questions to determine whether the students think that the behavior in the story is appropriate or not.
2. Distribute the student text (or other resource). Explain that the U.S. Constitution is a set of laws that was written when the United States was still a new country and that it is still around today. Tell the students that this year, the class will construct its own version of the Constitution as well as develop our own community elements.
3. Have students work in groups to complete Why Laws are Important-worksheet. (Collect)

Day 2
Materials:
Why Laws are Important-worksheet
Poster board
Markers

Procedures:
1. Redistribute Why are Laws Important worksheets. The students will share their responses with the class. Remind the students that all units have some form of governing principles. Discuss the rules set forth by parents and police officers.
2. Challenge the students to brainstorm rules for our Classroom Constitution and write them on the board.
3. Go through the rules listed and determine (as a class) which ones are most important. After choosing about five rules, write them on the poster board under the heading Classroom Constitution and display them on the wall. (It may be appropriate to decide as a class what the consequences for breaking the rules will be at this time).
4. Discuss PALS discipline plan and consequences.

**Day 3**

Materials:
Five index cards (each one displaying one Constitution rule)

Procedures:
1. Divide the class into five groups.
2. Give each group one of the index cards making sure that no group knows what rule any other group has. Advise the students that each group has to come up with a strategy to “act out” the incorrect way to display that rule and the correct way to display that rule.
3. After ten minutes of group planning time, call individual groups to go to the front of the classroom and “perform” their rule. The rest of the class will be challenged to guess which rule is being portrayed.

**Day 4**

Materials:
Index cards
Precut pieces of construction paper
Crayons/markers
Glue

Procedures:
1. Advise the students that they will be creating individual “community guidance” cards to carry with them so that they can have something to refer back to in the event that there is some “confusion” about the Classroom Constitution.
2. Give each student one index card.
3. Have the students list the following information on their index card: full name, date of birth, and the rules of the Classroom Constitution (neatly).
4. Allow the students to glue their cards on the precut construction paper.
5. Collect the cards and laminate them.
6. Give the cards back to the students and advise them to store in their Social Studies notebooks for the remainder of the school year.

**Day 5**

Materials:
Poster board
Markers

Procedures:
1. Advise the students that in order for communities to be successful, everyone must be an active participant. Discuss the different jobs the people occupy in a community (police officers, teachers, doctors, lawyers).
2. Brainstorm a list of the possible jobs needed to make the class community run efficiently.
3. List the jobs and determine how they will be assigned (suggestion: assign students to specific jobs the first week and allow them to choose their own replacements the following week—provided that their replacements have demonstrated the behavior of “good citizens”).
Day 6

Materials:
Computer
Scan converter
White construction paper
Crayons/markers

Procedures:
2. Using a scan converter, allow students to watch as you navigate through the site paying special attention to the heading labeled Symbols.
3. Discuss the following symbols in detail: the American flag, the bald eagle, and Uncle Sam. Tell the students what each symbol represents and why the symbols are important to Americans.
4. Divide the class into three groups and challenge them to come up with symbols to represent our community. Display the final projects within the classroom.

Day 7

Materials:
Harcourt Brace Communities-Social Studies Textbook pages 303-309 OR
Computer
Scan Converter

Procedures:
1. Read and discuss textbook pages 303-309 - The National Government.
2. Using the computer and the scan converter, allow students to view your navigation through the Ben’s Guide to U.S. Government website. (The above-mentioned pathway will take you to and organizational chart of the three branches of government.
3. Explain the role of each branch and discuss the importance of the checks and balances system.
4. Tell the students why courts are important and how local citizens are picked for juries.

Day 8

Materials:
None

Procedures:
1. Create a scenario depicting a student who has just broken a Classroom Constitution rule.
2. Challenge the students to role-play what they think is meant by the judicial process.
3. Discuss the activity afterward.

Day 9

Materials:
Harcourt Brace Communities-Social Studies Textbook page 52- Act as a Responsible Citizen OR

Procedures:
1. Use page 52 or Good Character website is discuss the qualities of being a good citizen.
2. Brainstorm ways to show good citizenship in the Classroom community.
Day 10

Materials:
Trash bags

Procedures:
1. Remind the students that one sign of a good citizen is showing respect for the environment.
2. Explain that the class will demonstrate their respect for the environment by cleaning up outside.
3. Have the students pledge to always keep the environment (inside and outside) clean.
Why Laws are Important

Directions: Give reasons why you believe it is important to have laws in a community. (See if you can come up with the most!)

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## P.A.L.S. Discipline Records

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*18 Points*
Data (X=point totals for prolonged rewards, Y=point totals for immediate rewards)

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Title : The role and impact of state - community cooperation in the conservation and management of reservoir fisheries: Lessons from the co-management model of Himanchal Pradesh in India

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ABSTRACT

In recent years, there has been a considerable experimentation in the institutional arrangements governing natural resource management (NRM), including fishery resources, in different countries. The institutional changes amount to a redefinition of the role of the state and have stimulated further exploration regarding a variety of local government and non-state forms of management and co-management. Institutional restructuring efforts of this kind involve local communities and user groups, joint
environmental management schemes, nongovernmental organization-based initiatives, cooperative bodies and other actors at the micro and meso levels (Maynen and Doornbos, 2004). It is believed that prevailing institutional arrangements play a significant role in determining the efficacy of a given set of policy or technological interventions (Barrett et.al., 2005). Altered institutional arrangements have been done, it is often argued, to bring about more sustainable and equitable forms of NRM through the enhancement of local participation (Maynen and Doornbos, 2004). Thus, it is emphasized, the key task in NRM is building the right kind of institutions (Shah, 1993). Practitioners and scholars increasingly believe that "getting institutions right" is as important as – and inextricable from - getting incentives right, if sustainable progress is to be made in either the conservation or the development arenas, much less both (Barrett et.al., 2005).

The literature on NRM, including fishery resources is replete with conceptualization, experimentation, analysis and evolution of different forms of community-based management (defined as a situation in which "decisions about fisheries management in a particular area are made at the local level by the community using the fishery, with no or very little clear role for government" and co-management (defined as "an arrangement where responsibility for resource management is shared between the government and user groups"). The managerial rational for co-management lies, it is argued, in the fact the strengths and weaknesses of the state in resource management are complementary to those of local communities or user groups (Baland and Platteau, 1996).

Several countries have recognized the role and relevance of local communities in the management of natural resources (Balland and Platteau, 1996; Agrawal and Gibson, 1999; Berkes, 2003; Ostrom, 1990). However, most often the central agencies do not provide enough space for local communities to participate in resource management. At the same time, top down government fails to mobilize cooperation of local communities to deliver sustainable livelihoods that ensure fair and equitable distribution of resources (Thomson, 2006), as well as, effective conservation and management of the resource. Exceptions to this general failure are, however, increasingly being documented and analyzed globally.
This paper presents the experiences of a cooperative arrangement between the state (represented by the State Fisheries Department) and the community (represented by the Fishing Cooperative Societies – a village level primary institution of the rural people displaced due to construction of dams) in the management of fishery resources in two major reservoirs of a northern hill state (province) – Himachal Pradesh in India.

The two reservoirs studied – Gobind Sagar and Pong, constructed on two major rivers of the region originating from the great Himalaya, namely, Sutluj and Beas, respectively; with mean water spread of 25,000 ha constitute an important fishery resource of the state. The development of fisheries on scientific lines in these two major water bodies of the state have shown tremendous potential for, not only the food production and generating employment but also resource conservation. A system of cooperative management of these resources have been developed over last three decades in the state by designing and implementing a series of policy and administrative interventions, whereby, the state has been able to facilitate creation, promotion and strengthening of the fishing cooperative societies as an effective partner in the sustainable fisheries development and resource enhancement in the two reservoirs.

In this study, we trace the roots of this system and its progressive evolution into an effective mechanism of co-management. The study focuses on the roles of various stakeholders in ensuring resources sustainability and equitable distribution. The study also assesses how this system of co-management has impacted upon the orientation and actions of fisherfolks towards resource conservation. An attempt has been made to identify and discuss the factors contributing towards success of this arrangement and constraints perceived therein. Finally, the paper concludes by summarizing key lessons emerging from the study and their relevance and implications for designing and implementation of institutional and policy interventions for fishery resource conservation and management in other parts of the country.
Title: Boom and bust economics in northern British Columbia: The changing nature of northern rural women’s caregiving

Abstract:

Rapid economic change in northern single industry resource-based towns has influenced the nature and scope of local women’s caregiving roles. The volatile nature of resource-based industry has resulted in rural economic decline and spiraling housing market values. Policy responses promoting out-migration constitute the primary state intervention while privatisation and deep cuts to social services have further deteriorated remaining community infrastructure. Within this context, women, who are often the primary caregivers, increasingly compensate for reduced services and supports in their communities by accepting expanding caregiving responsibilities for family, friends and the broader community. Strong community identity, kinship ties and commitment to community caring places many women in the precarious situation of choosing between their personal well-being and that of their family, friends and community - their “home”.

A primary aim of this study is to explore how rural economic decline influences the decisions of women caregivers in the broader context of constructed conceptualisations of womanhood and the manifestation and reinforcement of women’s caregiving roles by state policy (i.e. housing policy), local community context and rural women themselves. The research also explores the impact of economic decline on housing policy and associated implications for women caregivers in rural and northern settings.

Focus groups were held in four northern British Columbia communities and data was used to gain an understanding of place-based issues. Collected data was also used to inform the development of individual interview questions. Semi-structured one-to-one interviews were conducted with approximately 70 women in three northern rural communities and one non-metropolitan northern town. Participants were asked to share their experiences and perceptions of the rural economic decline they experienced in relation to family relationships, housing choices and caregiving responsibilities at the individual, familial and community level. Institutional ethnography was adopted as a means to further contextualise women’s caregiving experiences within local circumstances and structures.

Preliminary research findings which revealed tensions between growing community demands, state off-loading of caregiving responsibilities and the capacity of women to provide increasing amounts of unpaid care will be discussed within the broader context of economic decline. Women caregivers’ perceptions and constructions of their roles as natural caregivers and the disconnect of these perspectives in terms of the decline of community infrastructure will also be discussed. The resulting changing nature and structure of rural women’s caregiving roles and responsibilities will also be highlighted.
Topic area: Social Work, Women’s Studies, and Political Economy
Presentation format: Paper session

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This research investigates the existence of a gender stereotype confirming attribution bias, and related stereotype confirming processes. The data showed that stereotype consistent and inconsistent behavior did not result in different causal attributions by the observer, or in the subsequent endorsement of different traits for the actor\(^2\). However, observing behavior that was inconsistent with gender stereotypes did cause participants to reconfirm these stereotypes in their ratings of how typical and desirable specific behaviors are for men, and for women. These findings are relevant not only to the study of gender stereotypes, but to the area of stereotype biases generally.

Part of our attempt to understand the social world in which we exist and interact involves explaining other people’s behavior. Social psychology terms this process ‘attribution’, and theory suggests that causal attributions vary along the loci of causality (internal-external), stability (temporary-stable) and controllability (controllable-not controllable; Weiner, 1985b). The role of perceiver’s expectations in how we attribute different behaviors has been well documented, and much of this work implies a confirming attribution bias (Kulik, 1983). 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, situational, or temporary cause. Related to

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\(^2\) The attribution and trait endorsement findings have been previously reported (Camp & Sloan, 2006), however when reporting the findings concerning typical and desirable ratings it is necessary to present them in the wider framework of stereotype confirming biases, thus the attribution and endorsement findings are reiterated to create the context for issues and results here.
this pattern is the possibility that observing a target acting inconsistently with our expectations may result in a different trait endorsement since presumably endorsement of traits consistent with a targets’ behavior is reflective of internal attributions. These are two of the patterns of data which would suggest a bias toward confirming expectations, but there may be other, perhaps more creative means, to achieve this end. For example, there may be a rebound effect such that following exposure to inconsistency, social observers engage in other expectation confirming cognitions or processes, and that this tendency is not just limited to the pattern of their causal attributions.

The basis of our expectations for an actor may come from a number of sources, including the actor’s membership in a particular 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. Although this bias has been demonstrated (Johnston, Bristow & Love, 2000) 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 has implications beyond theoretical interest.

The aim of this research was to attempt to contribute to the attribution field’s understanding of how perceivers attribute unexpected information by investigating the gender stereotype confirming attribution bias. Specifically, this research explores the pattern of causal attributions made for gender stereotype consistent vs. inconsistent behaviors, as well as subsequent trait endorsements for the actor. In addition, another
more novel means of stereotype confirmation is examined. Do participants’ ratings of how typical or desirable a behavior is for each gender differ following the observation of a behavior which is consistent or inconsistent with their stereotypical expectations? More specifically could these ratings act as an outlet for re-confirmation in the face of inconsistency that may threaten the disconfirmation of stereotypical expectations.

**Method**

238 African American participants read vignettes describing behaviors that were either: stereotypically male / female (gender typed behavior), positive / negative valence (valence of behavior), and performed by a male / female African American actor (actor gender). To ensure that the gender stereotypes used were considered relevant and applicable to our particular participants they were selected on the basis of data regarding gender stereotypes and favorability ratings of trait behaviors collected by a colleague from the same subject pool (Glover, 2005) and / or from a similar published study elsewhere (Smith & Midlarsky, 1985). Following the vignettes participants completed the revised Causal Dimension Scale (McAuley, Duncun, & Russell, 1992) which measures attributions about a target person’s behavior, and a trait endorsement measure to assess the extent to which positive-male, negative-male, positive-female, and negative-female traits were endorsed for the actor. Participants were then presented with each of the behavioral sentences again and asked to rate what percentage of African American men would behave as the actor had, how desirable / undesirable it is for African American men to act this way, what percentage of African American women would behave as the actor had and how desirable / undesirable it is for African American women to act this way.
Results

Contrary to expectations derived from stereotype confirming attribution bias, there was no interaction of gender typed behavior and actor gender on attributions about target behavior or on trait endorsements. Stereotype consistent and inconsistent behavior did not result in different causal attributions by the observer, or in endorsement of different traits for the actor. However, there was a significant main effect of gender typed behavior and of valence of behavior on the all trait endorsement measures; participants were more likely to endorse traits consistent with the expected gender of the actors’ behavior, regardless of the actors’ actual gender; and were more likely to endorse traits of the same valence of the behavior. For example if participants were presented with an actor 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 actor.

These data seem to imply that gender expected consistency does not have an effect, while personal consistency may. However, the participant’s ratings of the stimulus behavior with which they had been presented on how typical it is for each gender, and how desirable it is for each gender, reveal there is some effect. The interaction between gender typed behavior and actors gender (which indicates consistency) was significant for the rating of what percentage of men who behave as the actor had (F(1,232)=10.54, p<.01), the rating of what percentage of women would behave as the actor had (F(1,232)=14.50, p<.01), how desirable it is for AA men to behave as the actor had (F(1,232)=4.77, p<.05), and how desirable it is for African American women to behave as the actor had (F(1,232)=10.251, p<.01). In examining the means it would appear that
observing inconsistency between gender typed behavior and the actors’ gender causes participants to reconfirm their expectations in their ratings. For example, if participants read a scenario in which a stereotypically male behavior is shown, they rate this behavior as more typical of men if the actor in the scenario had been female (mean = 6.50) than is they had been male (mean = 6.08). It may be that observing inconsistent behaviors makes stereotypes salient to the observer, when they may not be under stereotype consistent circumstances. The stereotype confirming attribution bias literature, and literature concerning information processing effects of stereotypes generally, implies that it is under stereotype inconsistent, that is unexpected, conditions, when the bias will be most apparent (Croxton, 1989; Deaux, 1976; Kulik, 1983; Ross, 1977; Weiner, 1985a). If we observe something which confirms our stereotypes then we take it at face value, however if we observe something which is inconsistent with our expectation then we engage in various biases and processes to protect our expectations from the potentially disconfirming evidence.

Conclusions

Although no direct evidence was found for a gender stereotype confirming attribution bias, results were significant for the study of gender stereotypes. 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, as seen in the trait endorsement results. Behavior was expected to be reliable, and predicted behavior based traits were not based on the stated gender of the actor, but rather on consistency with their past behavior. Furthermore, even if we may be unwilling to change our causal attribution to protect our stereotypes this does not mean
that we don’t engage in some reconfirming process. Our participants’ tendency to estimate a higher percentage of trait endorsement for the gender consistent with the stereotype following a scenario involving the inconsistent gender, may well one possible means by which social observers confirm stereotypes following potentially disconfirming evidence. Alternatively, this may be a sort of analogous contrast effect. The actors’ gender inconsistent behavior may serve to cue or remind us of the behavioral stereotype for the expected gender.

References


Beyond the Myths: What are African Americans Attitudes Towards Gay Men and Where do They Come From?

Debbie Van Camp¹, Jamie Barden¹ and Lloyd Sloan¹

Social observers have noted the existence of a strong prejudice toward gay men within the African American community. This research extends current understandings regarding the content and basis of these negative attitudes. These data indicate that gay couples are evaluated much more negatively than straight couples. Participants’ attitudes towards gay men were predicted by their perception of their religions’ attitudes towards gays. Critically, this was fully mediated by their perceptions of parents’ attitudes, suggesting that parental views may provide an effective focus for prejudice reduction strategies.

Negative attitudes towards gay men and lesbians, and the associated prejudice and discrimination, are pervasive and persistent in American society as a whole (Stangor, Sullivan, & Ford, 1991). In particular, social observers suggest that prejudice towards gay men is particularly strong within the African American community. This prejudice has been traced back to cultural factors such as organized religion, and family values (King, 2004; Negy & Eisenman, 2005). However, there remains remarkably little empirical research concerning the content or the bases of African Americans’ attitudes towards homosexuals, and what does exist is equivocal (Lewis, 2003).

A more complete understanding of African Americans’ attitudes is important for a number of reasons; most notably, highly negative attitudes towards homosexuality have been implicated as a major factor in the spread of HIV in this community, and as a barrier to effective education and prevention (Brooks, Etzel, Hinojos, Henry & Perez, 2005).

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HIV/AIDS is of great concern to the African American community: 47% of all HIV cases in the US are Black, and the rate of diagnosis is over 8 times higher than the rate among Whites (CDC; November, 2006). A person’s race itself cannot be the risk factor for higher HIV rates; therefore we must examine specific social and cultural factors within the African American community for potential explanations. These include not only socioeconomic barriers to education and treatment, but also the prevailing stigma against gay men in the community (Brooks et al, 2005). This stigma has been implicated as the primary reason for the higher rates of men who have sex with men (CDC; November, 2006). It has been suggested that Black men are more likely than their White counterparts to engage in homosexual behavior while maintaining a ‘straight’ identity, and that this is a result of the stigma toward gay men within the African American community. The consequences of this are far reaching: for the men who struggle with their identity and feel forced to live a double life, for the women in their life who are at a higher risk for contracting HIV, and in turn for the community as a whole.

In light of these fundamental implications, it is imperative that we better understand the basis of this stigma. The current research examines the content and correlates of African Americans’ attitudes towards gay men. In particular, in light of the parental socialization hypothesis (Allport, 1954; O’Bryan, Fishbein, Ritchey, 2004), as well as the value placed on traditional family values in the community, we explore what role parental attitudes might have in forming prejudiced attitudes. Previous work has found that children’s implicit and explicit negative attitudes or prejudices correspond with parental views (Sinclair, Dunn, & Lowery, 2005). The impact of religious attitudes will also be investigated, because Black churches are often held as at least partially
responsible for negative attitudes (Ward, 2005), and prejudice toward gay men among African Americans is associated with religious attendance (Schulte & Battle, 2004).

Method

A 2 (sexual orientation: gay/straight) x 2 (race of couple: Black/White) within subjects design was used. Eighty-eight straight Black participants rated pictures of Black and White couples that were either straight or gay. Ratings were made on a number of items designed to assess their overall attitude toward the couple. Participants then completed other measures to assess the content and bases of their attitudes, including items asking about their parents’ attitudes and their religions attitudes toward homosexuality, and in particular gay men.

Results

Overall, participants’ attitudes towards gay couples were negative. Participants showed a strong preference for their sexual orientation ingroup (straight couples; $F(1,86) = 222.25, p < .01$), and racial ingroup (Black couples; $F(1, 86) = 20.73, p < .01$). However, there was a significant interaction between the sexual orientation and race of the couple ($F(1, 86) = 20.69, p < .01$). Black couples were preferred to White couples if the couple is straight, however if the couple was gay, there is no racial preference. Gay couples were disliked irrelevant of their race.

To examine the relationship between participants’ attitudes and the attitudes of their religion and their parents, analyses were performed using religious attitudes as the independent variable, the participants’ attitude index as the dependent variable, and parents’ attitudes as the mediator. First, the participants’ attitude index was regressed on religious attitudes; religious attitudes were found to be a significant predictor of
participants’ own attitudes ($b = .32, p < .05$). Second, parents’ attitudes were regressed on religious attitudes; religious attitudes were found to be a significant predictor of parents attitudes ($b = .46, p < .01$). Finally, the participants’ attitude index was regressed on both religious attitudes and parents’ attitudes; parents’ attitudes significantly predicted participants’ attitudes ($b = .67, p < .01$), however religious attitudes no longer significantly predicted participants’ attitudes ($b = .01, p = .915$). The Sobel (1982) test was conducted and results confirmed that the reduction in the path from religious attitudes to participants’ attitudes was significant when parents’ attitudes were included in the regression ($z = 4.01, p < .01$). Therefore it seems parents’ attitudes fully mediate the relationship between religious attitudes and participants’ attitudes (Baron & Kenny, 1986).

Conclusions

Results are consistent with that of social observers: African Americans’ attitudes towards homosexuals are generally negative. Results also conform to the usual ingroup bias pattern based on both race and sexual orientation. However, the interaction between sexual orientation and race indicates that Black gays are considered as an outgroup, and rejected from the Black racial ingroup along with White gays.

The attitudes of both the participants’ religion and their parents seemed to predict their own attitudes. However, parents’ attitudes mediated the effect of religious attitudes; the influence of religion only had an effect when supported by parental attitudes. These results imply that, in keeping with previous research concerning parental socialization of attitudes, parents provide proximal validation and transmission of views coming from outside the family.
The influence of parental attitudes supports the parental socialization hypothesis and points to a possible focus for successful intervention strategies. If parents and religious institutions can be implicated as potential sources of negative attitudes, so then they can be tools for change; perhaps more importantly, they may be crucial outlets for effective HIV prevention campaigns. Although some churches will unfortunately remain a source of negative attitudes, others are already starting to play a central role in the fight against ignorance, stigma, and disease (Brooks et al, 2005).

References


SUSTAINABLE URBAN NEIGHBORHOODS THROUGH DECENTRALIZATION AND PARTICIPATORY PROCESSES: CASE EVA LANXMEER, THE NETHERLANDS

dr.ir. A. van Timmeren ¹,², M. Kaptein ³,

Abstract

This paper focuses on the spatial, technical and social integration of a ‘combined waste (wastewater) / energy system’ for an urban neighborhood (the deep green district ‘Lanxmeer’ in Culemborg, The Netherlands) integrated in a semi-public building. The district consists of approximately 250 houses, several offices and a ‘City farm’. The design of the district and the building is based on permaculture, Reggio Emilia and organic design principles. An innovative mixture of ‘red and green’ development is presented (urban agriculture), together with a concept of integrated decentralized technologies for wastewater and organic waste treatment with energy, carbon and nutrients recovery.

The concept is called ‘Sustainable Implant’ (S.I.). Principally, the concept is based on a small scale biogas installation (with treatment of black water and organic waste / garden & park waste), Combined Heat Power (CHP) and accompanying closed glasshouse, designed as a four storey high double skin façade of the semi-public building, called the ‘EVA Centre’, with integrated wastewater treatment for parts of the wastewater flows based on the Living Machine concept. These compact ‘hanging gardens’, as they are called, are situated in a non-ventilated space with heat (and water) recovery, heat/cold storage in an underlying aquifer and with injection of the surplus CO₂ of the biogas plant. The S.I. will be realized as a part of the EVA Centre and has an interconnecting role between both district and EVA Centre, inhabitants and visitors. Especially the social context concerning the people living in this urban neighborhood, the role of the S.I. and the Cityfarm(er) will be explained. Besides, the system layout and the dimensioning backgrounds are explained. Additional emphasis is put on maintenance, conservation and administration of the integrated whole, and the possible consequences for the district and its inhabitants.

Keywords: Self-sufficiency, Interconnection Wastewater Treatment and Energy Generation, Architectural Integration, Urban Agriculture.

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1 INTRODUCTION

The background of this research is urban planning that is based on ‘interconnection’, as well as waste management in general, and on closure of the essential cycles (energy and water) inside urban developments, or as close to them as possible. During the process of realisation of this kind of complex decentralized solutions special interest concerns the need for existence and support of an ‘intentional community’.

The research presented was commissioned by the Delft University of Technology (TUD) as part of the CD&E research (Climate Design & Environment). The aim is to
investigate, develop and implement decentralised sanitation, energy and reuse technologies. In addition to this CORE International, Haskoning Nederland, Innogas and Thecogas Biogas B.V. are responsible for the Culemborg case related quantitative and qualitative process analysis (battery limits) and the economic implementation study. Atelier 2T Architects together with Hospitality Concepts, V&L Consultants and several other partners are responsible for the development and design of the EVA Centre in the deep green district Lanxmeer in Culemborg (Timmeren, 2006).

1.1 Decentralization and self-sufficiency

A limited and so-called ‘ecological interpretation’ of autarkic systems has been taken as a starting point: ‘systems that are closed for matter and energy, except for the continuous flow of solar energy’. The decentralization and, in some cases, even complete disconnection of central (infra)structures are at the centre of the developing emancipation of systems of which they are a part.

Two development processes concerning decentralized technology for the purpose of autonomy have come forward as topical: viz. first, the efficiency and improvements in the integration of sub techniques and ‘real-time’ co-ordinated, connected concepts, and, second, a better harmony between supply (input) and demand of the (different) sub flows. Additionally, there are two more general underlying development processes. The first is the environment-technical, environmental and, to some degree, also social optimization of decentralized systems within semi-autonomous projects. The second underlying development process concerns the link to economic applications related to the surroundings, often determined by soil or users, including taking carbon and nutrients back to agriculture and other lateral applications or possibilities. The presented case study incorporates both development processes.

1.2 Ecological district EVA Lanxmeer, Culemborg (The Netherlands)

Main case study within the presented research in which interconnection of public utilities and local autonomy has been elaborated is the project EVA Lanxmeer (EVA: Education, Information and Advice; in Dutch). It concerns an ecological settlement in the small-scale city of Culemborg. The location of the EVA project is near the central railway station of Culemborg, on 24 hectares of agricultural land and some orchards.

This was the first time in the Netherlands that permission was given to build in the vicinity of, and partially even within the protection zone of a drinking water extraction area. The regional government allowed building at this site only under the guarantee that it would carefully be built according to modern ‘deep green’ principles.

![Figure 1 Lanxmeer district with orchard, drinking water extraction area, retention ponds & helophytes (left) and semi-open court yards (right) www.eva-lanxmeer.nl](www.eva-lanxmeer.nl)

The structure of the urban plan is mainly based on the record of the existing landscape. Especially the subterranean structure has been used for the overall plan, the water zoning- and ecological plan. Besides of that general principles of Permaculture affected the spatial structure of the plan, especially the green zoning).

There is a gradual transition from private-, semi-private-, and public space towards a more natural landscape in the protected zone of the Water Company. Together these green zones form an environment that displays the diversity and resilience of natural
ecosystems. It can be called the ‘Park of the 21st century’ (Timmeren and Röling, 2005). Moreover because of the added links to the (waste)water-, energy- and waste concept of Lanxmeer. The project has been carried out in different phases and will consist of approximately 250 houses and apartments, (collective) permaculture gardens and ecological office buildings. In addition to special functions such as a biological city farm, the EVA Centre (an education, information & conference centre) is also situated in this district, along with a hotel and ‘Sustainable Implant’ facilities.

1.3 The EVA Centre with Sustainable Implant

At first the district’s energy concept had completely autarkic living as its main principle. Because of the concept of autarky and, consequently, the requirement for energy being available ‘on demand’, it was decided to use chemically bound energy, in the form of biogas. The production of gas from (green) waste flows in the district has two positive effects at the same time: not only does gas become available, but also there will be no need for a connection to the public sewage system. For the production processes it is of importance that the percentage of solid substance in the fermenter is as high as possible: the energy content of black water is determined by the solid mass. Therefore, it is of importance to decrease the quantity of flushing water as much as possible. To achieve this, the option of using a booster for each 8 houses was chosen. The combination of black water and green waste offers advantages. Firstly, the amount of biomass available will be higher and therefore the gas proceeds will be larger; secondly, the ‘fresh black water’ implies a constant supply of fermenting biomass, which is good for the stability of the fermentation process.

The fermentation of waste is not the end of the process. Other integral parts of the process include using the gas for energy generation and purifying the liquid effluent of the fermenter to a level that it can be discharged into the surface water without major problems, and processing the sludge without odour nuisance into fertilizer. Because of the E for Education in EVA, also a Living Machine (Todd and Josephson, 1996) was integrated for the purification of small part of the effluent. With respect to the necessary exploitation of the system two extra decentralised concepts were added, viz. a facility for further separating various anorganic waste fractions (‘Retourette’ or ‘Recycle Shop’), and the possibility for joint e-commerce supply (‘E- Fulfilment’). The total system is called the “Sustainable Implant” or in short: S.I. (Timmeren et al., 2004).

2 THE SUSTAINABLE IMPLANT

2.1 Combined decentralized facilities: the Sustainable Implant (S.I.)

The SI has been planned on the transition of the district into the surrounding (urban) areas, in the same lot as where the Eva Centre and the hotel are to be built (Figure 2, Figure 4).

Figure 2 Longitudinal section over the EVA Centre with integrated Sustainable Implant (left).

The technical installations will be integrated in an architectural solution, in such a manner that they will take up as little space as possible. The process of producing biogas (energy generation) and wastewater treatment can be divided into various sub processes:
1. Gathering black water on the one hand and green household waste (and to some extent garden waste) on the other, and leading them into the system;
2. The fermentation process, with biogas, effluent and sludge as its output;
3. Purifying and improving the gas into natural fossil gas equivalent;
4. Purifying the effluent until it has surface water quality;
5. Composting sludge into usable garden compost.

In addition a collection facility for waste and e-delivery, and a re-use step concerning the methane (biogas), water and carbon are added:

6. Collection of separated waste flows (Retourette) & e-delivery goods of the district;
7. Using the biogas in a combined heat power plant (CHP), CO$_2$ in glasshouses and purified water in the spa & vitality facilities.

Advantages of the biogas installation include getting rid of the inconvenience and cost of the (individual) green rubbish bins. This, however, can only be accomplished if the green waste is collected with a much higher frequency than the current once every fortnight. In Lanxmeer this will be an important role for the ‘urban farmer’ of the city farm ‘Cae staffage’, who will also perform the management tasks for the installations. The fermentation process takes place with a temperature of approximately 30 degrees Celsius, fully automatically; its stability is guaranteed by sufficient organic waste being fed into the system and as long as bactericides are avoided. Therefore, there is a risk that residents want to disinfect their toilets in case of illnesses and use cleaning products for that (bleach, lysol etc.) that do not harmonise with the fermentation process. Unwanted objects (in the green waste) can also damage the installation.

The biogas is a mixture of 65% methane, 34% CO$_2$ and some remaining gases (with a maximum of 1%), e.g. sulphur hydrogen. In addition to the biogas, the digestion output of the fermentation process (approximately 5 m$^3$/day) consists of slurry, that is divided into a solid fraction (approximately 40% solids) and a fluid fraction by a screw press.

The fluid fraction is free from pathogens. However, it is still polluted, so that extra purification is necessary before it can be discharged to surface waters (Sidler et al., 2004). Therefore the effluent will be added to the input flow of the Living Machine (that will also process the black water from the EVA Centre and the hotel).

There are two solutions for the solid fraction from the screw press: compost it in heaps in a well-closed compost room, or entering the slurry from the fermenter into the Living Machine. Because of uncertainties with respect to the process quality of this sub flow in the Living Machine, the first option was chosen (Figure 3). An advantage of using a compost room is that also the final maturation can take place there. After the maturation, the compost can be removed and brought back to the city-farm. The air in the compost room is extracted and purified by a bio-filter.
2.2 Interconnection of solutions & direct reuse of different sub flows

The biogas from the fermentation tank is used in a small Combined Heat Power (CHP) installation (Figure 3). Afterwards, a net amount of approximately 70 natural fossil gas equivalents remains and electrical energy surplus of 81 kWh/d remains to be sold (Sidler et al., 2004). From an economic standpoint this amount of gas to be obtained is too small for the investment and exploitation of the installation, within this context. Therefore energy revenue is introduced and used within the EVA Centre. Besides the Sustainable Implant is integrated (implemented) in the EVA Centre (Figure 4).

There are more added values. For example, the local, small-scale sanitation can cause less expansion of the present conventional sewage purification installation to be necessary. In addition to this, there is a (small) reduction of CO₂ discharge and some...
energy saving. In the current configuration with CHP and composting of the sludge in the basement approximately 194 kg/home*year of CO2 reduction for this district of 250 homes will be prevented (Sidler et al., 2004). There is also some reduction of waste collection and energy saving as a result of transport and pumping energy saved. When this saving is also taken into account, there is a total energy saving of approximately 8 GJ per home produced by the biogas installation (Vries and Timmeren, 2006).

2.3 Spatial Integration of the Sustainable Implant

Local interventions, e.g. with regard to sustainability, can be made without leaving the existing scaling-up. The overall design of the district Lanxmeer and the architecture of the most of the buildings is based on permaculture and organic design principles.

Figure 4 Conceptual plan of the EVA Centre with Sustainable Implant and model of the building (preliminary design); see also: www.evacentrum.com.

The triad ‘City Farm Caetshage’, ‘Sustainable Implant’ (SI) and the ‘EVA Centre’ form both the important ends (or beginnings) of the main east/west greenbelt that forms the backbone of the Lanxmeer district. The City Farm is situated in the originally agricultural area in front of the water extraction area. In buying houses the residents of partly have contributed in the realisation costs. In return the residents can visit the farm freely, and if desired even can help with the maintenance of fields. Nevertheless, the City Farm is supposed to work independently.

An important role is set aside to the maintenance aspects and collection of green waste by the city farmer. Together with the green waste of other green areas of Lanxmeer, the kitchen- and green waste of the houses (‘garden waste’) and Lanxmeer’s sewage effluent, this is being transported to the Sustainable Implant by the city farmer.

Figure 5 Schematic overview on the Sustainable Implant within the EVA centre (left: section, and right: basement plan).

Essential for this type of local solution is the way that possible types of trouble are dealt with. The main environmental aspects here include noise nuisance, odor trouble and dust trouble. Noise nuisance can be the result of waste collection and nuisance caused by the installation. In the Netherlands there are also restrictions as for odor nuisance. Effective biofilters should guarantee that this type of nuisance will not occur. As to
dust trouble it can be observed that there will not be any dust emitting process steps in the installation. As to possible aesthetic pollution perception it can be remarked that especially the Living Machine is perceived as a positive factor, looking like a ‘green’ hothouse and oasis, while the larger part of the fermentation is carried out under surface level. As indicated in the previous paragraph the SI can be divided into two main components. The first main component consists of the anaerobic fermenter, CHP, Retourette and e-fulfilment miniload. This part of the installation is situated in a closed, garage-like volume in the southwest corner of the building complex. On top of this mainly closed volume the new ‘water tower’ is situated with storage of biogas (in inflatable bags) in the centre of the tower and retention of the water effluent round about this core in the transparent volume, cascading down in five (repeating) levels.

Figure 6 Impression of the Sustainable Implant (Subcomponent I and II) integrated in the EVA Centre, in the Lanxmeer district, Culemborg (The Netherlands).

The second main component of the SI consists of the water retention cisterns, a sealed double skin façade with wastewater treatment of the EVA Centre (Figure 6), the agricultural glasshouses and ‘hanging gardens’ and the heat recovery installations with seasonal storage in aquifer. Three of the installations within this second main component (the façade, the solar-cavity spaces with hanging gardens and the agricultural glasshouses on top of the building) are fully integrated in the design of the EVA Centre. Most visible is the double skin façade: in fact it can better be defined as a ‘Vertical glasshouse’. This vertical glasshouse is 1.4 meter deep and is entirely sealed to optimize the heat-recovery potentials. Inside this glasshouse wastewater of the EVA Centre (hotel, conference centre, restaurants and wellness centre) is being treated in a Living Machine like configuration. In making the water treatment stacked considerable space is won in comparison with concepts like the Living Machine. The façade is situated in a noise nuisance zone due to its location parallel to railways.

3 REALIZATION THROUGH PARTICIPATION AND INTERACTION

In the democratic triangle formed by the three main groups of parties involved, viz. government, market and citizens, the relation between the first and the third is changing at the moment, because of the withdrawing government and the accompanying liberalization processes. The former relationship between State and citizen, to be characterized as linear (a modern society, fragmented with respect to power), has been transformed into a alternating networks of collaborative structures. The result is a changed margin for the co-ordination and participation processes of (residential) areas.

This leads to a larger interest to involve users and other “relevant” parties into the planning processes as early as possible, or, in other words, to aim for more commitment. There is always a basis for collaboration with the various parties involved
in a process, irrespective of the individual, sometimes conflicting aims. The choice for specific interested parties or their involvement is decisive for the eventual development process. In order to have as many of all the relevant parties involved participating, groups (of partners) are selected normatively or according to their “power” and influence in the residential area.

There is an important task for designers, viz. mapping people’s demands and wishes, and supporting and visualizing the concrete common aims. In this area, design should focus on the physical context of quality of life and sustainability, with the emphasis on the creation of conditions for spatial, social and environmental quality to exist (within the scope of a certain process quality). The other, often dominant parties involved should realize that the involvement of inhabitants/users goes further than just the change (design, construction). It is a balanced concept that is interconnected with surrounding projects, in a structure that supports flexible and continuous change processes, is open, and is continuously capable of absorbing corrections through permanent reflection (and learning), which is called ‘place making’. Also because of the possible learning processes, optimal communication and a maximum of involvement are vital when making comparative assessments in the preferably pluricentric decision-making. Generally taken The Netherlands has two models of decision-making for the (technical) infrastructure and the accompanying systems: the “model of decision”, or “referee model”, that places the problem of difficult decision-making among opposing individuals, interest groups and lower authorities; and the “interaction model”, also know as “coaching model”. The latter starts from the position that it is the decision makers that cause the possible problems. In order to really contribute to quality improvement, all “partners” within the process should declare their willingness to integrate the systems to be used.

Within the scope of the research underlying this project, the “coaching model” or “interaction model” was chosen. The advantage is that people can be prevented from working up to a solution in the shape of a specific infrastructural project too quickly, without sufficiently thinking about the relationship between the suprastructure (what do we want) and the infrastructure (how can we best accomplish this goal). A sound method of decision-making following this interaction model is the so-called “co-production”: recognizing the existence of mutual dependence between the various parties and interests. This method has been applied in the illustration project: the final case study of Lanxmeer.

The model can be made more effective by putting in new (possibly interactive) information technologies. In a digital (Internet) environment, an unambiguous working environment and an unambiguous system can easily be introduced for unhampered use by the various partners. Therefore a platform where participants can communicate in person or digitally with each other about the (desired) developments, and can act and decide has been realized in an early stage of the development process (this is the protected environment within the website: www.evacentrum.com). In this source-oriented attempt, improvised acting is linked to the creative process. In such a complex interaction and integration process, it is crucial to appoint a so-called “leading actor”. In Lanxmeer the designer has been appointed for this purpose, in close collaboration with the concept manager and the process manager, in line with the model of co-production. The pluricentric method of interaction combined with the concept of “open design” offers the best perspectives, and is particularly suitable because of the current “specialists’ society” and the many parallel dynamic processes playing a part: it is an interactive learning process, in which participants may only develop and tune (adjust) their goals during the process. The emphasis is on directing the transformation process and developing alternatives while the process itself is going on.

4 CONCLUSION

The Sustainable Implant cannot be regarded as a fixed design that can be repeated. The instrument comprises a guiding principle for a sustainable solution to the mainly non-sustainable streams in new or existing neighborhoods. On a neighborhood level the S.I. entails the design of a more sustainable main structure for the transportation of water, nutrients, energy, materials and waste. Still a central grid connection will be needed: for starting up and back-up purposes. A connection to the centralized sewerage also still stand. This is mainly due to the fact that (parts of) the Lanxmeer district already have been realized. The sewer system of these parts however is anticipating the
disconnection (planned in 2007/2008). For emergency backup (hygiene related) the connection still will be held available. Specific local circumstances in most of the cases are a strong stimulus for the implementation of decentralized systems for closing cycles on a local basis. Decentralized sanitation systems often offer a solution in places where traditional sewers are not possible, because of soil conditions, water conditions or related rules and regulations. Decentralized systems turn out to be able to gain efficiency advantages as compared to fully centralized systems, particularly through the design of an integrated system of energy generation and supply, and through the connection of this system to a waste water treatment system coupled to nutrients recycling. In this case, in which an anaerobic fermenter is used, the necessity of a protected environment for development was evident. The choices made arise mainly from technical and social optimisation. There are several reasons for the decreasing level of ambition for closing the local (waste) water flows in case of larger scales of application. Occupants turn out to have more commitment when systems perform on the scale of a house or apartment, as compared to the scales larger than a district. As scale size increases, the supply and removal of waste(water) and similar flows get more and more anonymous and gives less possibilities for integration with its source/users (the buildings / houses), with decreasing commitment as a consequence.

It is important to change the general attitude towards the different components of design, development, use and management of urban areas. A way to do so is the ‘interconnection’ of different themes and cycles within cities. An example is the linking of sanitation to energy- and food production, preferably at lower scale levels. The introduction of solutions on an intermediate scale-level, like in Lanxmeer, Culemborg, offers opportunities for autonomous design of the whole or elaborations in which buildings can be semi-autonomous.

Introducing the analogy of the functioning of buildings with respect to energy and sanitation flows with that of a parasite. The appealing-, and already partly realised, example of the linking of agriculture, waste(water) treatment and energy production in the urban district Lanxmeer in Culemborg might be exemplary for the potentials of the supposed need for a change in attitude.

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Rethinking the Understanding of Development

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Reports of the failure of development programs around the world; more conspicuously in the developing countries provoke the following questions: What caused these programs to fail?, Why did the development theories and models that were successful in certain countries not work in others?, How do we bring about development in places where the dominant definition of development would be meaningless?. To address these questions, this paper draws from literature around these issues to first define conventional development, then illustrate the failure of conventional development and the reasons for the same and finally provide a discussion on what an alternative understanding of development could look like. The process of development is driven by the definition and understanding of development. Thus in order to create and restructure existing development models that are often transported carte blanche from one context to another, it is vital to first rethink our understanding of development and its goals. This paper concludes that development is essentially the increase in the options an individual has in living his life and the goals of this process is to be primarily defined by those it is meant for.
Moral Evaluation and Perceived Legal Responsibility of Various Offences

Topic Area: Psychology/Criminology

Presentation format: Paper Session

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Abstract

Moral Evaluation and Perceived Legal Responsibility of Various Offences

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As part of a larger research endeavour to understand social cognitive reasoning in offenders, this proposed research project will examine moral evaluations and the perception of legal responsibility of offences against others. There are situations in which an offence is perceived to be an illegal act, but the morally right action to take. In these situations, people often believe that the morality of the situation or mitigating factors should decrease legal responsibility (including punishment). This study will attempt to establish whether offenders and non-offenders differ in their moral evaluations of incidents/offences and the perceived legal responsibility for committing these incidents/offences. Based on the findings of past research, these incidents/offences will vary in the harm done to others and provocation. The proposed paper will discuss the past research, methodology, and preliminary findings.
Restorative Justice Practices in Elementary Schools

Education/Social Justice

Paper Session

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Restorative Justice Practices in Elementary Schools

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Although the definition of restorative justice has evolved, it can be defined as a process and as a set of values (Roche, 2001). The process involves bringing together parties affected by the wrongdoing to discuss and resolve the after effects of the offence (see Braithwaite, 1999). In addition to this process, restorative justice also involves a set of values and theorists agree that the main value is repairing the harm (Braithwaite, 2000; Schweigert, 1999; Van Ness & Strong, 1997; Zehr,1990). Other important values include reintegration and forgiveness of the offender (Braithwaite, 1989; Roche, 2001). Initially, research and discussion concerning restorative justice programs was centred on its role as an alternative to the formal court procedures (Roche, 2006). Restorative practices more recently have expanded to other settings and types of offences, including behavioural problems in public schools (Karp & Breslin, 2001).

Considering the process and values of restorative justice, Karp and Breslin (2001) suggest that these practices are an effective alternative to punitive disciplinary policies in the school communities. According to these authors, however, restorative justice is mainly an abstract concept within schools. Most research and discussion regarding these programs has focused on secondary schools (grades 8 to 12). Yet, little research has been conducted on restorative justice practices in elementary schools.

According to Roche (2006), many teachers believe that restorative justice is simply a new name for the way they have always dealt with problems. In other words, according to many teachers, they routinely employ informally the principles of restorative justice. In stark contrast to these informal practices, many school districts enforce “zero tolerance” approaches (Karp & Breslin, 2001). These policies do not accord the flexibility for individual teachers to employ informal resolutions, including restorative justice practices. Furthermore, these policies, according to Karp and Breslin, exclude the “offenders from the school community” and build a school community on “fear rather than care”. Adoption of formal restorative justice practices, therefore, may provide an alternative to zero tolerance practices, when appropriate (p. 253).

School District 73, Kamloops, British Columbia (SD73) currently does not have a formal restorative justice program in the elementary (Kindergarten – Grade 7) schools. Recent SD73 (2006/07) initiatives include promotion of Effective Behaviour Support (EBS), a school-wide implementation of consistent, positive, and effective policies and procedures for reinforcing appropriate behaviour and dealing with inappropriate behaviour. Much of the focus of EBS is on positive reinforcements and following through with articulated consequences. SD73 also has an anti-bullying initiative (September 2005) in which it is stated: “The rights and interests of all parties (complainant and respondent) shall be considered when appropriate actions are decided.” Although some of SD73’s prose involves language around tolerance and care, a survey of the district’s social responsibility initiatives and policies reveals scant mention of the processes and sets of values which would be akin to restorative justice models.

As a first step to determining the feasibility of implementing these programs, we examined current responses to school-base problems and compared them with those of restorative justice practices. In addition to examining problem solving practices, we were interested in current
understandings of restorative justice programs, as well as perceived obstacles to their implementation.

Hopkins (2004), in her book that focuses on implementing restorative justice programs in schools, proposes a series of questions to initiate discussion with teachers and administrators regarding existing behavioural management and restorative programs. As a starting point, we adopted several of her questions and developed additional questions that we asked principals of elementary schools. In this paper, we will discuss their responses and propose recommendations regarding the implementation of a school-based restorative justice program.

Methodology

Eight principals of elementary schools in SD73 were individually interviewed. The schools were selected because they represent a range of the types of elementary schools found in SD73, according to size, rural/urban context, diversity of students, neighbourhood, and curricular focus (see Appendix I). As of October 2006, SD73 had 7,739 students registered in its elementary schools. Approximately 13% of all SD73 students identify as aboriginal.

The principals were asked the following questions in a semi-structured interview format:

1. Describe behaviours or incidents that are of concern at this school.
2. What are the current responses or responses of your school to these behaviours? Describe different procedures for different behaviours.
3. What are the ideal outcomes you are hoping for with these types of responses?
4. Please describe your understanding of restorative justice.
5. Have you explored the possibility of implementing a restorative justice program?
6. What sort of supports do you need to implement restorative justice practices in this school?

The first three interview questions were adapted from Hopkins (2004). Trained interviewers followed up responses with probes to clarify and expand the principals’ responses. The average interview time was 20 minutes and interviews were conducted in the principals’ offices. The responses were audio recorded and later transcribed. Principals were given the opportunity to review their transcriptions and edit their responses. All identifying information was removed from the transcriptions prior to an examination of the responses. A summary of these responses is presented below. In some instances, a question was answered in a prior response to another question. Following this summary, we will discuss the feasibility of developing a restorative justice in the elementary schools for this school district.

Results and Discussion

Question 1: Describe behaviours or incidents that are of concern at this school.

Our first question was to determine the types of incidents that are of concern and to ascertain whether or not restorative justice programs could be applicable to these incidents. The
principals' responses to this question were varied. Concerns include bullying, non-compliance, anger, physical fighting, vandalism, and drugs. These responses are consistent with a recent literature review that cited bullying, violence, vandalism, and other such similar behaviours as the most common student based problems (Luiselli et al., 2005). The most common response, mentioned by all principals, is bullying. When asked to provide examples of what constitutes bullying from their perspective, the principals' responses are divided into physical bullying and emotional bullying and often both, with verbal bullying escalating to physical conflict. Most incidents stem from friction in relationships. For example, in School B the principal recalled this incident:

we had some grade 7 girls this year getting involved in a fight... and basically it was... one of those 12-year old 13-year old, they're friends, they're not friends, best friends, now they're worst enemies...someone said something about somebody and the rumours spread around and before they knew it they were,...embroiled in a conflict so big they got involved in a fight.

Principals indicated that these types of incidents often escalate during less-supervised times during the school day such as lunch or recess. Additionally, sometimes bullying can begin in off-school sites, such as the internet. Principal A relates the influence of the internet (instant messaging) in bullying.

... because society’s ... more aware of bullying, things which used to just go under the radar, now we deal with a whole lot more, and we have things like MSN bullying which occurs off the school site, but it comes back to the school ‘cause threats are made over MSN or challenging comments are made or putdowns, rumours, so we had this year about four students who decided with the support of their parents that they didn’t feel comfortable at this school and ended up moving to another school meanwhile we’re also receiving five or six from other schools who are in the same boat.

Another principal, from School D, also mentions verbal bullying, including ostracization: “Pretty common types of things there will be exclusionary types of things ‘You can’t play,’ name-calling increasing to taunting, those types of things; and I get some intimidation, some physical intimidation.” This movement from verbal bullying to physical conflict is further supported by Principal C: “…out on the playground…there is on occasion you run across students who will I guess verbally abuse other students . . . on occasion at times they’ll lose their tempers and, you know, will engage in physical conflict with each other.” Physical violence almost exclusively occurs on the playground. Principal C makes this point: “Occasionally it’ll happen inside the school but I can only think of one instance in the last three years where it’s happened inside - mostly it’s on the playground over some playground issue.”

Another behavioural concern, which was cited as the most prevalent on-site act, was non-compliance. Similar to bullying, this often seems to happen outside of the teachers' purview. “An example of the defiance would be students wandering in the hallway and are asked to go outside and they either totally ignore the supervisor or they give the supervisor flack.” (Principal A) However, teachers are also subject to this sort of defiance. “Well when the teachers ask the kids to do something and they either blatantly refuse or they have some kind of a smart mouth comment back. Something that isn’t acceptable in my house is certainly not acceptable in the school.” (Principal G) Another principal reiterates this type of behaviour: “The non-compliance issues are around refusal to cooperate in the classroom, refusal to engage in
any meaningful activity; that sort of thing. So then that within itself creates discipline issues.” (Principal E)

Although the bulk of concerns are related to “squabbles, rumours, defiance, kids having disagreements over teams for, for how they're playing outside, that sort of thing.” (Principal A), a minority of the incidents in the schools have involved drugs and vandalism. “[W]e’ve had very small incidents of drugs at school, but [a] particular incident escalated when the student left the school and proceeded to w-want to commit suicide.” (Principal A) Another principal had two incidents at the school in the past year involving vandalism, specifically school windows being broken. (Principal D) And still another principal related an incident involving drugs at a school where the principal previously worked.

We had a grade seven girl found with marijuana at school and again, you know, that was kind of typical of some of the situations in xxxxx that we've seen kids using marijuana and, you know, fighting and vandalism…. (Principal F)

These last two incidents involved the RCMP, but most often schools respond to behavioural concerns at a school-based level.

Alcohol and drug abuse by students has also been cited as a common concern among educators. In 2004, a Youth Health Survey was administered by the McCreary Centre in Vancouver (Lawrence) the results suggest that there has been a steady increase in the use of drugs and alcohol on school premises during the 1990’s. Karp and Breslin (2001) also mention the prevalence of drug and alcohol use in a review of three programs which used restorative justice practices to help deal with the issues of substance abuse in schools. However, it is not surprising that these problems as considered relatively low occurrences considering the age of the children. The type of problems reported in this study can easily be contrasted with those found in secondary schools (e.g. alcohol/drug use and truancy).

**Question 2: What are the current responses or responses of your school to these behaviours? Describe different procedures for different behaviours.**

This question was posed to examine current responses to incidents of concern with an eye to contrasting these responses with restorative justice processes.

According to the principals, the schools employ a variety of methods in response to behavioural incidents; all of these involve some form of fact finding and progressive discipline. School staff or administration will generally investigate behavioural incidents by interviewing the children involved. Then, they implement agreed upon responses that are progressive in nature, which depend on the severity of the behaviour and the number of incidents a child has been involved in. Progressive discipline differs from school to school, but generally follows a similar pattern: encouraging students to be aware of the misbehaviour, timeouts or consequence rooms, in-school suspensions, and, finally, out-of- school suspensions. Although in most situations the behaviour is initially dealt with by the teacher or supervisor, with more severe behaviour the principal becomes involved. Principal G explains progressive discipline as follows:

For whatever incidents … it is first dealt with in the classroom. Then if the teacher doesn’t feel that they’ve gotten the response they want from the student, they contact parents. And if they still don’t get the response they want then it comes to me or the
vice-principal. If it comes to the administration, then we deal with the child. Again, normally that’s in a progression too, so we deal with the child first by talking generally, getting them to fill in a behaviour form that talks about what they did; what they did wrong and what they can do to make sure they don’t do it again. And if that doesn’t work we go on to another step that gets them to look at similar types of incidents through worksheet kinds of examples; read ...some ideas about incidents similar to what they had done and, respond to some questions. And then if we still don’t get the changes that we expect...then it becomes dealing with parents. It could lead to in-school suspensions. I prefer in-school suspensions to out-of-school suspensions. But in the end if it continues to escalate then it’s out-of-school.

Principals routinely involve parents in talking to their child about his/her behaviour, as in the case of Principal H’s handling of bullying. “I have a sheet I call a bullying sheet it has eight different descriptions of bullying. I send it home to the child’s parent and ask the child and parent to talk about it that night.” This particular principal acknowledges that in bullying situations, both the child who engages in bullying and the child who has been bullied need to be the focus of attention.

There are some differences between schools. For example, in one school classroom meetings are held. According to Principal D, a benefit to classroom meetings is that they can be implemented immediately following the incident:

... It is a student driven agenda. It is run just like a staff meeting, where there is a sign-up of things that they want to bring up, or they will have a box where they can put in agenda items. “I want to talk about this, this situation” or “I have this problem that I want to talk about.” That is what [teachers] do, they explore the situation and then help the student identify other ways of handling that.

Another principal reported that community service is a possible consequence that is more serious than a timeout. “Community service would be doing tasks around the school under the supervision of myself or the vice-principal, anything from the tidying up, organising the lost-and-found, setting up the gym for an assembly to whatever tasks need to be done.” (Principal A) Similarly, Principal A favours providing students with a work package in which, among other things, the students write apology notes to those individuals they have offended.

Principal A also attempted restitution, but found it “onerous and cumbersome”:

one example that I could give is a student who, someone stole his hat so he lost his temper and in losing his temper, he struck one student numerous times, he chased another girl, beat her up, and so he was suspended from school for a period of time and we decided that restitution was going to be the only successful way to get him back into school... It took a very protracted length of time to get to the actual restitution process as the concept of having an impartial third party do the restitution meeting portion of it. By the time it occurred, it was three months after the event and the students involved had basically already been playing with this guy again on the playground, when they were asked questions about the incident at that point, their memories were totally different from what they had remembered immediately after the incident or the witnesses at the time... [B]ecause of the time lapse restitution was not a very successful.
Principal A concedes that restitution practices which didn’t necessitate involve a neutral third party from outside of the school were much more effective because of the immediacy of the response. “There’s been other situations where we’ve you know we’ve used, we’ve tried to use the same process, but we haven’t gone to a disinterested, or I mean a neutral third party, we’ve just done it with our own staff and that has been more successful because it’s been more immediate to the situation.”

After consulting with the RCMP, Principal D’s school responded to an incident of vandalism “involving a number of kids” with a restorative justice approach. This process involved the students, their parents, the people who were impacted by the act (the principal, the PAC chair, two representatives from the community association – an employee and a youth, and the school custodian), as well as RCMP personnel. Unlike Principal A, Principal D did not refer to the length of time it took to initiate this process as a deterrent to embracing a restorative justice as a legitimate response to particular school-based incidents.

Principal A believes that much of the work around discipline that is done at the schools is really about “rebuilding relationships.” Just because a child behaves inappropriately, doesn’t mean that they are not still good kids. “Kids step over the line and they make a mistake and they’re still kids, they’re good kids before they made the mistake and they’ll be good kids again after. What I’m really amazed at in this community with these kids is that when they do something wrong, they’re remorseful immediately, there’s tears there’s a desire to fix things with their friend, because typically it’s their friend that they’ve hurt, and, you know, we move on…. They’re not habitual criminals you know, who need to be taught empathy.”

Principal B echoes this sentiment regarding children’s essentially good natures and believes that conflict resolution is helpful in diffusing conflict so that the incident doesn’t escalate to the level where discipline is mandated. “We’ll have the two people who are in conflict sit down at a table with an adult and the kids say both sides of the story and nine times out of ten it’s like ‘well, I didn’t know that you really didn’t think that’ and all this kind of stuff, and it’s worked out very well.”

Many of the principals talked about rewarding good behaviour by providing positive incentives, such as public recognition, draws for prizes, and pairing older children with younger children so that the older children are placed in a position of trust. Similarly, in one of the schools the older children are involved in a leadership program where they give back to the surrounding community by such events as visiting a seniors’ home and working on a Rotary garden. Principal C maintains that this encourages good behaviour in the larger community, not solely within the confines of the school. Encouragement, positive reinforcement, resolution – these are the words the principals kept repeating. As one principal stated: “We react to behaviours that come up in a lot of different ways, hopefully with some humanness and understanding.” (Principal C) This positive spin on both the students’ behaviours and the schools’ reactions to these behaviours underscored the principals’ reflections.

**Question 3: What are the ideal outcomes you are hoping for with these responses?**

This question was posed in an attempt to establish the principals’ goals or vision when determining their responses to inappropriate behaviour. For all of the principals the ideal outcome was for the behaviour to stop: “…we want these negative type behaviours to stop, and that’s the whole key to all the discipline and management things that we do.” (Principal G) Similarly, “change in behaviour;” (Principal E); “keep the kids’ behaviour on track” (Principal F); and “that it stops. That is the ultimate goal” (Principal D) were outcomes commonly expressed
by principals. A handful of principals went further, identifying that as well as stopping the behaviour, students need to change their attitudes, find other ways of dealing with conflict, and develop a sense of empathy. As Principal H expressed, “we don’t want the bully to continue bullying. Often, unfortunately, what happens is you take one target away from a bully and a bully will find another target. …the real goal is to help the student who is being the bully to find alternate ways to deal with anger, frustration, hurt.” Similarly, Principal A listed a host of behaviours they school hopes to address, in the long term, with intervention:

the ideal response is that the child feels remorse, that the child wants to make the situation better, that we help them with methods of making it better, [that] we help them rebuild relationships, we help them rebuild their own self-esteem because they’ve heard about people who’ve done something like they’ve just done and they know what kind of labels get attached and they don’t want to be that person, they want to fix it and move on.

As well, principals expressed a desire to establish new patterns of behaviour so that “they can get on the right track before they hit high school” (Principal E) or by the time they become adults: “what we’re trying to do is teach them how to deal with conflicts later in life; it’s no different with adults.” (Principal B)

In general, the responses were succinct, but also somewhat limited in that they focused on changes in individual behaviour, in both the short- and long-term, but rarely mentioned the larger context of the family and community outside of the schools’ purviews.

**Question 4: Describe your understanding of Restorative Justice.**

The purpose of this question was to ascertain the principals’ current level of knowledge and understanding of restorative justice. Additionally, this question was posed in order to recognize and acknowledge various understandings of restorative justice.

Bazemore and Umbreit (2001) distinguish between four different restorative justice models. They are victim-offender mediation, community reparative boards, family group conferencing, and circle sentencing. Bazemore and Umbreit describe all four models and discuss the procedural and administrative differences among them. According to the authors, family group conferencing is considered the model used most often in elementary school settings. The lack of agreement and the many different types of restorative justice models may account for some of the confusion when it comes to defining restorative justice.

The responses given to this question ranged from very broad to very narrow in terms of defining restorative justice. For example, Principal E gives a rather broad definition of restorative justice as “an alternative to the kinds of punishments that we’ve been using or consequences and it’s more about making amends between all parties involved in discipline issues.” Principal F also has a more specific and narrow definition. “Restorative justice is based on a model of, as I understand it, of a team coming together to address a problem and a victim getting some…some retribution from the person who committed the crime.” Principal F says:

...with restorative justice what has to happen is when someone has been victimized, let’s say, when someone has perpetrated a crime that you actually sit
down with both the person who did the action and the victim along with other supports so that the victim can really explain how it impacted their life. And then the person who did the crime can actually fully understand how their actions have affected another and hopefully make peace or...regain their own personal integrity by making up...making amends to the victim and so it is discussed and agreed upon what they are going to do.

The principals of school district 73 also allude to restorative justice as a process as well as a set of values. Some of the core values mentioned were: collaboration of the victim[s], offender[s], and community members, and restitution by the offender[s] to the victim[s]. Principal F comments on the impact of restorative justice for the offender in that he/she can:

...regain their own personal integrity by making up...making amends to the victim and so it is discussed and agreed upon what they are going to do. And in fact because the person who perpetrated the crime is, in the end, doing something to enhance the community or to right a bad situation, or even more, they end up feeling like they are actually contributing in a more positive way which hopefully will address some the needs, you know, their basic psychological needs in committing the crime in the first place.

Restorative justice is viewed, by Principal D, as “a process that takes place after an act, after a serious act, where everyone who has been involved with it agrees that they want to do something to improve what has happened.” This view of restorative justice as a process is further supported by Principal C and Principal A. Principal A describes restorative justice as a process and also comments on the limiting nature of restorative justice in elementary schools:

...restorative justice is basically a process which is designed to take a-an incident of inappropriate behaviour and to re-dress things for the victims to support the perpetrator or perpetrators and it’s a process which is quite prescriptive and step-by-step.

Bazemore and Umbreit (2001) also argue that restorative justice, as a process, helps to restore balance between the victims, offenders, and the community, and that involvement of each party is crucial to the healing. Braithwaite (1999) also views restorative justice as a collaborative effort where all parties gather to discuss the offence. This collaborative theme was evident in the responses; in particular the victim and the offender convening to discuss the wrong-doing. Principal G describes this collaborative explanation of restorative justice:

when there has been an incident between two of our people. The aggressor has to somehow show that they've changed their behaviour by going back to the person they were aggressive towards and making it better. Now I say making it better and to me that means, ‘let’s fix what’s gone wrong here and somehow you’ve got to find a way to tell that person that you know you messed up.’

In addition to collaboration as a key factor, restitution to the victim by the offender was also mentioned. Restorative justice includes restitution as a core value. Fields (2003) describes the goal of restitution as allowing the “person who has wronged to remedy that wrong and so become stronger” (p. 46). Fields also claims that restitution in the school context “has been used informally by teachers for some time” (p. 45) but that formal systems of restitution have only just found their way into school policies. Restitution to the victim is one of the most
common responses regarding the principals’ understanding of restorative justice Principal B describes restorative justice where there is “some sort of restitution, whether it’s, you know, a community service thing, or whether somebody replacing someone’s torn shirt that they wrecked. That kind of thing.” Restitution as a core value of restorative justice is further supported by Principal H. Restitution is not always in the form of monetary compensation; according to Principal F restitution was in the form of a “presentation, about some of the bad things about drugs- marijuana; and [the offender had to] present that to the school to hopefully teach the younger kids involved in it that it’s not a good idea.”

Question 5: Have you explored the possibility of implementing a restorative justice program?

This question was posed to determine the extent of interest in developing a restorative justice program as well as the extent of actual exploration into the possibility. Each principal had some exposure to restorative justice programs. Their exposure, however, varied as did their interest in pursuing these programs as an alternative to their existing programs.

All of the principals, who were asked, had attended workshops and engaged in discussions at meetings concerning the possibility of implementing a program. Some of the workshops were information and training sessions with the RCMP. Other workshops were conducted by educators, or educators and the RCMP. All eight principals attended principal meetings where the possibility of a restorative program was discussed. Although not directly asked or probed, one principal reported that the staff members at their school discussed the possibility of implementing a restorative justice program.

Two of the principals reported being directly involved in restorative justice meetings. According to Principal D, as previously described, there was an incident that was “fairly widespread involving a number of kids. So we involved the RCMP…and we decided to go with a restorative justice meeting and involved all the kids…and the people impacted and the parents.” Principal D further reported that he was a part of the ensuing restorative justice meeting. Another principal described an incident involving a student bringing drugs to school. A community member facilitated the restorative justice meeting. According to this principal “There was him (the community member), myself as principal of the school…an RCMP representative, the victim, I represented the victim…as principal of the school, the [student], and … [the student’s] parents I.

One of the principals, described being part of a restitution meeting, which incorporates some aspects of restorative justice. The process involved “having an impartial third party do the restitution meeting.”

Although several of the principals expressed interest in learning more about restorative justice, other principals suggested that there was little need for these programs. This perceived lack of need for these programs was, in part, discussed as a barrier to implementing them.

Question 6: What sort of supports do you need to implement restorative justice practices in this school?

Throughout the interview, the principals mentioned various barriers to implementing restorative justice programs in the schools. In this section, the barriers will be addressed first followed by a summary of the supports that the principals cited as necessary to implement these programs.
The barriers to implementing these programs, as reported by the principals, include (1) the inappropriateness or need of these programs for their student population, (2) the delay between the process and incident, (3) various logistical concerns, (4) other effective programs are in place, and (5) parental disengagement.

Three of the principals mentioned that restorative justice programs were not suitable for elementary school children. According to Principal G, “I certainly see restorative justice with older kids and with adults and I see that as being a real beneficial thing. I’m not sure how good it is with elementary kids”. In part, this perception is based on the fact that restorative justice may be more appropriate for criminal activity. According to Principal F “it doesn’t get to the point where kids are behaving in such a way that it would involve the RCMP”. This perception (i.e., restorative justice programs are more suitable for criminal activity) may be fuelled by the content of the workshops that some of the principals attended. For example, Principal B describes a workshop conducted by the RCMP, “we had a short training session...which was geared more toward...high school students and...criminal activity...” Principal B further implies that another workshop suitable for elementary school staff would be useful “I would probably go to another workshop if (it) ...was a little more geared towards younger children. Furthermore Principal G believes that these programs may actually be disadvantageous for younger children “If children do not feel as though they are equals in the process then there may be a problem in terms of achieving a forum where they can openly discuss the matter.”

Principal A articulated the problem of the lapsed time between the incident and having a restorative justice meeting as a significant problem. This principal was directly involved in a restorative justice meeting that occurred three months after the incident. “By the time it occurred...the students involved had ...already been playing with [the victim] on the playground”. Principal A also contrasts the restorative process with current practices “A kid misbehaves we provide consequence today or tomorrow, we don’t wait for two or three weeks or a month”.

In addition to the time lapse, other logistical concerns were raised by the principals. For example, the difficulty in organizing all interested in parties to attend a meeting was discussed by Principal A and F. “It was difficult to get everybody together, there were a lot of meetings cancelled because one of the people couldn’t attend”. Another logistical concern raised was the time consuming nature of the process and of implementing the process. According to Principal C “...it just seemed to take a huge amount of time, so it might be that restorative justice is something that’s ...used to deal with really serious incidents.” Furthermore, Principal A mentions the difficulty of ensuring that the entire school community engages in a coordinated effort to make these programs successful.

In addition to these barriers, there is also the problem of obtaining parental support for these programs. The lack of support from some parents was discussed by Principals E and F as an on-going difficulty for current school programs.

Another barrier to implementing these programs is the perceived lack of need for them. Principal B stated that there are existing behavioural support systems and that “to dump what we’re doing to jump onto [a] different thing would...not be useful.” Furthermore, Principal H mentions that “a lot of it [restorative practices] is being used on a smaller scale”.

A related matter to the barriers to these restorative justice programs, are the resources that are necessary to implement them. The types of supports/resources identified by the principals
included information and education regarding these programs, acceptance of these programs by the school community, RCMP involvement, and funding.

Five of the eight principals suggested that education and/or training were necessary if these programs were to be implemented. According to Principal D “it starts small, education with teachers and education with parents and building from there”. Principal G suggests that “we need to have…adults working in the school to know what it is about…everybody needs to know how the process works.” Other principals mentioned workshops or training sessions for staff members and parents.

Several of the principals responded that it was important to secure acceptance for restorative justice programs in the school community. Principal A put forth that “…everyone in the school has to have ownership of it to make it truly successful in the school”. Principal C resonates this idea “[it is] just important for people to be convinced that it's a worthwhile thing to do and that it’s practicable and doable”. Principal H also suggests that “the community, parent advisory council would need to be involved and supportive of it and individual parents”.

In addition to securing acceptance for these programs, Principal F the school division should have a restorative justice team (rather than each individual school having teams) and that the RCMP should be directly involved. “The more closely we can work with the RCMP, the more the kids see that we are all a community together and we’re all there to support their behaviour”.

Finally, the issue of funding was discussed. According to Principal H “funding would be a big hurdle, but it would be a factor depending on how far you wanted to take the training…”

Conclusions

Does restorative justice have a place in elementary schools? The principals’ responses to the interview questions provide insight to this question. Many of the principals focused on the process of restorative justice programs when discussing the limitations of these programs (e.g. time consuming process). However, throughout their responses most of the principals cited the values of these programs as desirable outcomes of problem behaviour (e.g. building empathy). Elementary school staff and administrators should consider implementing the values of restorative justice and be flexible regarding the process. The concerns raised by the principals such as inappropriateness of these programs for young children, delay between incident and the process (meeting), difficulty bringing together community members, and parental disengagement are barriers associated with the process. Focussing on the values and not the process of restorative justice should help overcome the perceived barriers of restorative justice programs.

Values such as repairing the harm, reintegrating and forgiving the offender, and building empathy are possible to achieve within the structure of some of the existing behavioural management approaches (e.g. restitution programs). Programs such as time outs and zero tolerance, however, may need to be modified to ensure that the values of restorative justice can be achieved following the expulsion of the offender. For example, teachers should focus on ways to ensure that the offender is reintegrated into the classroom or school community and forgiven following a time out or suspension. In sum, the findings of this study suggest that restorative justice does have a place within the parameters of the elementary school environment.
Appendix I

School A enrolled 409 students in September 2005. One percent of their students spoke a language other than English at home, however none were classified as English as a Second Language (ESL). School A is the largest elementary school in the school district. On average, School A has higher class sizes than the provincial average. According to statistics, School A has 4 classes with 1 student with special needs, 2 classes with 3 special needs students, and 1 class with more than 4 students with special needs. Sixty-nine percent of the classes at School A have Learning Assistance Teachers (LATs).

School B enrolled 308 students in September 2005. Six percent of students spoke a language other than English at home, however none were classified ESL. School B currently ranges from Kindergarten to Grade 8, however will be incrementally expanding to a full high-school beginning in September 2007. School B is a choice school with a strong emphasis on the arts. Class sizes at School B are on par with the provincial average or higher.

School C enrolled 200 students in September 2005. Two percent of the students were classified ESL and 2% spoke a language other than English at home. School C is located close to a primary business center. School C uses a variety of community projects to involve the students in the community and the community with the school. Of the schools studied, School C had the highest percentage of LATs working in the classroom, with 88% of classes having an LAT. The numbers for students with special needs range from 3 classes with 2 special education students to 4 classes with 4 or more special education students. Special needs, aboriginal and language immersion programs are available at this school.

School D enrolled 229 students in September 2005 of which there were no ESL students. School D is a community-based school, in a suburb approximately 15 kilometers from downtown Kamloops. According to statistics, two classes at this school have 2 students with special needs and 3 classes have assigned LATs.

School E enrolled 266 students in September 2005. School E reports no ESL students, however 4% of their student population speaks a language other than English at home. School E offers one of the District's Behaviour Intervention classes, targeting grades 4-7 students. School E also has a First Nations program and 14% of their enrolment is First Nations. Class sizes at School E are on par with provincial averages. School E has approximately 12 classes, 6 have LATs in the classroom. One classroom has 4+ students with special education students. One to two students with special education needs occupy 3 other classes at School E.

School F enrolled 95 students in September 2005, making it the smallest school in this study. School F has a strong community focus and is a rural school located approximately 39 kilometers outside Kamloops. The school describes itself as a close-knit school "family", which offers a full range of primary, intermediate and extra-curricular K-7 programs. The school services a variety of small communities. School F has no ESL students enrolled and class sizes are below the provincial average. In 2005, School F reported to have 1 class with a student with special needs and 1 class with 2 students with special needs; however, according to provincial statistics, LAT support is not present at the school.
School G enrolled 336 students in September 2005. Sixteen percent of those students spoke a non-English language at home, which is significantly higher than other schools studied, and 4% of the students were classified ESL. Of the schools studied, School G has the highest percentage of ESL enrolment. Enrolment in School G reflects a multicultural community as more than half of their enrolment represents a variety of ancestries such as Aboriginal (80 students), Indo-Canadian (100 students) as well as students from Italian, Spanish, Vietnamese, Chinese, Philippine and British/Canadian cultures. School G offers community and neighbourhood programs as well as specialized programs for Aboriginal students and students with special needs. When compared to district statistics, School G has the highest percentage of special needs children in their classes than the other schools in this study.

School H enrolled 392 students in September 2005. School H offers specialized programs such as Montessori, Fine Arts and Music. There is a strong community focus with active involvement and support coming from the Parent Advisory Council (PAC). The school also doubles as a Community Center. The community is one of the more affluent areas of the city. School H has a high attendance of students with special needs in the classroom. With 19 classrooms in the school and a focus on special needs education, 7 classes have 1 student with special needs, 3 classes have 2 students with special needs and 4 classes with 3 special education students. Support in the classroom appears to be fairly high with 14 out of 19 classrooms using an LAT.
References


Epinephrine, Norepinephrine and their Relationship to Forgiveness

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Studies show that social stressors can increase levels of epinephrine (EPI) and norepinephrine (NEPI) (Cacioppo, 1994). Prolonged increases in levels of EPI and NEPI may contribute to atherosclerosis, myocardial ischemia, arterial obstruction, and myocardial infarction (Lundberg, 2003) and other negative health outcomes (Cacioppo, 1994). An urban sample of 93 African Americans completed the Transgression-Related Interpersonal Motivations inventory, a measure of forgiveness utilizing the subscales of avoidance and revenge motivation. EPI and NEPI were measured through urine samples. Results show that avoidance motivation is correlated with increased EPI (r=0.309, p < .001) and NEPI levels (r=.219, p < .05). There was no significant relationship between revenge motivation for either EPI or NEPI levels. These findings suggest that avoidance behavior after an interpersonal conflict can lead to an increase secretion in stress hormones. Prolonged elevation of these hormones has been associated with negative health outcomes such as myocardial infarction (Lundberg, 2003). Consequently, forgiveness may lead to a reduction in the excessive physiological burden associated with the failure to resolve stressful experiences (Thoresen et al., 2000).

This research investigation is part of a larger study entitled, “Stress and Psychoneuroimmunological Factors in Renal Health and Disease,” that is funded by The National Center on Minority Health and Health Disparities, Grant# 1P20 MD 000512-03. Email address: gvinsonjr@gmail.com
DYNAMICS OF CONFLICT AND COOPERATION FOR GROUP STABILITY AMONG SELECTED COOPERATIVES IN REGION IV, PHILIPPINES

Abstract

The research was conducted to study the management dynamics of selected government-assisted cooperatives in Region IV, Philippines in terms of conflict and cooperation among their members. Specifically, it aimed to: 1. determine and analyze the nature of conflict and cooperation among members of the cooperatives under study; 2. determine the factors that influence conflict and cooperation; 3. identify the consequences of conflict and cooperation on the stability of the cooperatives under study; and 4. formulate recommendations to help sustain the stability of other government-assisted cooperatives in other parts of the country as well.

Meetings with the purposely selected cooperative members were conducted before the data gathering to inform them of the purpose of the study and ensure their cooperation. Respondents were sampled using the using the Slovin formula. Descriptive analysis, T-test and chi-square were used to determine the relationship of the variables.

It was assumed that the respondents’ internal factors (socio-demographic characteristics, socio-psychological characteristics and group factors) and external factors (perception towards extension professionals and researchers, towards their leaders and institutional support/incentives) affect their level of conflict and cooperation in their respective cooperative. In turn, their level of conflict and cooperation influence the stability of their cooperative.

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Results showed that there were significant relationships between the respondents’ group factors like group relation, group processes and coordination with other members of the cooperative and their level of cooperation in the cooperative’s activities. Similarly, socio-psychological characteristics like interpersonal orientation affect their level of conflict with their cooperative leaders. Almost all statements determining the respondents’ interpersonal characteristics got an “agree” stand for positive and “disagree” for negative statements. Most of the respondents did not have conflict with their leaders. This was finding was confirmed in their perception towards their leaders. There was a significant relationship between the respondents’ perception towards their leaders and their level of cooperation in their cooperative activities. The respondents’ “high” perception towards their leaders caused the respondents to believe that there was a “high” level of cooperation among the members. In turn, the level of cooperation among members affects the stability of the cooperatives under study.
Rationale

The government believed that economic productivity is the roadmap to the country’s sustainable economic development. The country’s Medium-Term Philippines Development Plan (MTPDP) 2004-2010 aims to reduce poverty through equitable growth, rural development and social investment. To attain this, the government encourages its citizens to become self-reliant through engaging in small and medium entrepreneurship. Some policies to support this move were already in place. These include Republic Act (RA) 6938, Cooperative Code of the Philippines, RA 6839, establishment of the Cooperative Development Authority and RA 8289, an Act Strengthening the Promotion, Development, and Assistance to Small and Medium Scale Enterprises. Many non-government organizations and people’s organizations also support this movement.

Filipinos, by nature are very sociable people. They join groups/associations both for economic and social reasons. That is why the call for people to join cooperatives and become entrepreneurs is easy. Since the passage of the RA 6838 and R 6839, 68,922 cooperatives were registered in the country (CDA, 2005). Of this number, 94% are multi-purpose cooperatives in production and marketing of their locally-produced products. In the countryside, almost every community has cooperative. However, the number is very dynamic since sustaining the stability continues to be a challenge. As of December 2005, only 28,555 cooperatives in operation (CDA, 2005).

While the Filipinos are very sociable, they are also very sensitive. Thus, occurrence of conflict is normal. It also occurs when members with varying needs, values and personalities come together. Conflict starts with resentment, resentment leads to
revenge. Conflicting parties tend to get back at each other. This happens when every party perceived their cause to be valid, thus, conflict continues. It then became a cycle.

Conflict, however, is not necessarily destructive; some conflict may be desirable for promoting change and growth. Depending on a leader’s response to conflict, the outcome may help or stifle group and individual growth. Conflict may create a climate of distrust and develops suspicion among members of a group; organizational integration; members may pursue their own interests; poor morale causing high absenteeism and low productivity; sabotage; or worse, some good people may leave the organization due to turmoil. On the other hand, conflict when properly resolved leaves people more integrated, adjusted and competent; develops our individuality so that we feel more fulfilled and capable; provides opportunity to express our needs and form opinions and positions; people are forced to search for new approaches thereby promotes creativity, productivity and innovativeness and; long standing problems surface and dealt with (Kinard, 1988).

Three of the Forest Products Research and Development Institute (FPRDI)-assisted were chosen to be the study site. The FPRDI is one of the country’s research and development institute under the Department of Science and Technology. Technical assistance includes conduct of training courses/seminar/technology fora, installation of dryers, and many more. They were selected to determine what makes these cooperatives sustainable? On the other hand, what makes other cooperatives disintegrate? Literature and studies on group conflict and cooperation among organizations is very limited. Generally, this research aims to determine the group processes/dynamics in the cooperatives/organizations assisted by the FPRDI. Specifically, it seeks to answer the
following questions: 1. What processes/dynamics are involved in the management of a cooperative/organization?; 2. How are conflicts and cooperation manifested?; How are conflicts managed?; and 4. What are the effects of conflicts and cooperation in the stability of the cooperative.

Result of the study would provide valuable information to government planners and policy makers, research and extension staff, educators in creating/planning policies, programs or activities that would help sustain stability of community organizations/cooperatives for rural development.

**Objectives of the Study**

This research aims to study the management dynamics of the government-assisted cooperative in terms of conflict and cooperation among its members. Specifically, it aims to:

1. determine and analyze the nature of conflict and cooperation among members of the cooperatives under study;
2. determine the factors that influence conflict and cooperation;
3. identify the consequences of conflict and cooperation on the stability of the cooperatives under study.
4. formulate recommendations to help sustain stability of cooperatives assisted by other government agencies and probably other cooperatives as well.
Methodology

Locale of the Study

The study was conducted in Region IV. The cooperatives under study were the Taytay Sash Contractors Cooperative (TASACOOP) in Taytay, Rizal, Cavite Woodworks Association Incorporated (CWAI) in Silang, Cavite and Tumalim Farmers Cooperative (TFC) in Nasugbu, Batangas.

Respondents and Sampling Technique

Since there were three cooperatives that were purposively selected, stratified random sampling were used. The total number of the members of every cooperative under study was sampled using the Slovin formula:

$$n_1 = \frac{N}{1 + Ne^2}$$

where:
- $n$ is the sample size
- $N$ is the population size
- $e$ is the desired margin or error

Data Gathering Method

Before the actual data gathering, the researchers met with the officers and some members of the cooperative to explain the purpose of the study. This was done to determine what to expect from the researchers and vice-versa. In the meeting, a focus group discussion on topics related to the study was also conducted. The information gathered was used to confirm or deny some results gathered through the interview schedule. It was also agreed that the research result will be validated to the cooperatives under study. After the leveling-off, structured interview schedule were prepared in English. In some areas of the study, the questions were translated into Tagalog.
Statistical Analysis

For the descriptive analysis of the data, frequency counts, percentages, means and ranking were used. T-test and chi-square were used to determine the relationship between variables.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

The socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents included age, sex, civil status, number of years as a cooperative member, membership and position held in an organization, highest educational attainment, occupation and estimated monthly income. Table 1 summarizes the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents.

Majority (57.5%) of the respondents were on the 41-50 age bracket. The youngest and the oldest were 24 and 67 years old, respectively. Most (90%) of them were male and only 10% were female. Similarly, most (92.5%) of them are married and only few 7.5% were single. Many (75%) of the respondents finished college and almost the same number (72.5%) have been a member of their respective cooperatives for one to 10 years. Most (85%) of them were engaged in business and only 15% were farmers. Majority (72.5%) of the respondents were relatively new in the cooperative business (1-10 years) and more than half (51.51%) received a monthly income of P20,000 and below.

Group Processes

Interpersonal Characteristics of the Respondents

Interpersonal characteristics of the respondents include interdependency, interpersonal orientation and social sensitivity. There are seven statements to determine the respondents’ interdependency, six for interpersonal orientation and six for social
sensitivity (Table 2). Result showed that respondents recognized the importance of good interpersonal relationship with each other, share common goal and genuine concern for the welfare of members of the cooperative and the cooperative as well. Except for the

Table 1. Socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents (N=40)

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<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School -</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College -</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational -</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of years as a cooperative member</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-10</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>72.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position in the organization</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officer/BOD</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major occupation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated monthly family income</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1,000-P10,000</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,001-20,000</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20,001-30,000</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30,001-40,000</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40,001 – 50,000</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50,000 and above</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2. Interpersonal characteristics of the respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATEMENTS</th>
<th>RESPONSE</th>
<th>WTD. MEAN</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interdependency</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objectives of the group can be attained even without cooperation among members.</td>
<td>0 0 3 22 15</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decision-making can be done if more than half of the members participate in the process.</td>
<td>13 24 3 0 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objectives of the cooperative should be decided among the members.</td>
<td>7 21 9 3 0</td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programs and activities to attain the objectives should be decided by the members.</td>
<td>7 21 9 3 0</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The success of a member is also the success of the cooperative.</td>
<td>20 18 1 1 0</td>
<td>4.42</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The members’ action on the cooperative matters will always effect every member of the cooperative.</td>
<td>27 10 3 0 0</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everybody should be concerned on the cooperative’s success or failure.</td>
<td>25 12 3 0 0</td>
<td>4.34</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpersonal Orientation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attendance to the cooperative’s regular meeting is very important.</td>
<td>26 14 0 0 0</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is no need to remind the members on the regular meeting because they were informed earlier.</td>
<td>1 19 2 18 0</td>
<td>2.37</td>
<td>Not Sure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heated discussion during meetings is not healthy.</td>
<td>8 17 6 9 0</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>Not Sure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting should be done harmoniously.</td>
<td>12 27 1 0 0</td>
<td>4.27</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The member’s welfare is everybody’s concern.</td>
<td>26 14 0 0 0</td>
<td>4.65</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open communication lines among members are very important.</td>
<td>28 10 2 0 0</td>
<td>4.71</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Sensitivity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not listen to members whenever they voice out their opinions because I do not respect it.</td>
<td>0 0 2 24 14</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not care if some members cannot attend the meeting.</td>
<td>0 0 0 24 16</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If a member did not attend the meeting, at least one member should know why he did not attend.</td>
<td>4 28 5 2 1</td>
<td>4.55</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
failed to attend.

Members should help each other in the achievement of the cooperatives’ objectives. 19 20 1 0 0 Agree
I am ready to help a member in need. 12 25 3 0 0 Agree
I believe other members share this sentiment (statement 5) 9 26 5 0 0 Agree

4.45

0-1.70 – Disagree; 1.71-3.40 – Not Sure; 3.41-5.0 Agree
5 – Strongly Agree; 4-Agree, 3- Not Sure, 2 – Disagree, 5 – Strongly Disagree

statements “there is no need to remind the members on regular meeting because they were informed earlier” and “heated discussion during meeting is not healthy”, the rest of the statements determining the respondents’ interpersonal characteristics got “agree” for the positive statements and “disagree” for the negative statements.

To determine the respondents’ group factors, their perception towards group relation, communication, decision-making and coordination were determined (Table 3). All the respondents “agree” to all statements measuring group relations. Similarly, except for the statement “I do not interact much to our leaders”, the rest of the statements measuring communication got an “agree” stand from the respondents. The same with the decision-making part, except for the statement “Our leaders do not encourage members to participate in decision-making”, all the rest of the statements got an “agree” rating. In coordination, since there were no sentences stated in negative form, all the statement got an “agree” stand.

Aside from their perception on group factors, the respondents were also asked on their perception towards cooperative and cooperative activities (Table 4). To determine the respondents’ attitude on these matters, 12 statements were presented. Except for the statement “Membership is voluntary” wherein the respondents were “Not Sure”, the rest of the statements got an “agree” stand from the respondents.
Table 3. Respondents’ group factors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATEMENTS</th>
<th>RESPONSE</th>
<th>WTD. MEAN</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Group Relation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our leader has trust and confidence in our group.</td>
<td>10 29 1 0 0</td>
<td>4.22</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The members welcome heated or friendly discussions.</td>
<td>5 24 7 4 0</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The leaders are supportive of the members.</td>
<td>9 27 4 0 0</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The members are supportive of their leaders.</td>
<td>7 25 7 1 0</td>
<td>3.95</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I find heated argument healthy since we usually end up united.</td>
<td>7 24 7 2 0</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The members and leaders are friendly and easy to approach.</td>
<td>10 26 4 0 0</td>
<td>4.15</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Communication</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our leaders always give us chance to exchange ideas with other members.</td>
<td>9 26 3 1 1</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not interact much with our leaders.</td>
<td>1 10 11 16 2</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>Not Sure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am always informed on the activities of the cooperative.</td>
<td>7 26 6 0 1</td>
<td>3.95</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication in our group is very fast since we make it a point to communicate regularly with other members.</td>
<td>6 25 5 3 1</td>
<td>3.74</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I believe communication is very important in our cooperative.</td>
<td>25 15 0 0 0</td>
<td>4.62</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Decision-making</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decision-making is done by all members.</td>
<td>7 21 7 4 1</td>
<td>3.72</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our leaders do not encourage members to participate in the decision-making.</td>
<td>0 4 11 19 6</td>
<td>2.62</td>
<td>Not Sure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In our group, we do brainstorming before we decide.</td>
<td>3 26 9 2 0</td>
<td>3.85</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom to make decision is encouraged of every members.</td>
<td>5 28 3 4 0</td>
<td>3.85</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group decision is fast because the members were informed of the facts beforehand.</td>
<td>3 25 10 2 0</td>
<td>3.67</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Coordination</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasks for every members are not duplicated since our leaders monitor activities of the group.</td>
<td>7 17 15 0 0</td>
<td>3.82</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our policies encourage harmonious</td>
<td>9 30 1 0 0</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
relationships among members.
Meetings are always set beforehand to ensure attendance among members.
To become a member is easy because rules for new members are in place.
The leaders also link with other agencies that are connected with the cooperative activities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATEMENTS</th>
<th>RESPONSE</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>MEAN</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The cooperative improves the member’s lives.</td>
<td>13 26 9 0 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.30</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership is voluntary.</td>
<td>9 26 4 3 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.32</td>
<td>Not Sure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any individual in the area who is interested to join and follow all the requirements of the cooperative can become a member</td>
<td>12 21 5 2 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.07</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The cooperative helps the members in the management of their businesses.</td>
<td>17 18 12 3 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.22</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The cooperative helps in marketing the product of each member.</td>
<td>7 24 9 0 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.95</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The members have equal rights in the cooperative.</td>
<td>15 25 0 0 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.37</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The leaders are chosen by the members themselves.</td>
<td>14 24 1 1 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.27</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The leaders are helpful to members.</td>
<td>12 22 2 0 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The leaders make it a point to inform all members of the activities of the cooperative.</td>
<td>15 25 0 0 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.37</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The members are the ones who will decide the activities of the cooperative.</td>
<td>11 12 10 7 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.67</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The voice of the members is the voice of the cooperative</td>
<td>11 25 2 2 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.02</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Every member has the right to lead as well as the right to choose who will lead them.</td>
<td>13 25 1 1 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

0-1.70 – 1.71 Disagree; 1.71-3.40 – Not Sure; 3.41-5.0 Agree
5 – Strongly Agree; 4-Agree, 3- Not Sure, 2 – Disagree, 5 – Strongly Disagree

Table 4. Respondents’ perception towards cooperatives and its activities.
In every organization, how it is managed by its officers/leaders is very important. This may spell the success or failure of an organization. In this study, the respondents were also asked to assess their leaders’ leadership style (Table 5). Results showed that the leaders in all three cooperatives under study have no definite leadership style. There was no clear cut leadership style. It was not clear whether it was participatory, free rein or autocratic since the responses in agreement to statements presented were scattered. Thus, the leadership is flexible.

Aside from their perception towards cooperative and cooperative activities, their perception towards FPRDI staff, their leaders and institutional support/incentives were determined (Table 6). Ten statements each for FPRDI staff and their leaders were presented to measure their perception. As to institutional support, the respondents were asked on their perception towards credit availability, technical assistance, training/seminar and marketing. As to their perception towards FPRDI staff, all the statements got “high” perception. The same is true with their perception of their leaders. All the statements got “high” perception. Similarly, except for training and marketing wherein the respondents perceived it to be “moderate”, all others were found to be “adequate”.
Table 5. Respondents’ assessment of their leader’s leadership style.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATEMENT</th>
<th>Always</th>
<th>Not Always</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Seldom</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allows members to work freely.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encourages the members to suggest what they believe it will help improve the cooperative</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allows the members to use their own judgment in solving their problems.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supports the members in every endeavor</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suggests his/her ideas but not impose it.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lets the members do their work the best can.</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaks for the group and projects it well</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decisive in things that needs firm decision.</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trusts the members follow his/her instruction because they respect him/her leader.</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The members follow his/her instructions because they respect him/her as leader.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assign members to particular tasks and sees to it that it is followed.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Require the members to follow rules and regulations of the cooperative.</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Leadership style is determined based on responses to these descriptions. If there are three to four respondents in agreements to statements 1, 2, 3 and 4, the leadership is participatory; three to four responses in agreement to statements 5, 6, 7 and 8, the leadership is free rein; and if there are three to four responses to statements 9, 10, 11 and 12, the leadership is autocratic. If responses in agreement scatter to each style of leadership, the leadership is flexible.
Table 6. Respondents’ perception towards FPRDI staff, their leaders and institutional support/incentives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATEMENTS</th>
<th>RESPONSE</th>
<th>WTD.</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Towards FPRDI staff</strong></td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td>MEAN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The FPRDI staff is skillful in his/her work.</td>
<td>16 22 2 0 0</td>
<td>4.35</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He/she knows what he/she is talking about.</td>
<td>12 24 4 0 0</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He/she is approachable.</td>
<td>13 22 5 0 0</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You can always trust him/her.</td>
<td>13 19 8 0 0</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She/he is frank and straight to the point</td>
<td>9 25 6 0 0</td>
<td>4.07</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He/she is energetic and straight.</td>
<td>8 19 3 0 0</td>
<td>3.87</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He/she treats you as a friend</td>
<td>9 23 8 0 0</td>
<td>4.02</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He/she easily puts himself in our shoes.</td>
<td>10 27 3 0 0</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He/she is committed to her/his job</td>
<td>10 25 5 0 0</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am looking forward to be working/visited by the FPRDI staff.</td>
<td>11 25 4 0 0</td>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Towards their leaders</strong></td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td>MEAN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They know what they are talking about.</td>
<td>10 28 2 0 0</td>
<td>4.24</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They are approachable.</td>
<td>9 26 3 2 0</td>
<td>4.05</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You can always trust them.</td>
<td>10 25 5 0 0</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They respect you as a colleague.</td>
<td>10 25 5 0 0</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They are committed to their job.</td>
<td>9 25 6 0 0</td>
<td>4.07</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They treat you as a friend.</td>
<td>9 25 6 0 0</td>
<td>4.07</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their support to the members is very evident.</td>
<td>9 28 3 0 0</td>
<td>4.15</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their respect to the group can be easily seen.</td>
<td>9 28 3 0 0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They are willing to help members who have problems.</td>
<td>10 22 6 2 0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When there’s problem with the group, they are always there for support.</td>
<td>9 28 2 1 0</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Towards institutional support/incentives</strong></td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td>MEAN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Credit availability</td>
<td>4 25 7 3 1</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>Adequate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical assistance</td>
<td>5 20 12 2 1</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>Adequate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training/seminar</td>
<td>5 11 16 8 0</td>
<td>3.32</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing</td>
<td>2 16 13 6 3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

0-1.70 – 1.71 Low; 1.71-3.40 – Moderate; 3.41-5.0 High
5 – Strongly Agree/Very Adequate; 4-Agree/Adequate, 3- Not Sure/Moderate, 2 – Disagree/Inadequate, 5 – Strongly Disagree/None
Factors that Influence Conflict and Cooperation of the Cooperative

Conflict occurs when persons or groups disagree over a means or ends, and try to establish their views in preference to others. It also emerges when people experience dissatisfaction or frustration, and its frequency produces anxiety and tension (McFarland, 1979). This happens in every organization. It is not however, always bad for an individual or an organization to experience conflict. If resolved properly, it may even: 1.) create problem awareness; 2.) promote organizational change; 3.) improve solutions, 4.) boost morale, 5.) improve personal development, 6.) improve relationships among members of the organization, 7.) develop psychological maturity, and 8.) stimulate fun in the organization (Tjosvold, 1992).

In this study, very few conflicts were encountered. Most (82.5%) of the members revealed that they did encounter conflict with the other members of cooperative. Similarly, almost the same number (85%) did not encounter conflict with their leaders and no conflict at all with the FPRDI staff (100%). For some (17.5%) who encountered conflict with the members, this was due to non-attendance to meetings, miscommunication non-payment of dues. As to the causes of conflict with the leaders (15%), it was due to priority programs of the cooperative, marketing of products and policies that need to be changed.

The presence of few conflicts did not however, hamper the respondents’ confidence on their cooperative and their leaders as reflected in Table 7. Table 7 shows the respondents’ level of cooperation. Among the statement measuring their level of cooperation, only marketing and payment of dues got “moderate” rating. The rest of the statements got “high” rating. The “moderate” rating on marketing confirms the earlier
result found in their perception towards institutional support/incentives. Similarly, the non-payment of dues was one of the mentioned reasons for causes of conflict.

Their “high” perception on the level of cooperation may have an effect to their perception on the stability of their cooperative. Stability of their cooperative was measured in terms of group activities, group productivity and human relationship. Except for “payment of dues”, “number of members” and “financial capability” wherein they were rated “moderate”, all the statements measuring stability were rated “stable”.

Table 7. Respondents’ level of cooperation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATEMENTS</th>
<th>RESPONSE</th>
<th>WTD. MEAN</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sharing of activities</td>
<td>5 28 1 6 0</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selecting/accepting a member</td>
<td>3 32 3 2 0</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duties and obligations as a member</td>
<td>7 25 3 4 1</td>
<td>3.82</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marketing</td>
<td>0 19 10 11 0</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distribution of benefits</td>
<td>1 27 9 3 0</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Payment of dues</td>
<td>1 20 12 7 0</td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharing of funds/financial assistance</td>
<td>1 22 12 5 0</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group meeting</td>
<td>5 22 7 6 0</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selecting leaders</td>
<td>4 25 7 4 0</td>
<td>3.72</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of our cooperative</td>
<td>6 22 7 4 1</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

0-1.70 Low; 1.71-3.40 – Moderate; 3.41-5.0 High
1- Low, 2-Moderately Low, 3- Not Sure, 4 –High and 5 –Very High

Relationship of Variables

Results showed that there were significant relationships between the respondents’ group factors like group relation, group processes and coordination with other members of the cooperative and their level of cooperation in the cooperative’s activities. Except for two statements where the respondents were “not sure”, all other statements measuring group factors were agreeable with the respondents. This explains their “high” perception.
Table 8. Respondents’ perception on the stability of their cooperatives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATEMENTS</th>
<th>RESPONSE</th>
<th>WTD. DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>attendance to meetings</td>
<td>4 21 8 7 0</td>
<td>3.55 Stable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>payment of dues</td>
<td>7 14 7 10 2</td>
<td>3.4 Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doing duties and obligations as member</td>
<td>6 22 4 8 0</td>
<td>3.65 Stable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number of members</td>
<td>1 20 6 11 0</td>
<td>3.12 Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skills improvement</td>
<td>1 26 4 8 1</td>
<td>3.45 Stable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>financial capability</td>
<td>1 18 10 10 1</td>
<td>3.2 Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>among members</td>
<td>10 25 2 3 0</td>
<td>3.92 Stable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>between members and leaders</td>
<td>6 25 4 5 0</td>
<td>3.80 Stable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>between members and FPRDI staff and other linkages</td>
<td>6 25 2 6 1</td>
<td>3.72 Stable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>between members and the community</td>
<td>6 25 2 6 1</td>
<td>3.72 Stable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

0-1.70 Unstable; 1.71-3.40 – Moderate; 3.41-5.0 - Stable
1- Unstable, 2-Moderately Stable, 3- Not Sure, 4 –Stable and 5 –Highly Stable

on their level of cooperation. Similarly, socio-psychological characteristics like interpersonal orientation affected their level of conflict with their cooperative leaders. Most (85%) of the respondents did not have conflict with their leaders. This was confirmed in their interpersonal characteristics. Except for two statements in interpersonal characteristics, all others got “agree” for positive and “disagree” for negative statements. Furthermore, this was finding was confirmed in their perception towards their leaders. There was a significant relationship between the respondents’ perception towards their leaders and their level of cooperation in their cooperative activities. The “high” perception towards their leaders affected their “high” level of cooperation among the members. Similarly, there was a significant relationship between
their perceived institutional support/incentives to their level of cooperation. In turn, the
level of cooperation among members affects the stability of the cooperatives.

**Conclusion**

Perception and attitude are functions of people’s traits, values, practices and
norms. In this study, while the respondents’ socio-demographic characteristics and
leadership style were not found to affect the level of cooperation and/or level of conflict
of the cooperative, other variables like group factors, interpersonal characteristics,
perception towards their leaders and institutional support were found to affect the level of
conflict/and or level of cooperation of the cooperative. The respondents’ “high”
perception towards their leaders affects their “high” level of cooperation among the
members of the cooperative. Similarly, the “adequate” perception on institutional
support/incentives affects the level of cooperation among members of the cooperative.
These perceptions influenced the stability of the cooperatives under study.

**Recommendations**

In the light of the results of the study and the conclusions made, the following
recommendations are forwarded to research and extension planners/professionals,
community development planners and practitioners and policy-makers involved in this
area of study for their consideration:

- The study showed the importance of good interpersonal characteristics and group
  factors among members and their leaders of the cooperatives under study. To
  further strengthen the stability of cooperatives, all these variables should be
  considered.
• The performance, credibility and commitment of leaders in an organization is very important. This may spell a success or failure of a cooperative. In this study, the respondents’ “high” perception towards their leaders was significantly related to their level of cooperation. Thus, these factors should be given importance when choosing people to lead/manage a cooperative/organization.

• Institutional support/incentives are also very important. It is important that the members should feel and believe that their welfare and cooperatives’ welfare are the primary consideration. In this study, their “adequate” and “moderate” perception of institutional support like credit availability, technical assistance, training and marketing affects the respondents’ level of cooperation.

• A harmonious relationship among the members and leaders is very important. This may also contribute to the success or failure of a cooperative. Results of the study showed that the respondents’ interpersonal characteristics like interdependency, interpersonal orientation and social sensitivity affect their level of conflict with their cooperative leaders.

Policy Implications

The government recognized the contribution of cooperatives in the countryside development. For years, the government believed that an economically productive country is one of the roadmap to help address poverty alleviation in the country. That is why policies to support this effort have been in place - RA 6938, Cooperative Code of the Philippines, creation of Cooperative Development Authority, RA 8289 – an Act Strengthening the Promotion, Development, and Assistance to Small and Medium Scale Enterprises, to name a few. Some national and local government offices were also
mandated to support entrepreneurship in the countryside. Likewise, the private sector, in coordination with some government organizations, actively promotes entrepreneurship. Recently, programs like Go Negosyo and Techno-Negosyo were successfully launched to encourage Filipinos to become entrepreneur.

With the active promotion of entrepreneurship in the countryside, the factors that affect stability of cooperatives should be considered.

References


THE INFLUENCE OF RURAL AMENITIES ON NON-METROPOLITAN POPULATION CHANGE IN THE UNITED STATES FROM, 1980-2000

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AN ABSTRACT

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Abstract

The chief aim of this research is to assess the influence of rural amenities on population change amongst all non-metropolitan counties in the United States (excluding Alaska and Hawaii) from 1980 to 2000. Rural amenities, as defined by this research, are the attributes of a non-metropolitan locale that enhance the quality of life of the people living or visiting there. First, I discuss the general patterns of population change in non-metropolitan areas during these three decades as well as the possible influence of rural amenities during this time period. I then examine how rural amenities have been studied by past research in order for me to hypothesize their influence on non-metropolitan population change in the United States. Additionally, I draw on past research in order to guide my conceptualization and measurement of rural amenities. Using data from the United States Census of Population, the National Outdoor Recreational Supply Information System (NORSIS), and David McGranahan’s (1999) Natural Amenity Scale, a panel model data set was constructed for the aforementioned counties from 1980 to 2000. This research constructed a panel data set using data from the aforementioned sources for the years of 1980-2000. Accordingly, in this model the change scores on two measures of population change (absolute population change and percentage population change) were regressed on the amenity and control variables. Regression diagnostics were then used to examine the extent to which specific regression assumptions were validated by the data. Results suggest that climatic amenities, river and ocean based amenities, and warm weather recreational amenities were most significantly associated with increase in population amongst the counties examined by this study.
Teaching Diverse Spiritual and Religious Perspectives
in a Turbulent World

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Why Study Diverse Spiritual Perspectives?

The history of all conflicts and confrontations in the world is the history of intolerance born out of ignorance and misunderstanding. This holds especially true in relation to religion. Religion is the very soul of culture, and therefore the most powerful ethnocentric force that complicates communication between individuals of different cultures. If we look at religion as “the individual’s ultimate concern” (Tillich, 1959), then this ultimate concern can also be the ultimate difficulty when we try to communicate with someone who does not share our concern.

Religion often motivates some of the most negative aspects and positive aspects of human communication and behavior. Many violent confrontations throughout history and today have an underlying religious dimension. These conflicts can be found from the Middle East to Afghanistan, from the Sudan to Somalia to Rwanda, from India to Pakistan to Malaysia, from Kosovo to Great Britain to France, to the United States. In the name of religion, human beings may not only physically be killed in battles and wars but also in subtle ways, such as oppression and repression.

On the other hand, religion also contributes to the most healing in the world today. It often provides the motivation for those who help, and it often plays an important role in reconciliation, even when gross human rights violations have been committed.

We are living in turbulent times. In an ever shrinking world that has become a global society, it is of paramount importance that we prepare our students to live, function and thrive in this new society. Six billion people identify with one religion or another. It behooves us to expose our students to the teachings of diverse religions and spiritual perspectives. We do not need to disrespect others when we hold on strongly to our own faith. In fact, firm grounding in our spirituality may help us appreciate other people’s approach to their spirituality.
Understanding and respecting diverse spiritual perspectives is not only a pass toward peace but also an aspect of liberal education. Liberal education helps to prepare us to live more responsible and ethical lives because it has challenged us to be aware of alternative ways of living and to critically examine our own society and culture. An exposure to diverse spiritual perspectives helps to “humanize” us along with the study of history, languages, philosophy, art, and music. Most pragmatically, understanding and respecting diverse spiritual perspectives helps us understand not only our neighbor but also ourselves. It helps to demystify the religions different from our own and clears up dangerous misconceptions. Respect and understanding for diverse ideologies reduces ethnocentrism and paves the way toward more effective communication, less violence, and a more peaceful world. It has the potential to smooth relations between individuals, societies, and nations.

What is Spirituality?

Studies of spirituality focus on two dimensions of human life: transcendence and community (Banner, 1995; Elkins, Hedstrom, Hughes, Leaf, & Saunders, 1988; Guare, 1995; Twigg, Wyld, & Brown, 2000). Transcendence has to do with the quest of humans for answers to two related questions: Does life have meaning? Is there a purpose to life above and beyond the physical world? Writings assert that search for answers to the questions takes an individual to a state of knowledge/consciousness that is best captured by terms such as ‘ultimate reality,’ ‘Supreme Being,’ or ‘universal spirit.’ In contrast to transcendence, writers on the community dimension see spirituality as leading to charity, integrity, brotherly love and an emphasis on relationships, and a search for meaning (Bruce & Novinson, 1999). The search for meaning generally encompasses both community and transcendence. Also, in both dimensions of spirituality, connectedness is an integral element of the final meaning that the search finds. The answer to life’s meaning will involve an integration of the self with the ‘other.’ This ‘other’ can be as specific as another human being and a Supreme Being or as broad as nature and the universe.

The teaching approach described below has been successful in facilitating student learning about diverse spirituality and religions, and gaining respect for diverse perspectives.
Action Learning Exercises

Interactivity is a very effective teaching approach when exposing students to diverse spiritual perspectives and confronting their misconceptions. Students learn better and are more open to the potentially difficult subject matter, like religion and communication, when they are able to be actively involved with the concepts presented. I have found the following exercise to be effective in facilitating understanding and respect for diverse spiritual perspectives:

To stimulate active learning, students are asked to form small groups of four and to complete a two-part exercise consisting of nonverbal and verbal communication. The exercise is carefully integrated with each religion under study.

Nonverbal: First, a picture depicting religious art is presented on the screen. The students are asked to analyze that picture and to reflect on the main principles of the particular religion under study.

Verbal: Second, each group is given one quote that centers on major principles of each religion. The group is asked to content analyze the quote, to explore the major ideas, and to present the group’s findings to the class as a whole.

Specifically, each part of the exercise asks students to:

1. Describe what is happening in the picture and what are the major ideas in the quote using concepts discussed earlier.

2. Compare the above concept with that found in their own religion or spirituality or another religion previously studied.

3. Answer the question, “How can the application of the main concepts or principles of this religion be of help to me in my own life?

This activity not only keeps the students actively involved in the subject matter, but it also helps greatly toward deepening their understanding of a difficult subject matter. I have found it to be an excellent aid in reducing ethnocentrism and misconceptions.
Jainism

Jainism is a spiritual perspective practiced in Mahatma Gandhi’s land, India. It is an ideology that believes in reincarnation or the transmigration of the self. Jainism emphasizes nonviolence, purity, and renunciation or detachment. Jainism has two main principles. These are the doctrine of multiplicity of viewpoints (anekaantvaad) and that of nonviolence (ahimsa) in thoughts, speech and actions.

The Sanskrit word anekaantvaad implies a multitude of perspectives. Thus, the theory of partial truths is corollaries of anekaantvaad. It teaches that truth is many-sided. The principle of multiplicity is also known as the doctrine of relativity. The basic theory is that truth is revealed to us only partially when we look at something from a single point of view. In order to understand the cause of our disagreements, we need to analyze it from other points of view, not ours only. By analyzing the cause of our disagreements from a variety of perspectives, we will be able to understand the cause of our disagreements and manage our conflicts more effectively. Our own viewpoint depends much upon our subjective judgment and our recollection of the past experiences, our prejudices and predispositions, our environment. Thus, it is extremely important to analyze every object and every idea from a variety of viewpoints. A human being, with his or her own limited capabilities, cannot comprehend all the characteristics of an object, idea or proposition. We need to cultivate an unbiased approach towards each situation or idea. Our view, based on limited data and capability, cannot be absolute. Thus, all knowledge is relative. Since we cannot see all aspects, it is important to avoid absolute assertions (Mehta, 1997, p. 142).

Jainism’s principle of multiple perspectives can help us a lot in reducing our ethnocentrism and becoming more effective intercultural communicators. It is extremely useful in everyday life. It provides a rational synthesis of the various views of a given situation and rejects the assertions of bare absolutes. Mahatma Gandhi held the principle of multiplicity of viewpoints in high esteem. In 1926, he observed:
“It has been my experience that I am always true (correct) from my point of view, and often wrong from the point of view of my honest critics. I know we are both right from our perspective points of view….I very much like this doctrine of the manyness of reality. It is this doctrine that has taught me to judge a Mussulman (Muslim) from his standpoint and a Christian from his…From the platform of the Jains, I prove the non-creative aspect of God and from that of Ramanuj, the creative aspect”.

- Mahatma Gandhi

Advocates of religion often suffer from dogmatism. They may agree that what they have known is not absolute truth, but they insist that what others believe is absolutely wrong. This clash between sects is a result of this dogmatism

- Acharya Shri Mahaprajna

Another important teaching of Jainism is the principle of nonviolence (ahimsa). In order to understand nonviolence, we need to examine the meaning of violence. Violence is of two kinds, physical and mental violence to the self or other living beings. Physical violence involves hurting or killing the self or any other living being through words or other actions. Mental violence means hurting the feelings of others with thoughts. When we are envious and hateful, we hurt ourselves and others. When we are angry and seek revenge, we are not peaceful and thus hurt ourselves. Premeditated violence is the most hurtful form of violence. Jainism teaches nonviolence of thought and action. It teaches compassion for self and others. All life should be respected.

It is this compassion and principle of nonviolence that makes most Jains vegetarians. Jains believe that as human beings wish to live, so do all living beings. All animals, including insects, try to run away from danger. Thus, we should practice compassion and not commit the violent act of killing another being. It is not necessary, nor good, to kill animals for food.
Hinduism

Hindus believe in reincarnation or the transmigration of the self. The essential self of a person is really one with the Ultimate Reality; it has no beginning and can have no end. The self of a newborn infant is old beyond the conception of time; its body is merely a new form for an eternal spirit. In Hinduism, each individual existence becomes their primary burden. It is a prison enslaving an essential self which should be free of a body.

The sequence of rebirth is determined by the law of *karma*. *Karma* literally means “action”. Every action of the past determines a person’s present condition of existence. No act is without result. Thus, *karma* operates like moral law of cause and effect. Morally good acts produce favorable results; morally bad acts produce bad results. Each person is his or her own destroyer or preserver, depending on their actions. Thus, in each action an individual is determining his or her future life. The Hindu Epic, *Mahabharata*, states: “As among a thousand cows a calf will find its mother, so the deed previously done will find and follow its doer. Karma is the unseen which shadows people everywhere.” All the inequalities and sufferings in our life are the results of our *karma*. Thus; a good person is closer to spiritual progression than a bad person. The culmination of spiritual progression is liberation from the endless torment of birth and rebirth. Nonviolence, justice and mercy are valued more highly than injustice and violence.

Yes, all the deeds those men have done
In light of day, before the sun,
Or veiled beneath the gloom of night,
The good, the bad, the wrong, the right –
These, though forgotten, reappear,
And travel silent in the rear.

- Mahabharata
Taoism

Taoism takes its name from the Chinese word *Tao* meaning “The Way.” It is the first word of the Taoist book *Tao Te Ching*, “The Classic of the Way and Its Power.” The Tao is the unseen power and force beneath the life and movement in nature. Taoism teaches that the best way to live is the natural way. It stresses naturalness and simplicity. People’s fears, sufferings, and problems are the result of an unnatural life. Only by liberating ourselves from artificial restraints can we really be free.

To harness nature is harmful because those actions interrupt the natural sustaining flow of the Tao. For instance, to place a bit into a horse’s mouth, to force horses to race, to lash them with a whip must harm them because all these things are contrary to the nature of the horse. The *Tao Te Ching* teaches that “what is of nature is internal. What is of man is external….That oxen and horses should have four feet is what is of nature. That a halter should be put on a horse’s head, or a string through an ox’s nose, is what is of man.” These man-made conditions are contrary to the nature of those animals and therefore cause pain.

Suffering and evil comes from disharmony of nature, striving and desire. Ethical and moral ideals are “actionless action,” effortless spontaneity, not striving.

The duck’s legs are short,
But if we try to lengthen them,
The duck will feel pain.
The crane’s legs are long,
But if we try to shorten them,
The crane will feel grief.
Therefore, we are not to cut off
What is by nature long,
Nor to lengthen
What is by nature short.

- Chuang Tzu
Confucianism

Confucius, also known as the “teacher of all teachers” in China, was born in 551 B.C. and died in 479 B.C. Confucianism teaches that the maintenance of peace and harmonious relationships is of utmost importance. Human beings are compelled by nature to live in the company of other human beings. Thus, the social way of life is the best way to live because it is only in society that people reach their fullest potentials. The universal human quality which leads people to live in society is called jen.

The Chinese character for jen combines the symbol for man and the symbol for two. Thus, it implies the relationship and communication between two individuals. It is difficult to find a proper translation in English for jen. It has been translated as “benevolence,” “human-heartedness”, “sympathy,” and person-to-personness.” The meaning of jen for Confucius, was the very foundation of society. It is a shared humanity which includes the desire to help others. We all have the ability to help one another. We merely need to look into ourselves for the answers to the problems of others. Self-understanding leads to an understanding of the fears and hopes of others. Confucius taught that “the man of jen is one who, desiring to develop himself, develops others, and in desiring to sustain himself, sustains others.

Jen is expressed in “right action” in relation to the duties and obligations implicit in five basic social relationships. These five relationships are: ruler and subject, father and son, elder brother and younger brother, husband and wife, friend and friend. All of them, except the last, involve the authority of one person over another. To maintain harmony, we need to properly communicate and behave in relation to our perspective roles in these relationships. The superior owes loving responsibility to the inferior, and the inferior owes loyalty and loving obedience to the superior. The terms ruler, father, son, older brother, younger brother, husband, wife and friend indicate a certain type of communication, conduct, and respect necessary in that relationship. The ethical and moral ideas are virtues of character, benevolence, wisdom, filial piety.

The “right action” is called li. It should be inspired by feelings of human concern and compassion (yen). The English translation of li is “etiquette,” “ceremony,” or “ritual.” Confucius believed that ritual, etiquette, and forms of conduct are important, just as language is important. They are an expression of feelings and guide our interactions.
A good example of this sympathetic feeling for others is the following poem written by one of China’s greatest poets, Tu Fu. He lived in the T’ang Dynasty, 618-907 A.D, and wrote this to a relative:

Please allow your western neighbor to pluck the dates from the trees before the hall;
She is a woman, without children and with no means to support.
Were it not for dire poverty, she would hardly have come for these fruits;

And to save her from embarrassment, we have to be especially kind.
She is of course needlessly afraid of a stranger from a distance;

I recall her complaints of the taxation that has made her poor to the bone;
The burdens of war on such persons! It makes me shed bitter tears.

- Tu Fu

In relation to proper conduct or “right action”, Confucius has this to say:

“In the way of the Superior Man there are four things, none of which I have as yet attained – to serve my father as I would require my son to serve me; to serve my prince as I would require my minister to serve me; to serve my elder brother, as I would require my younger brother to serve me; and to offer first to friends what one requires of them.”

- Confucius
References


The influence of English learning strategies on English academic achievement - A Taiwanese context

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Chih-Hung Wang
The influence of English learning strategies on English academic achievement – A Taiwanese context

Abstract

This study explored the differences of the frequencies of strategies use in learning English and English learning achievements among the elementary school students and described the relationships among the frequencies of the strategies use in learning English and English learning achievements. The predictabilities of the frequencies of the strategies use in learning English and the degrees of motivation in learning English on English learning achievements were investigated. Several suggestions for further studies and for educational practices are suggested based on the findings.

The two hundred thirty-nine students were randomly selected from public elementary schools in central Taiwan. A revised version of Oxford’s SILL and a self-developed “English learning achievements Test” were the instruments used to collect the data. The background information of the students was collected through a self-developed questionnaire. Descriptive statistic, t-test, ANOVA, correlation analysis and stepwise multiple regression analysis were conducted to analyze the data collected.

The findings of this study are summarized as follows:
1. Significant differences of the frequencies of strategies use in learning English and English learning achievements were found among the students of different genders as well as the students with different backgrounds in terms of their parents’ education and vocations. There are also significant differences on the years of studying English among the students.
2. There were correlations among students’ frequencies of strategies use in learning English, students’ degrees of their English learning achievements.
3. A student’s frequency of strategies use in learning English and his/her degree of motivation in learning English can effectively predict his/her English learning achievement.
Estimates of seriousness and deserved punishment for legal rule transgressions by adult offenders, correctional officers, and non-offenders

Topic Area: Psychology/Criminology

Presentation Format: Paper Session

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Estimates of seriousness and deserved punishment for legal rule transgressions by offenders, correctional officers, and non-offenders

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Research indicates that individuals tend to believe that others share their attitudes and beliefs to a greater extent than is actually the case (Ross, Greene, & House, 1977; Wolfson, 2000); this effect has been termed the false consensus effect. Wolfson points out that false consensus arise “from exposure and information availability” (p. 295). That is, people are likely to associate with others who hold similar judgements and lifestyles, and will estimate the general prevalence of a behaviour based on their own personal databases (Wolfson).

Most research in this area examines this effect in relation to university students, a generally law abiding and rule compliant population. Based on the false consensus effect, it is realistic to expect that inmates, who largely associate with a criminal subculture, will see rule transgressions as the norm, and will believe that most other people will engage in similar behaviours to a greater extent than they actually do. Further, since they see their behaviour as falling within the expected norm (i.e., everybody does it), then they are less likely to see their rule violations as “wrong” or as a serious rule transgression.

Furthermore, correctional officers spend 12 hours a day supervising and interacting with offenders. If exposure and information availability are the essential elements in forming beliefs around one’s own behaviour and that of others, as proposed by the false consensus effect, then one might expect that Correctional Officers’ estimates regarding the seriousness of rule infractions and the degree to which transgressions deserve punishment might fall somewhere between the estimates of non-offenders and offenders.

Hypotheses being tested:

1. Offenders will estimate that significantly more people engage in legal rule transgressions in comparison to non-offenders.

2. Offenders will judge legal rule transgressions to be less wrong (more acceptable) and less deserving of punishment than non-offenders.

3. Correctional Officers’ estimates regarding the seriousness of rule infractions and the degree to which transgressions deserve punishment will fall somewhere between those of the offenders and non-offenders.
Talkin’ Country: Black Women’s Speech in Rural Mississippi

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Abstract

Language, by definition, is a form of communication. It represents our thoughts, cultural beliefs, and norms; we use language to define ourselves, each other, and the world around us. For African Americans, the use of language has been a tortuous process in a country that desires everyone to be linguistically uniform. African Americans have been forced into linguistic integration despite the persistence of racial and class divisions that create social, political, and economic separations. African American English (AAE) has been one of the major tools used by African Americans to express their ethnicity, and at the same time is a focal point for debates on legitimacy and economic opportunity. Despite society’s failure to recognize its validity, AAE still persists. Thus, it is one of the primary keys to understanding African American identities and aspirations. Linguists have recognized the importance of AAE and have been studying it for at least three decades. However, little research has been done on African American women’s speech and what it reveals about self-perceptions, cultural identity, and their efforts to secure their future. Yet, women are at the heart and core of families and shoulder major responsibilities for raising the next generation. To ignore their voices is to demean the importance and value of their roles in society.

My research focuses on AAE of African American females in a rural Southern community of the Mississippi Delta. These women are single heads-of-household on welfare; they are the primary caretakers, both socially and financially of their families. The ways in which they use language reflect how they view themselves as well as the strategies they use to survive and situate themselves in their community. The main
research questions that my study addresses are: (1) what function does AAE serve for these women? How do they use AAE to define themselves, their status, and relate to others in their community environment? Do they use AAE as a coping strategy, and if so, how? (2) How does their language fit into the schema of other AAE-speaking communities? In what ways is their speech similar to or different from these other communities? And if there are differences, what are they and what are the contributing factors?

The methodology consists of over 30 hours of in-depth interviews of 20 African-American women living in Coahoma County (located in the Mississippi Delta) in the early 1990s. The data were collected by a sociological research team in 1991 that examined “the relationship between gender, race, family structure and poverty within the context of Southern rural political economies” (Dill 1990:1). The questions were designed to increase general knowledge about the social factors which underlie the formation as well as coping and survival strategies of low-income female-headed households in Southern rural communities. The current study consists of an observational and statistical analysis of these interviews. The observational aspect of the study is an analysis of the stories told on the tape-recordings about the lives of these women and how they view their place in society. The statistical aspect involves linguistic analyses of two grammatical features that help to determine how this AAE variety is similar or different from others. A general observation of the statistical data shows that structurally AAE in Coahoma County is similar to other AAE varieties found in other studies. What is different about this variety is how often the AAE grammatical features are used based upon where in the county the subject resided. For example, those
who lived in Clarksdale, the county seat and a racially mixed town, used AAE features less frequently in their speech than those in Jonestown, a predominantly Black town. This study draws on primary and secondary research and resources on the speech of African American women, linguistic studies on AAE, and sociological studies on women in poor, rural areas.

Diverse fields such as African Diaspora, Ethnic, and Women’s Studies can benefit from this research because many women find themselves heads-of-household for a variety of reasons whether due to socioeconomic condition, AIDS, or legacy of racism and oppression. Their experiences, struggles, and language uniquely position them to be primary touchstones for identity and cultural issues throughout the world. By studying the language used by poor women of the African Diaspora who, like many other women, reside in a rural community, scholars can develop a stronger foundation for comparative studies across the Black Atlantic.
Addressing the High Use of Hospitals – Using a Systematic Literature Review to Plan an Analysis of Hospital Data for High-User Identification and Description

Topic area: Sustainable Development

Presentation format: Verbal Paper or Poster

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Addressing the High Use of Hospitals – Using a Systematic Literature Review to Plan an Analysis of Hospital Data for High User Identification and Description

Abstract
An increasing number of seniors and the health decline that often accompanies increased longevity are creating increased concern about sustainable health systems, particularly with regard to hospital access and utilization. Existing health services utilization research is indicating that only a small proportion of seniors and younger persons are high users of hospitals, but that their collective use of hospitals is substantial. A systematic literature review was recently conducted to review definitions that have been used to date to investigate “high” use of hospital services. Three types of definitions were identified: (1) High use was defined most often on the basis of a person having reached or exceeding a certain number of hospital days during one hospital stay or over multiple admissions, or on the basis of reaching or exceeding a certain number of hospital admissions or separations in a defined time period. These counts were most often tabulated over a course of one year, although 6-month through 7-year timeframes were also employed. (2) High use was less often defined on the basis of use by a select proportion of the general public who could potentially be hospitalized or by a select proportion of the citizens who had been hospitalized in a given time period, with this proportion normally accounting for a large (often half) share of total hospital days, hospital admissions or separations, and/or costs. (3) High use was less frequently defined on the basis of costs or cost-weights that include consideration of both the quantity and intensity of care, such as those based on the number of hospital procedures and days of care, as well as the acuity or cost of these procedures and other services provided, such as intensive care services. As such, operational definitions of high use varied considerably.

After much deliberation, a decision was made to analyze 11 years of data from two representative full-service Canadian hospitals on the basis of high use being defined as 2 or more standard deviations above the mean utilization per each distinct hospital service. High users were thus identified as 6.1% of all persons who were admitted for inpatient hospital care, 2.6% of all patients admitted to an emergency department, 5.9% of all patients admitted for sub-acute care, 1.3% of all patients admitted for daysurgery, and 1.6% of all patients admitted to an outpatient unit for ambulatory tests or treatments. Minimal variation on a year-by-year basis was found. High users were most often younger (under the age of 65), female, living in the immediate community surrounding the hospital, and experiencing either a mental disorder (if under age 65) or a vague and undefined health problem (if aged 65+). Furthermore, few high users of one hospital service were high users in subsequent years and few high users of one hospital service were high users of other hospital services. When multi-use occurred, high users were more likely to use emergency department services and inpatient care services, followed by outpatient clinic and daysurgery services. These findings are highly relevant for health services planning, including the designing of services that provide an alternative to hospital-based care and programs that will improve the health of persons who have become high users of hospitals.

Key Words: Seniors, aging, hospital, utilization, use, high use, high cost, use reduction, cost reduction, systematic review, integrative review, environmental scan, research
In January 2004, Astrid traveled to Israel, Jordan, Egypt, and Palestine and wrote a series of short essays on her experiences. These essays focused on issues of immigrant absorption, urbanization and community planning. Her well-written essays were perceptive, reflecting her background in urban studies as well as her solid grasp of the history of Zionism and Palestinian nationalism. Astrid is a keen observer of people and places. Her writing skillfully depicts the people she encountered as well as the places she visited. Her enlighting and witty essays on Israeli, Jordanian, and Egyptian attitudes about space make for very interesting reading.
"Endangered Museums: The Viability of Living History Museums in the Modern Era"

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"Endangered Museums: The Viability of Living History Museums in the Modern Era"

Abstract

In her research, Astrid examines the origins and development of Living History Museums (LHMs) with the intent of explaining both their former popularity and their current state of decline. While her focus is on two LHMs in Massachusetts, Old Sturbridge Village and Historic Deerfield, many other similar museums are referenced for comparative purposes. Astrid describes their current situations and responses to challenges posed by competing forms of tourism and other forms of economic and social change. This includes an in depth discussion of museum financing, marketing and strategic planning. The final product is a richly detailed exploration of a once unique and innovative alternative approach to the concept of a museum and educational recreation. Astrid is deeply committed to improving and updating LHMs in ways that remain true to their core mission: to present history as it was lived and experienced by the people of the time.

Astrid's thesis is five chapters long, with numerous appendices. In Chapter One, she describes the origins of LHMs in the U.S. as a response to the formalism of traditional museums that neither allowed nor encouraged interactive exhibits. Astrid does a fine job describing how Old Sturbridge Village, sought to portray life in rural New England in the 1830s, gathering historic buildings of the era from neighboring towns with the purpose of foregrounding local craftsmanship. In contrast, we learn that Historic Deerfield began from the antique collections of two individuals and is comprised of historic buildings still standing in their original location. Astrid explains how both sites tended to place emphasis on the positive features of the time as opposed to a more rounded and undoubtedly down beat representation of the hardships.

In Chapter Two, "Museums and the Public," she sets out the problematic around which the rest of thesis revolves: the ever-changing relationship between LHMs and the visiting public. Astrid begins by situating LHMs within the larger category of 'heritage tourism," noting how their popularity and programming was related to broader societal change. She convincingly explains why Sturbridge and Deerfield were once such popular tourist destinations but how other more commercial forms of tourism that often use history as a lure to what is essentially a shopping expedition, eventually won out. This is a complex discussion that includes many factors that are claimed to have an effect, such as reduced vacation time, more home gadgets, and greater cultural disconnection from the past. Astrid read widely and put considerable effort into making sense of these disparate, and sometimes ill supported claims, in order to draw some conclusions about why LHM popularity has declined.
Chapter Three examines one mechanism that LHMs use to address their declining popularity -- marketing. While describing in some detail the various marketing strategies that Sturbridge and Deerfield have employed (including useful illustrations of logos and advertisements), Astrid quite astutely points out the challenge this poses as LHMs run the risk of alienating their loyal supporters if they present a new image that is far different from their original intent. Especially interesting here is the discussion of "audience development," where we learn about the different groups that LHMs are trying to target for the future (e.g. children and families). In the end, without an improved visitor experience, Astrid suggests that marketing cannot provide a panacea.

This theme is picked up in the next chapter where she explores the fiscal crisis currently facing LHMs. Here we learn how the financial origins of a LHM can determine its sustainability, and how solid endowments, while they may delay the need to raise attendance and cut costs, do not postpone this need indefinitely. Astrid has compiled an enormous amount of detailed information and provides innumerable examples to illustrate how particular changes in programming and/ or staffing, new construction, reductions in exhibit space, and fund raising of various sorts, have failed to produce solvency or significantly increase attendance and crucial income for operations.

The last chapter, "History Plans Its Future," explores in some detail the most recent strategies that Sturbridge and Deerfield are using to increase attendance and engage their audiences without doing too much damage to their reputation for authenticity. The strategies examined include: developing a new image (re-branding); constructing indoor exhibits geared towards children; strengthening community involvement; improving visitor orientation, and achieving and maintaining financial stability. Astrid develops the arguments for each of these approaches and provides a balanced view of the likelihood for success or failure. It is here that we come to appreciate how dependent each of these strategies is on the other, and how important it is for individual LHMs to identify their own uniqueness and build upon that as opposed to trying to be all things to all people. Recognizing your own limitations, such as audience capacity at Deerfield, is another point that is underscored.

In the Conclusion, Astrid returns to her original motivation for the project and argues strongly for the need to save LHMs as wonderful and "enchanting" historic educational resources with the potential to contribute to local economies. With more attention to targeted fundraising and changes in exhibits that present history as "alive," she remains somewhat hopeful that a revival of interest can occur.
Title Page

Title of the submission: The Journey of Offering a Course for the First Time: Social Work 498 Indian Boarding School

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The Journey of Offering a Course for the First Time: Social Work 498 Indian Boarding School
Introduction

Social Work (SOWK) 498 Indian Boarding School will be offered for the first time on an experimental basis this summer session 2007 at Eastern Washington University through the School of Social Work. The purpose of this report is to share the journey of creating a new course as well as receiving the feedback of colleagues in the field.

In regards to terminology, I will refer to the Indigenous population of the United States as Indian or Indians. When referring to Indian Boarding Schools I will also use boarding school.

Historical Overview

Indian boarding schools were created as an instrument in exercising assimilation for the Indian populations in the United States. In many instances Indian children were forcibly taken from their homes to attend these boarding schools. As described by Plummer (2005):

Most Indian boarding schools dished out harsh punishment when children spoke their native language. Indian students had their long hair abruptly chopped off, their traditional attire discarded. They had to answer to new names, wear uniforms, march military style, wear hard, tight shoes instead of moccasins, speak only English (even to each other), convert to Christianity, eat only non-traditional food, learn a vocation, and work. (p. 5)

Many Indian people suffered physical and sexual abuse at the hands of school personnel. This forced assimilation was a product of European colonialism in which Indians were seen as subjugated people.

One of the first well known off reservation Indian boarding schools to open was Carlisle Indian Boarding school located in Pennsylvania. Carlisle was erected in 1879
The Journey 3

(Plummer 2005). Soon after Carlisle’s opening other well known boarding schools opened, Chemewa in Oregon, Chilocco in Oklahoma and Haskell in Kansas (Adams 1995). Some of the boarding schools that first opened are now closed while others have transitioned over time. Haskell is one such institution that started as a boarding school and is now a University. In present time, “The federal system of Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) schools currently encompasses over 185 day and boarding schools on and off reservations” (Plummer 2005).

It is not uncommon when speaking with Indian families to identify at least one member in their extended family that attended an Indian boarding school. Thus, the experience of Indian boarding schools is a common experience of Indian families in the United States. The same can be true of other indigenous people of other nations. In Canada the equivalent boarding schools for the Indigenous populations (referred to as “First Nations” people) were called “residential schools”. In Australia, similar child removal policies were developed in the late 1800’s, whereas light skinned aboriginals were removed from their families and placed in other homes, missions and institutions (Jacobs, 2006). Thus, these hardships to Indigenous children can be seen on a global scale.

Even though there were some harsh realities of the first Indian boarding schools not all that attended suffered. When informally surveying boarding school attendees one can find a wide variety of experiences. The variety of experiences appears to be related to (but not limited to) the age of the person, when they went to boarding school, the reason why they attended the boarding school, the decade they attended, and whether or not the attendee attended only during the day or resided at the school. In Jacobs article,
“Indian Boarding Schools in Comparative Perspective”, some boarding school attendees found their experience to be, “…fostering of a strong peer culture and the accompanying emergence of pan-Indian identity”. She continues by saying, “…not all children’s experiences within the schools were tales of unrelenting oppression…” and “Many Indian authors also recount their Indian school days with a degree of nostalgia and fondness for certain aspects of their experience” (Jacobs, 2006). Many Indians made life long friendships and also found their future husbands and wives (Dixon & Trafzer, 2006). In addition, some Indian boarding schools of the past now host school reunions. Lastly, contemporary Indian boarding schools now encourage, “Indian cultural traditions” and “the importance of ‘being Indian’” (Dixon & Trafzer, 2006).

New Course Offering

As mentioned previously, even though the Indian boarding school has been a well known chapter for most Indian people there has not been a course offered dedicated to this one topic. Outlined below are some of the challenges in delivering this new course and a discussion of ways to meet these challenges.

**Challenges**

Offering a course for the first time presents many challenges: What book or books to adopt for the course? Provide a reader (compilation of journal articles and other publications) in addition to texts? What aspects of the Indian boarding school should be focused on? How to recruit for prospective students (build interest)? How to give a balanced perspective? What are the reasons why this course has not been offered in the past?

**Addressing the Challenges**
In order to decide on a text or a reader to adopt it has been helpful to gather input from fellow colleagues in the field and research in various search engines. I have been given several reference lists to gain information from as well as conducted various web searches and periodical searches. I have found through research that the majority of books dedicated to the subject of Indian boarding schools tend to focus on the first half of the 20th century. Such books include, “Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience 1875 to 1928” by David Wallace Adams. This type of focus looks at the harsh realities of the boarding school system before the enactment of the 1934 Johnson O’Malley Act, “… which essentially allowed American Indians on reservations to go to public schools” (May 2005). The majority of journal articles as well focus on the boarding school experience prior to 1930’s. There are some books and journal articles that do discuss contemporary Indian boarding schools such as, “Boarding School Blues” by Trafzer et al. and “Indian Boarding Schools and the Therapeutic Residential Model Project” by Judith A. DeJong and Stanley R. Holder. From this survey of publications one option to consider is to adopt a text that focuses on the early days of the boarding school experience and through other class presentations cover current trends in these boarding schools. This will also be accomplished with a field trip to an existing boarding school. Giving an overview of the boarding school experience from the late 1800’s to the present will allow the class to compare and contrast the atrocities of the past with the inclusion of culture in the current curriculum.

In offering a new course a recruitment strategy has to be planned in the hopes of making this a viable class with future offerings. For this course there has been some preliminary work such as cross listing this class with the American Indian Studies
Program on campus. Also there are plans on doing announcements in other courses in other disciplines in addition to the School of Social Work (where the class has been listed for the summer schedule). I have completed a few guest lecturing spots in social work courses where the Indian boarding school class has been mentioned. I have also fielded several inquiries from students that called to ask additional questions about what the course is about.

One of the difficulties of giving a balanced perspective is to balance my own family’s experience with Indian boarding schools with what is published. I am an enrolled member of the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation. My maternal grandfather attended the Indian boarding school on my reservation, Saint Mary’s Mission and my mother attended the Indian boarding school in Lawrence, Kansas, Haskell. Because I am very close to the subject material I also need to be cautious of my own biases. One strength that I can call upon is that my family has a mixture of Indian boarding school experiences. My maternal grandfather had an unfavorable response and my mother had a positive experience. In addition, I have to provide self care to be able to relay the stories of my grandfather attending boarding school. At times I feel his trauma even though I never was able to meet him and he is now deceased. This trauma is often referred to as “inter-generational post traumatic stress” (Graman 2006). Even though I did not attend Indian boarding school I feel the grief through stories that have been passed down in my family from one generation to another.

I understand that timing is everything. Even though Indian people may understand the history of Indian boarding schools there are many in the dominant culture who have not received any exposure to this topic. It has only been in the last decade that
I have heard Indian people talk about boarding schools. To give an illustration of the current sentiment, I had conducted a Department of Social and Health Services (DSHS) training on the Indian boarding school experience. I coordinated and facilitated a panel of speakers to come together – all panel presenters were boarding school attendees. After the presentation one of the panel presenters said to me as the facilitator, “Thank you for providing a venue so I could finally tell my story”. It has been my observation that there has been years of Eurocentric education in the United States and only recently has the education community started to become more receptive in hearing the experiences of the Indigenous populations of the United States.

Conclusion

The journey of proposing a new course entitled Indian Boarding School has been challenging and rewarding. Decisions have been made to give a balanced perspective of the abuse issues of the past (the process of assimilation that involved in some cases physical and sexual abuse) compared with the celebratory accomplishments of the present (emphasizing Indian culture) through selected readings. A recruitment strategy has been started and there will need to be continued analysis of this strategy to evaluate it’s effectiveness in making this an ongoing class offering. In addition, my own biases in delivering this course will need to be monitored. Lastly, the timing seems right to offer a class that students from other cultures may appreciate.

References


Collaborative Public Policy Development: Making it Work
An Empirical Model of Government-Community Collaboration

Topic Areas: Public administration; political science; social work; urban and regional planning

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Collaborative Public Policy Development: Making it Work
An Empirical Model of Government-Community Collaboration

Citizen participation in policy-making is receiving renewed attention today as policy issues become more and more complex, community demands for improved public accountability and responsiveness grow, and new approaches to public management continue to evolve. While traditional consultative strategies, such as public hearings and town-hall meetings continue to be used, collaborative planning processes are becoming increasingly popular. These initiatives generally entail bringing together representatives of key stakeholder groups, who work alongside state officials in order identify meaningful, feasible, and often highly creative policies to complex issues; policies that otherwise would likely not be developed. Collaboration theorists advocate that group deliberation uncovers participants’ mutual interests and goals and fosters resourceful problem-solving, which in turn lead to innovative policies that build on the perspectives and strengths of each constituency. Such an outcome is appealing to all concerned, especially in the context of limited public resources and increasing community needs.

Despite its growing popularity, little is known about how to promote effective collaboration, particularly in terms of ensuring that these processes are authentic and meaningful in bringing the voices of non-state actors into the complexity of government and its policy processes.

Using the Canadian Province of Newfoundland and Labrador’s Working Group on Welfare Services to Victims of Violence as an intrinsic case study, this inquiry advances our conceptual and pragmatic understanding of collaborative policy-making. To do so, two central research questions are addressed: From the stance of those involved, what is collaboration?; and, What conditions and qualities lead to its effective and authentic implementation? Using documentary analysis of critical government reports and key informant interviews with government officials and representatives of community agencies, this investigation documented the collaborative process and its outcomes, and explored the experiences of differentially located state and non-state actors.

Inductive analysis of the data identified four core factors that contributed to effective and authentic collaboration, namely: (1) the presence of certain enabling conditions in the host department and the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador; (2) the evolution of relationships characterized by trust, respect, and open communication; (3) participants having realistic expectations and a commitment to work together to develop “solutions” owned by the group; and, (4) the presence of a broker who linked the workgroup with senior officials within the host department. These factors and their related dimensions, particularly the broker role, bring clarity to our understanding of collaboration and offer significant insight into the conditions necessary to make collaborative processes successful. This paper concludes by highlighting the most significant implications for administration theory and practice and professional education for policy practice.
1. **Title of the submission:**

POLITICAL TRANSITION IN NEPAL: RE-FORMATION OR REFORMATION OF STATE IN NEPAL.

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As follows – (Pages-11)

POLITICAL TRANSITION IN NEPAL: RE-FORMATION OR REFORMATION OF STATE IN NEPAL

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Abstract

The changes unleashed by the Maobaadis and people’s movements of April 2006 and the signing of the comprehensive peace agreements between the government and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) on November 21st same year are generating tectonic shift in the political structure of the emerging democratic state. The emerging political communities weaving a utopia of future Nepal: a big ‘No’ to monarchy, multiparty democracy, free and fair election, secular statehood, abolition of every kind of discrimination based on gender, caste, ethnicity and class; independence of judiciary, reduction in the coerciveness of state’s machinery like army, police and bureaucracy, social justice, rule of law, recognition of cultural diversity, abrogation of discriminatory treaties with other countries and economic upliftment of all. The ground situation clearly will not allow such utopia to be translated into reality. Though, it may be the first model country where a “people’s war” under the tutelage of a revolutionary communist party on the verge of a complete victory, has agreed to participate in a multiparty democracy allowing consensus and reason to have an upper hand over “power” and the “Gun”, expectations of a country with more than forty percent population living below the poverty line in a landlocked country still untouched by “productivity revolution” will continue to be a rising crescendo against changelessness at personal situations. Whether politically active population in almost “de-institutionalized society will allow the culture of negotiation and tolerance, the prerequisite for a democratic statehood, remains a million dollar question? The stronghold of western district population over the military structure of the CPN (Maoist), the pendulous shift of opportunistic monarchist and democrats between various sections of the governing elite and marginalization of terai people at power centre in Katmandu will have non linear effect over distribution of power among various administrative regions, pillars of the state and saplings of democracy. Prolonged ideological and armed structure in Nepal has led to increasing militarization of the younger cohort group, and heightened awareness among dalits, janjatis and other minorities that will further increase strains in the emergent structure. This paper aims to address these emerging issues which will be relevant to the study of dialectics of stateness-democracy continuum and possible transplantation of democracy in failing states of Asia and Africa.

Introduction

The recent events in Nepal attracted the world community. They have been moving at a bewildering pace and this small land locked country of South Asia is now poised to have a major shift in its political order. On February 1, 2005, King Gyanendra took absolute power. This undemocratic state intensified domestic turbulence.1 This political move was a reversion of competitive politics. With the King’s actions giving no room for reconciliation, the agitating parties made a historical decision of forming a Seven Party Alliance (SPA) on May 5, 2005 which in course of time proved to be the major challenge to the monarchy. The Maobaadis understood the importance of the united front put up by the seven

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parties and promptly offered their party's support in the protest movement of the political groups. Under the heavy pressure of mass movement the king issued a proclamation reinstating the parliament dissolved on 22nd May 2002. He directed the parliament to be convened on 28th April.

A complex political scenario has come out on the forefront of Nepal. The king has acknowledged the sovereignty of the people. The Maobaadis have proclaimed their commitment to a peaceful solution through the political process. The army has declared its loyalty to democratic forces. All major political parties agreed on the ultimate goals of society and state like sovereignty of the people; multiparty democracy inclusive of all people communities and regions; gender-equity; recognition of cultural diversity; rights for all, including minorities; social justice and rule of law. People's governments of the Maobaadis would be dissolved. Decisions on important national issues would be made through dialogue and consensus. The interim constitution would also specify the procedure for the convening and operation of the constituent assembly, including public participation through free and fair elections. But implementation would not be smooth due to differing attitudes, interests and priorities of the different political parties.

Nepal got an interim constitution that will remain effective by June 2007. By this deadline new Constituent Assembly has to approve the new constitution. The composition of this Constituent Assembly is heavily dictated by the Maobaadis, who not only shared 83 seats out of 330 seats, but also influenced the selection of other members. In spite of initial controversies, the apex body approved the interim constitution on January 15th at which point the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) or CPN (M) joined the interim parliament. So far seven parties that opposed King Gyanendra in 2005 and the Maobaadis have managed to work together, despite their major ideological differences and individual priorities. The Nepali Congress (NC) has yet to confirm its position on the future of the monarchy, while the leftist parties advocate a republican set-up.

The Maobaadis are in the process of transforming their organization into a mainstream political party operating in peacetime which is not so easy. They are probably the most organized political force, and it is their next move that will determine how political force and it is their next move that will determine how political alliances unfold in the coming months. In contrast, the seven parties that opposed King Gyanendra in 2005 are not exhibiting the same level of preparedness for the huge transition that the country is going through. The Comprehensive Peace Agreement that was signed on November 21st 2006 formally ended the Maobaadi insurgency. All parties to the deal declared their intention of making Nepal inclusive, democratic and progressive, but the next step in the political transition is to include the Maobaadis in government. The army remains an important factor in the emerging political landscape, and its role will probably be shaped by developments in the broader political environment, particularly its evolving relationship with the Maobaadi. So far the army and the Maobaadis have maintained their truce, but should the Maobaadis resort to violence, on whatever pretext, the military could move back to the centre of the political stage.
Nepalese political situation and equation could develop in a number of different ways. The government and the Maobaadis could successfully implement their agreements and hold a constituent assembly election as planned. However, delays in the election timetable would provide monarchists with the time to regroup and the opportunity to disrupt the transition. The Maobaadis, for their part, are aware that their strength lies in the distance between the king and the political parties. They also recognize that they need to remain committed to peace and to keep the political parties on their side if they are to gain international acceptance. Nevertheless, there is an outside chance that the Maobaadis could take advantage of any serious delays in the country's political transition to try to push through a second revolution. The seven-party alliance has so far managed to remain united, but could splinter when the election process magnifies the parties' ideological differences, a weakness that both the Maobaadis and the monarchists would be quick to exploit. The political situation is further complicated by the ailing condition of Mr. Koirala, who was recently in India for his treatment. His further incapacitation as head of state and government will lead to succession battle that could become disastrous for the efforts to move the country peacefully towards democracy.

**Monarchy**

Monarchy had traditional base as an institution in Nepal. But the Nepalese monarchy stands no chance of survival and the overwhelming popular sentiment seems to be in favor of a parliamentary republic. The effects of the recent political developments in Nepal are indicative of an extremely important shift in the structure of Nepal's political order, the implications of which are still being experienced. One of the most important shifts concerns what were considered the two most powerful institutions in the polity- the monarchy and the army. In May 2006, the House of Representatives passed legislation that transformed relations between the monarchy and parliament. The legislation ended important executive prerogatives of the monarchy and included measures such as – taking the assets of the royal family; discontinuing the royal advisory council or Raj Parishad; transferring control of the military to the legislature and renaming the RNA (Royal Nepal Army); removing the title "Royal" from all government institutions and; declaring Nepal as secular state. However, it is rather puzzling that both the monarchy and the army accepted a curtailment of their powers and this makes further research regarding the nature of the internal negotiations important. The Constitution Drafting Committee has received suggestions form all the major political parties CPN (M) suggested that Nepal be declared a Federal Republic in the very preamble while CPN-UML asked the drafting committee that the fate of the monarchy be decided by a referendum. The NC wants the constituent assembly to decide the fate of the monarchy.2

**Judiciary**

The independence of judiciary essentially demands independent, competent, efficient and intelligent person of high character and integrity to be selected and appointed as judge. Unlike other branches of the government, the judiciary in Nepal is also sharply alleged for not serving and delivering the justice with high ideals as expected and directed by the constitution and the laws. Democracy has

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rewarded the judges with unparalleled honor and authority with a belief that they will maintain and use their integrity, wisdom and independence for the benefit of the people and the nation at all times. But the ends of decade-long experience of Nepal’s democratic system, crises in the judiciary both internally and externally are broadly felt. Judging the judges has become inevitable because of the loud voice raised against the misconduct of the judges. There are complaints from many corners that the corruption is ascending in the judiciary.

Because the judiciary enjoys as security of tenure rightly denied to politicians and unique among public servants, it is especially important that the judges should be subject to free and open criticism of the performance of their duties. In fact independent judiciary should not be equated with despotic judiciary. Though, the Judicial Council Regulation has clearly mandated every judge to submit property details, the Judicial Council could not have effectively performed the task of monitoring the assets and interests of the judges. The Judicial Council must initiate investigation when a complaint is made against a judge for having abundant wealth, lacking valid source of income.

Nepal has 75 districts of them; seven are completely in the hands of the Maobaadis. In these districts they have established their own government, their own judicial system and set up other branches of administration. In another 17 districts the Maobaadis and the former Royal Government existed side by side while in the rest of the country the Maobaadis used to carry out subversive activities at will.

**Elections**
For the success of any democratic system, it is essential that there must be adequate provisions for free and fair elections. As far as the constituent assembly process is concerned, the dangers are manifold, and not least the need to explain the intricacies of the mixed electoral system to the populace. Additionally, one of the grievances with the recent agreements is that the demands of various ethnic, regional and other marginalized communities have not been adequately addressed. Elections mean polarization, as the various political parties compete for votes. The process has already begun in Nepal, and it can be expected that the two parties most at loggerheads would be the CPN (Moist) and the CPN (UML), who would presumably be battling for the same ideological space. Given that the elections are not even for a Parliament but a constitution-making body, there is an urgent need for a code of conduct that binds the political parties to minimum standards of good behavior. This is absolutely crucial. A highly charged and potentially violent campaigning period over the spring of 2007 would be one more cause for the reactionaries of Nepal to try to flex their muscle.

Security during the election presents a further challenge. The intensification of violence associated with competing sectarian demands has

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5 Ibid. p. 9.
caused deterioration in law and other, which could unsettle the transition. More interest groups, political, ethnic and religious, are making their agendas known. Supporters of the monarchy are still a presence in the country. Although King Gyanendra has remained reticent politically, it is not yet clear whether he will accept a quiet exit. His future will be decided by a simple majority of the constituent assembly. Demands to establish ethnic republics in Nepal are intensifying, although the mechanics of autonomy would be challenging. Nepal is a country of minorities, with some groups dominant in specific areas and others dispersed throughout the country. The protests and strikes witnessed in recent weeks in the plains of Nepal indicate the danger that ethnic politics could take a violent turn. More armed groups attempting to exercise local control could emerge, particularly given weak law enforcement. Despite the re-establishment of many police posts, the government remains unable to police the country effectively. The situation is likely to become increasingly fraught as the election draws closer and partisan interests intensify. The challenges of maintaining law and order will stretch all those concerned if Nepal is to be in a position to hold a free and fair election by June.

Bureaucracy
Bureaucracy is expected to fulfill professional duties maintaining neutrality. The bureaucrats should be able to provide their services. Political neutrality is essential to ensure impartiality in service delivery to the people. Sometimes in other countries, bureaucracy even directs the government due to their permanent nature, experiences, continued access to information and professional expertise. However, the situation is different in Nepal. On the one hand, bureaucracy as such is not functioning according to the principles of rule of law and on the other hand, political leaders are carelessly using bureaucracy to fulfill their vested interests. Therefore, one cannot imagine good governance in the absence of neutral and impartial bureaucracy. The bureaucracy in Nepal was never allowed to function on any sound administrative principle. The future career of the administrative personnel during the royal regime depended on patronage of the palace. The bureaucracy was neither independent nor impartial and efficient in its functioning. Neither the political leadership nor the permanent civil service is looked up to for noble initiatives in development and administration or for mitigation of poverty. At present, the greatest challenge to the country's bureaucracy is in the filed of its professionalism and accountability. Achieving these qualities require some fundamental shifts in personnel policies of the government which, for one thing, should place an unmistakably high premium on performance accompanied by opportunities for the professional advancement of the officials.6

Arms Management
Like any other nation-building exercise, the political transition in Nepal will be cumbersome and confusing. How will a military machine be converted into a political party? The difficulty lies in the fact that the Moist rank-and-file have been drilled with revolutionary fervor and talk of takeover of the state by force of arms. There will be a large group, gathered during the rapid Maoist expansion in

the last 1990s and early 2000s, whose political commitment is suspect, and who are obviously enjoying armed power and the livelihood gained from it. The political transformation of the Maobaadis will require something more than 'arms management'. This euphemism is used by all parties in Nepal, and means disarmament of the Maobaadis, while ensuring that the Nepal Army is kept within barracks. The military structures and thinking that have defined rebel behavior will now be the most crucial to transform if the transformation seems to be happening at a pace that could be faster, and indicates a danger for the 'politicalization' of the CPN (Maoist).

Arms management and the involvement of the UN in weapons decommissioning and election monitoring were included in the peace accord, but were dealt with more specifically in a separate agreement. However, an integral part of the peace accord was the commitment by both parties to cease any form of aggression, recruitment of personnel or movement of weapons. People held in detention by both sides were to be released within 15 days.

**Sectarian Violence**

Political discrimination, coupled with social and economic inequity, led people to organize them against the state, demanding a space for inclusive politics. Pressure groups of women, *janjatis* and *dalits* have been demanding their inclusion in the political and socio-economic spheres. Discontent grows when they find it difficult to gain a foothold in the main political parties or rise up the economic ladder. These groups are asking for systemic changes for better political, economic and social equitability. For example, the *janjatis* have organized themselves under the *janjati* Mahasangh, which has 48 *janjatis* as its members, and are demanding changes within the Constitution. *Janjatis* are the indigenous tribes of Nepal and do not consider themselves to be Hindus. They are against the Hindu character of the country as enshrined in the Constitution of 1990 and want Nepal to be declared a secular state. They challenge the unitary structure of the country and demand federalism based on ethnic distinctions. Like the *janjatis*, other protest movements spearheaded by women, *terains* and *dalits* are also demanding inclusive politics.

The Maoist attempt to increase their support base by including the concerns of the *janjatis* has paid rich dividends. Most of their cadres belong to Rai, Limbu, Gurung, Magar and Tamang communities. This has led many scholars to describe the Maoist movement as an ethnic movement. However, it is best characterized as a political movement with economic and ethnic elements. The Maoist image of being representative of *janjatis* is a political ploy to gain more cadres.7

The government's inability to police the country effectively has made the ground fertile for politically motivated violence and has resulted in poor law and order more generally. Violence relating to sectarian demands, as well as strikes, has been on the rise throughout the country. In particular, the tensions between migrants from the hills (Pahadis) and the original inhabitants of the plains (Madhesis) have intensified. The Madhesis are demanding regional autonomy to

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end domination by hill groups. One immediate demand is the redelineation of election constituencies, but bowing to these demands could open the floodgates to demands from other ethnic groups, and might delay the election until after June. The movement promoting the Madhesis' cause has three fronts: groups engaged in armed struggle; groups promoting radical aims but without violence; and Madhesi politicians in the Nepal Sadhabhavana Party (Anandi Devi), or NSP (A), and the mainstream parties that advocate regional autonomy.

The Janatanirk Terai Mukti Morcha (JTMM), a Maoist splinter group that has been fomenting sectarian unrest in the plains of Nepal's south, has now split into two factions, and violence has intensified.\(^8\) There were sectarian clashes in Nepalgunj in mid-western Nepal in late December between Pahadis and Madhesis. These came in the wake of a strike called by the NSP (A) on December 25th to protests about the constituencies agreed in the interim constitution. The JTMM is opposed to the holding of direct elections in the existing 205 constituencies, and both JTMM factions are demanding the creation of a Terai (plains) federation with rights to self-determination.

Violence associated with identity-based demands spread to other districts after the death of Madhesi activists in a Maoist shooting at Lahan in eastern Nepal in mid-January 2007. The death toll related to these protests and clashes had reached 19 by February 5th. Most of the eastern Terai towns, including Birgunj and Biratnagar, remained under curfew throughout the protest period. Many small town in between these two (Biratnagar is the easternmost town in which protests took place) were also placed under curfew. Transport came to a halt, and the government began rationing petroleum products in Katmandu in early February, as stocks had run low and it was unable to bring in more supplies from the plains.

The Madhes Jana Adhikar Forum (MJF) advocates more radial Madhesi rights, but has not yet taken up arms. The MJF did, however, become embroiled in violent clashes with the Maoists in late January, and the resulting protests spread to a number of districts. The JTMM faction led by Mr. Singh has claimed that it was behind the protests, and has demanded that the government include it as well as the MJF in talks. The Maoabaadis, meanwhile, regard the JTMM as traitors and oppose any negotiation with them. They do want the government to meet the "reasonable" demands of the Madhesis, which includes fair representation, access to opportunities, recognition of identity, ownership and control over natural resources, and regional autonomy.

**Economic Issues**

The basic economic foundation of Nepalese society is agriculture; more than 81% of the labor force is engaged in agriculture and close to 90% of Nepalese people live in rural areas. The dominance of agriculture also appears in the accumulation process, though the productive forces in Nepalese agriculture are backward and primitive. It is still the case that nearly 99% of the total investment in Nepalese agriculture is made in land, human and animal labor and primitive equipment and only 1% in modern means of production.\(^9\) Eighty percent of the population in Nepal is still dependent on agriculture. Distribution of land, the most important

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\(^8\) The JTMM was formed when a group split from the Maoists in July 2004. There was a split in this group in July 2006, when a faction broke away under the leadership of Jwala Singh.

productive resources, is substantially skewed. Forty percent of the households at the bottom hold any nine percent of land. Bottom 20% of the household shares only 3.7% of the national income whereas the top 10% share 50%.\textsuperscript{10} Land Reform should be directed towards improving lot of the poor people. The following suggestions could be forwarded for making land reform as a means of poverty reduction:

a) Land to the tillers should be its guiding principle  
b) Homestead land should be made available to the homeless in a planned manner.  
c) Co-operative farming should be encouraged.\textsuperscript{11}

The importance of the future economic development of Nepal was highlighted in the accord, with a commitment to the implementation of a socio-economic transformation by ending feudal and ownership and introducing other land reforms. The Ministry of Finance has estimated the cost of establishing lasting peace at NRs 6bn (US $80m). As part of the peace process, the government has set up a Peace Trust Fund with initial funds of NRs 100m (US $ 1.4m), which will be used to rebuild infrastructure, resettle some 50,000 internally displaced people, generate employment, enforce security and maintain the Maobaadis in their cantonments. Nepal has asked donors for NRs 5bn to help with these activities.\textsuperscript{12}

\textbf{Foreign Affairs}

Foreign powers have praised the progress made so far in the peace process, and by and large have welcomed the inclusion of the Maobaadis in parliament. However, concerns persist. Both the US and India would like to see the Maobaadis joining government only once arms management is complete, and the US has been strongly critical of continued Maoist violence since the peace accord. Nepal needs to retain the support of India and the US. International backing is essential on a number of levels if the political transition is to be effected peacefully. Support from the UN could help in the transition process, but its power to assist partly depends on the ability of the political parties to manage the process effectively. India may not welcome greater UN involvement beyond its two current roles of arms monitoring and election support.

Nepal will continue to draw in foreign funds to help to cover the budget deficit resulting from low economic growth. Some donors have stepped up aid to Nepal, but the implementation of projects in the country remains a challenge, owing to the poor security environment. Although the Maoists have dissolved the local government apparatus that was notorious for making demands on development agencies, local leaders may be slow to end their high-handedness. A peace divided in the form of aid will probably not materialize until the constituent assembly has finalized a new constitution and clarified the nature of the Nepalese state. Important donors, such as the US and the UK, want an unequivocal assurance that the Maobaadis have once and for all renounced violence and surrendered their weapons. The multilateral aid agencies, meanwhile, will be

watching for signals from the US and the UK before making major commitments for their own.

On a visit to India on November 17th-19th, Comrade Prachanda said that the November 2005 pact with the mainstream parties that had led to the king's downfall had been possible only with India's support. India has not yet ceased to class the Maobaadis as terrorists, although it has welcomed the interim constitution in Nepal. However, it has called for credible arms control measures to be implemented before the Maobaadis be allowed to join the government. India's foreign secretary, Shiv Shanker Menon, declared during the a visit to Nepal in late November that India was prepared to discuss all issues, including the controversial 1950 Treaty of Peace and Friendship that Nepal claims favors India. The US, meanwhile, has remained strongly critical of the Maobaadis, while supporting Nepal in its progress towards democracy. The US ambassador to Nepal, James F Moriarty, declared in January that the Maobaadis would remain on the US list of terrorist organizations until they convinced the US of their commitment to peaceful political activity. Nepal and Bhutan were scheduled to discuss the repatriation of Bhutanese refugees from Nepal on November 21st-22nd, but the talks have been indefinitely postponed. Nevertheless, on November 15th Nepal began a census or refugees living in seven camps in the country.

Conclusion
The paradox lies in the fact that despite agreement on the ultimate goals and this seemingly straightforward roadmap, hurdles have appeared as to its implementation. Difficulties arise in part from the ambitious scope of the interim constitution draft, which nevertheless leaves several critical and controversial issues to be resolved by the SPA and the Maobaadis. These include the nature of the state, the mode of election of the constituent assembly, and the composition of the interim legislature. It does not sufficiently address the problems of governance in the transitional period. In part, these difficulties arise from differences over the 'management of weapons' - particularly the Maoist arms – and from questions as to the conditions under which the Maobaadis can enter government and under which elections to the constituent assembly can legitimately to held.13

The implementation of constitutional suggestions will not be effective without the satisfactory resolution of the weapons question, and the exercise of good leadership. The management of weapons and of armed forces, together with other issue of transition, will require a leadership with vision and determination.14 Nepali citizens retain their trust in democracy as the best from of government despite disappointment with the working of democracy and the behavior of politicians. The people clearly reject non-democratic alternatives. They do not want the king to be the executive head. People strongly disapprove of the popular government and the takeover of executive powers by the king.15 The socially exclusionary nature of Nepali state and society, and the centrality of the Katmandu valley, is the fact of social geography. Constructing a just, equitable, modern democratic state and society in a small, land-locked country with a large

14 Ibid, p. 20.
15 Hachhethu, Krishna (2005), "What the people feel", Seminar no.548, p. 68.
proportion of its land mass covered by mountains, extreme poverty, low literacy,
and a tantalizingly brief experience with democracy, is unlikely to be easy.

References
Abstract:
Our paper investigates how changes on the Applied Japanese Language education system have influenced on the language teacher’s careers development. Studies about Japanese language teachers (JLTs) have demonstrated that female part-time teachers are four times higher than male teachers, and full-time JLTs at universities are predominantly male. At the first phase of our project we investigated the case of JLT part-timers. Data was collected by in-depth interview with female JLTs working at Japanese universities and at private Japanese-language schools. Firstly, we analyzed how female JLT part-timers start their careers as teachers. As result we found some similarities among interviewees and we classified them according to the kind of teaching training program (if at university or private training school). Primary results showed that JLT part-timers who have received training at universities start their teaching careers at the private language schools but move to universities where the work conditions are better, as soon as they have an opportunity. JLT part-timers who received training at the private training schools also start their career at private language school, but rarely move to universities. In the next phase of the research we will collect data concern the language training courses’ educational proposals, analyze advertisement on the main web sites where JLTs have free access to job information and also analyze how professionals who changed their previous jobs to JLT jobs develop their careers.

Keywords: Japanese language teacher; part-time; gender
Developing Effective and Efficient Leadership

Introduction

As a leader, one should gain an understanding of oneself and simultaneously perceive others carefully and intentionally. I hold that what we need is effective and efficient leadership. Consequently, how to determine the strategies and tactics necessary to be an effective and efficient leader is the core of the researches and analysis.

First, I emphasize it is necessary to be an efficient and effective leader. An effective leader should be one who can “generate creative responses to the broad range of problems that he/she encounters” (Bolman & Deal, 1991, p. 4). Halpin (1966) states that one of the major findings resulting from the LBDQ (Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire) data was that “effective leadership behavior tends most often to be associated with high performance on both dimensions” (p. 97). The two dimensions referred to are initiating structures (concern for organizational tasks) and consideration (concern for individuals and interpersonal relations). In addition, in the Rutter et al (1979) study, firm and purposeful leadership has been frequently cited as the first requirement of effective leadership. Murphy’s (1990) review on the effective leadership is:
Developing a limited number of well-defined goals and communicating them to all school constituencies; managing the educational production function supervising teaching, allocating and protecting instructional time, co-ordinating the curriculum and monitoring student progress; promoting an academic learning climate involving positive expectations for students, maintaining high personal visibility, providing incentives for teachers and students, and professional development of teachers. (p. 160-200)

In summary, the role of the leader is to balance different needs and wants in an organization and reach to the goals of the organization. If there is no leader in an organization, members would be confused and disorder will occur. Second, I will analyze and expound the strategies and tactics needed to be an effective and efficient leader from these aspects as follow: (a) how to emanate personal character; (b) how to master competencies; (c) how to set directions; (d) how to build organizational capability; and the last one is (e) how to mobilize individual commitment.

**The necessity for developing effective and efficient leadership**

The essential trait of effective and efficient leadership, in my opinion, is how to tackle the relationships among “Human Being.” No matter what different times and stages, different countries and regions, and different cultures and backgrounds, it is essential to good leadership that this important element—relationships with people not be neglected.

When severe and drastic changes happen, members of an organization will expect effective and sensible planning, confident and efficient decision-making, and
regular, complete communication that is timely. In addition, in changing times, members of an organization will perceive effective and efficient leadership as supportive, concerned, and committed to their welfare. The essential factor is that there is a culture and climate of trust and respect between leader and the rest of the team. The existence of trust and respect brings hope for the future and also makes complex things easier. In a school each member should have an agreed upon goal—help students receive quality education. Effective leadership can help us reach this goal. First, effective leadership provides a framework which gives schools, teachers, and students opportunities to learn what they want to learn. Second, effective leadership involves sustainable development and achieves positive outcomes. In addition, effective leadership offers opportunities to cooperate with other groups such as government, community groups, and business groups. Consequently, it is necessary to develop effective leadership in schools.

In contrast, poor leadership, such as forcing aggressive and punitive behaviors on employees, endorsing a heavy workload or unmanageable work pace will result in members of the organization expecting nothing positive. For example, in a climate of distrust and disrespect, members know that the leader will act in unreasonable ways that do not seem to be in anyone’s best interests. Thus, poor leadership implies an absence of hope and in the long-term, the organization will become completely nonfunctioning. Members of the organization will totally give up their own interests and goals, at the same time; they will yield to difficulties and admit defeat. There will be no faith in the organization and also in the ability of the leader to turn the
organization around.

**Emanating personal character**

From my perspective, how to emanate personal character that anyone else can accept and support is the basic element to be an effective and efficient leader. David Whitney (2005, p. 3) describes the character of George Washington (1789-97), the first president of the United States below:

Perhaps the strongest feature in his character was prudence, never acting until every circumstance, every consideration, was maturely weighed; refraining when he saw a doubt, but, when once decided, going through with his purpose whatever obstacles opposed. His integrity was most pure…. He was indeed, in every sense of the words, a wise, a good and a great man.

Although George Washington had little formal education, he had the charm to attract people to follow him and he was elected by the unanimous vote of his countrymen. One of the most important reasons is his preeminent character, personality, values and beliefs. But it does not mean that he did not have weaknesses in his characters. This will elicit another aspect of his character, namely, using his strengths to offset his weaknesses. Consequently, I think there are two more essential characteristics to be an effective leader, that is, emotional intelligence and integrity. Firstly, emotional intelligence can help you recognize other people’s positive or negative feelings and motivations. Goleman (1998) posits that the foundation of emotional competency is self-awareness, the knowledge of ones own abilities and limitations as well as solid understanding of factors and situations that evoke emotion in one self and others.
Specifically, as a leader in an organization, you have to observe each member’s activities and feelings, encourage their potential, and reach the goals of the organization. Novak (2002) says “good helpers possess people-oriented perceptions of themselves, others, purposes and frames of reference” (p. 78). I propose that means we should focus on people’s thoughts and feelings on what they experience. We could use another word “care,” just like Novak says an inviting stance is centered in care.

As a leader, one should listen to the interests and meanings expressed by the others. If not, one cannot be acknowledged and welcomed by others and gain the trust and respect from others. The process of accomplishment is a teamwork process and cannot be done by only one person. If a leader only pretends and is in fact, not connected with followers, followers will not trust the leader. So, the whole organization’s relationship will be broken up. That is why I emphasize integrity in order to be an effective leader. Integrity is the core quality of a successful and happy leadership. In my opinion, that means being totally honest and truthful in every part of your life, including being honest to yourself and also the people around you. If you cannot keep the promise that you have made, your followers will not believe and trust you, what is worse, they may betray you because you are not worth them relying on. In sum, for leadership success, emotional intelligence and integrity are both crucial.

**Mastering competencies**

I suggest the vital factor of mastering competencies is how to be a creative leader. Nowadays, creativity is used frequently in many fields. For instance, transformational orientation emphasizes that teachers should facilitate students to be creative and
free-thinking. Ray and Sayer (1999) have pointed out how increasingly, economic success is seen as lying with “culture, knowledge and creativity” (p. 17). However, different people have different understandings of the meaning of the word “creativity.” Elliott (1989) suggests that creativity is “a fourfold concept at least: it involves a doer, a doing, something done, and the context in which it is done” (p. 4). He focuses creativity on music education. Fasnacht (2003) holds that creativity is “a process that may be developed and influenced by the environment and is recognized by the product produced” (p. 195-202). He emphasizes creativity in nursing.

In developing effective leadership, I suggest creativity is not only to invent or create something that is “brand new,” it is about new “synergistic” connections with what already exists. Synergistic means interactive, cooperative with each other. For instance, there are two high schools in the same district. They have the same organizational structure and get their finance from the local government. Also, they have almost the same number of students and faculty. In other words, there are few differences in the basic situation of the two schools. Nevertheless, there are quite different outcomes of the same year’s accomplishment. To some extent, it is due to the different levels and skills of leadership. Probably, one of the principals has created synergistic connections but another cannot. As to how to create synergistic connections as a leader, I would like to analyze from the facets as follow: trust, integrity, self-surrender, proactiveness and reflectiveness. Trust within the faculty members is indisputably an important element of effective leadership.

Developing and sustaining an inviting stance is about establishing a
trustworthy pattern of interaction over time. When trust is lacking, everything is called into question. People are at cross-purposes and time, energy and potential are lost and not easily restored. (Novak, 2002, p. 72)

If the faculty members cannot trust and respect one another, surly, they cannot have a good working relationship with their colleagues. Integrity, I would replace it with the word “straightforwardness”. I hold that integrity means being proud of your self achievements and having the courage to admit your errors and being accountable to your faulty. Self-surrender means being sure not to blame others and shirk responsibilities. If you cannot do something, try to not be too demanding to others to do the same thing. From my perspectives, being proactive has two meanings. The first level is being active and energetic yourself, while another is making your followers active and spirited. Last, make sure reflect on your actions. Confucius, one of the Chinese philosophers, says reflect on your own actions three times a day in his book named the Analects of Confucius.

**Setting directions**

Direction can be compared to a line which guides and leads members of an organization to the destination. Leaders must work with members to begin creating a new vision of an altered workplace and help members to understand the direction of the future.

However, if a leader only pays attention to feelings, such as happiness, sadness, grief, despair, everything in the organization will only be a dream because members only focus on their own aims and forget the direction of the organization. Harvey
Mackay once said, “A dream is just a dream. A goal is a dream with a plan and a deadline.” And that goal will remain a dream unless you create and execute a plan of action to accomplish it. So every goal that gets accomplished has a good plan behind it.

The leader should combine acknowledgement of members’ feelings with members’ understanding of future vision of the organization. When the leader sets directions, he/she should concentrate on two questions (Army Handbook, 1973): (1) What are all the ingredients necessary for its successful execution? (2) What are all the possible forces or events that could hinder or destroy it? The first question should include who, when, where, how and why. The directions contain the detailed plans: determining all the missions and tasks; organizing a structure to accomplish those tasks; allocating the resources of the organization. In each section of the process, it is a “doing-with” (Novak, 2002) process. For example, when a leader determines the tasks, he/she has to learn the members’ needs but not force others to carry out the missions. A leader should support a variety of members and supply them with sufficient equipment. Also, a leader has to check that all the missions don’t get off track. If leaders can “develop goodwill,” “reach a variety of people,” “read situations,” “ensure delivery” and “negotiate alternatives,” all mentioned in John Novak’s Inviting Educational Leadership, the process of determining tasks, organizing structure, and allocating resources are much easier to carry on.

As for the second question, it means anticipating difficulties and tough situations that will occur. Before solving the problems, a leader should identify what the real
problems are. For example, in a school there is a rule regulating that teachers should stay 30 minutes after school to help students with their work. As the principal, you find that although all the teachers obey this rule, some of the teachers only follow the letter but not the spirit of the rule. The principal at first should figure out why the teachers do not like staying to help the students. Probably, teachers think it is unnecessary to help students with extra time because students have already learned in the class; or, perhaps they would like to stay if they can get additional recognition; or, they consider 30 minutes is too long and if it is a shorter time they can accept it more readily. After the principal makes sure what the problem is, he/she can put solutions into action. However, different solutions give rise to different responses from the teachers. Try to compare and analyze which is the relatively best solution. Next, the principal can implement the plan. But, new problems will take place and the process of identifying and solving problems itself is a cycle.

**Building organizational capacity**

Organizational capacity covers many aspects, such as leadership, organizational infrastructure, skills and capacities, relationships, experiences and confidence. I propose it comprises specific questions such as: (a) Is the organization run by a single, charismatic leader and does the organization take on greater levels of responsibility? (b) Does the organization have sufficient resources such as staff and financial support? (c) What are the strengths and weaknesses of the organization and what other areas could be developed? (d) Are there productive relationships within the organization and with other organizations? (e) Is the organization eager to try new things and learn
from its mistakes or not?

Additionally, I find the McKingsey Capacity Assessment Grid (2001) is a tool designed to help organizations assess their organizational capacity. The contents are as follows:

- **Aspirations**—mission, vision-clarity, vision-boldness, overarching goals.

- **Strategy**—overall strategy, goals/performance targets, program growth and replication, new program development, funding model.

- **Organizational skills**—performance management, planning, funding-raising and revenue generation, external relationship building and management, other organizational skills.

- **Human resources**—staffing levels, board-composition and commitment, board-involvement and support, CEO/executive director and/or senior management team, management team and staff-dependence on CEO/executive director, senior management team (if not previously covered), volunteers.

- **Systems and infrastructure**—systems, infrastructure.

- **Organizational structure**—board governance, organizational design, inter-functional coordination, individual job design.

- **Culture**—performance as shared value, other shared beliefs and values, shared references and practices.

According to McKinsey, the grid can help an organization: identify those particular areas of capacity that are strongest and those that need improvement;
measure changes in an organization’s capacity over time; draw out different views within the organization regarding its capacity. In total, there are seven aspects in the assessment. It has a comprehensive structure and covers key areas that affect an organization’s capacity, such as strength of management, soundness of finances, and commitment to ongoing improvement. However, it does not mean this method fits each organization. It depends on every organization’s micro and macro situation.

Mobilizing individual commitment

Individual commitment is dominated by obligations. For example, these obligations may be mutual, or self-imposed, or explicitly stated, or may not. As a leader, I think the foundations to mobilize individual commitment are to engage others and share power with others. Consequently, if these obligations are simply imposed on individuals without individuals’ support, it is impossible to mobilize individual commitment over an extended period of time.

How to engage others and share power, in my opinion, is probably to praise and give recognition. Nowadays, sometimes money is a good motivator to engage people. However, I do not believe money is omnipotent and all-powerful. To a great extent individuals want to feel that what they do makes a difference. Thus, I consider personal recognition does make a difference.

To mobilize individual commitment in an organization no one wants to do the same boring work day after day. Individuals need some tasks and work that can appeal to their interests. First, leaders should balance the usual work and interesting work to keep individuals excited in their work.
Second, leaders should empower individuals. That means empower individuals with information they need to know to do their work better and more effectively. For example, individuals need to know the functioning condition of the organization. So, a leader should open the channels of communication in the organization to allow each individual to be informed, ask questions, and present suggestions. This method partly represents the sharing of power in the organization.

In addition, give individuals much more independence. Make sure not monitor individuals too closely because no one wants to be completely controlled by others without any freedom. Individuals would like to develop by bringing some innovative ideas and energy to their own job. Individuals will challenge themselves without being closely monitored.

Last, involve individuals in the usual businesses to help them feel respected. Everyone appreciates getting credit and then sharing the successes and failures of the organization with others. Accordingly, give individuals opportunity to explain, learn, and grow with the organization. As the leader involves others, he/she increases their commitment in implementing new ideas or change.

Conclusion

Developing effective and efficient leadership is a complex process. Moreover, there is no definition about how to do this. Emanating personal character, mastering competencies, setting directions, building organizational capacity, and mobilizing individual commitment are only some suggestions of the developing process. Also, effective leadership is not just words and they are identifiable actions that are
integrated into a plan which ultimately elevates the performance of individuals and organizations. In other words, leaders need some specific strategies and tactics to develop effective leadership.

Effective leadership has significant effects on students’ learning, the quality of curriculum, and also teachers’ instruction. Good leaders influence students’ learning by helping to promote visions and goals, also by ensuring that resources and processes are in place to enable teachers to teach well. Thus, effective leadership can provide instructional guidance and create a competitive school to offer students quality education.
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Developing Just, Democratic, Empathic, and Optimistic Leadership

In a Cross-Cultural School

Introduction

Kincheloe and Steinberg (1995) propose that any system of meaning we develop for our schools must be “just, optimistic, empathetic and democratic” (p. 2). I agree with this statement. Because it is a pluralistic and ever-changing society, we should pay attention to each individual and every one should have equal access to education. I think just, optimistic, empathetic, and democratic leadership is the basic foundation to develop each individual’s education. The enrollment of the school is diversified and internationalized, many students come from different cultures and backgrounds, thus, as a leader, it is crucial to handle the different wants and needs using a combination of methods.

Culture is “a patterned way of thinking, feeling, and reacting, acquired and transmitted mainly by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts” (Kluckhohn, 1951, p. 921-976). In the American Heritage Dictionary (2004), cross-cultural means comparing or dealing with two or more different cultures. In a cross-cultural school, if a leader wants to deal with diverse opinions and ideas successfully, first, he/she has to make sure what his/her career goals are—to help each member of the school achieve self-actualization or to earn profit. Self-concept is the belief
that people have about who they are and how they fit into the world. It is the most intimate of realities and the slipperiest of abstractions (Bracken, 1995). The most personal perception is maintained, protected and enhanced by every feeling, thought and action a person manifests (Novak, 2002). Consequently, a leader should know oneself well to understand others’ perceptions. Next, a leader has to be willing to get much more information about others’ beliefs, values, ethnicity, language and so forth. Avoiding the kinds of dilemmas which happen in a cross-cultural school cannot help the leader to ease the situation. It only makes conditions worsen. Confronting the difficulties realistically and proactively is most important.

First, I express my opinion on the relationship between culture and leadership. Also, in a cross-cultural school, how to tackle language problems and how to balance different values are the essential missions of a leader in my opinion. In the second part, I emphasize developing justice in a cross-cultural school. Next, I focus on developing empathy in a cross-cultural school. Then, developing democracy in a cross-cultural school is elaborated on. I briefly introduce my own experience about democracy. The last part I offer my understandings about developing optimism in a cross-cultural school.

**Culture and leadership**

When I visited Ridley College, a private school, I learned that the student body in the school is a diverse, multi-talented group with students from over 30 other nations. I am interested in how to manage a school with students from different cultures. So, from my perspectives, how to balance an indigenous group and one or more minority cultures deserves the educators’ serious consideration. Increasing mobility and migration characterizing the world today inevitably results in people from different cultures studying in the same societal
Hallinger (1995) notes that in studies of educational leadership, culture has been a missing variable. Stolp (1994) argues that school culture offers principals and other leaders a broader framework for understanding difficult problems and complex relationships within the school. He also says that by deepening their understanding of school culture, leaders will be better equipped to shape the values, beliefs, and attitudes necessary to promote a stable and nurturing learning environment. Also, there is another example to explain. Clive Dimmock and Allan Walker (2005) wrote that leadership is a culturally and contextually bounded process. This means it is inextricably intertwined with its larger environment and the cultural influence on leadership is multidimensional, often difficult to discern, subtle and easy to overlook.

I believe culture and leadership interact with each other. Leadership in a school to some extent reflects the societal culture, while at the same time, leadership influences societal culture. Also, there is another culture, that is, organizational culture. Hoy and Miskel (2005) state that “organizational culture is a system of shared orientations that hold the unit together and give it a distinctive identity” and some people suggest that what is shared should include “norms, values, philosophies, perspectives, beliefs, expectations, attitudes, myths, or ceremonies” (p. 165). For example, teachers and students in society have to face societal culture, which shapes their beliefs and values. Also, in the organization of a school, teachers and students have to overcome the differences between societal culture and school culture. There are five symbol systems communicating the contents of a school’s culture, namely, stories, myths, legends, icons, and rituals (Hoy & Miskel, 2005). The five symbol systems
give us different examples from different perspectives which demonstrate a school’s culture. In fact, societal culture is much more complex and difficult to understand than organizational culture, which is often short term and set by the leader of the organization. The organizational vultures including norms and practices are products of the societal values and belief systems that are dominant in any society (Rensburg, 1993). As a leader, he/she tries to shape a new culture in the organization. Consequently, the leader should help teachers and students to tackle the problems and difficulties in society and in the organization. However, I suggest the final mission of the leader is to help teachers and students distinguish the organizational culture from societal culture and achieve the goals of the organization. Thus, my attitude is developing just, democratic, empathetic, and optimistic leadership to form the organizational culture so that a leader can meet different needs and simultaneously balance distinct benefits.

As a matter of fact, the basic tool for communicating in a school is the language. There are a great many languages in the world. The leaders cannot learn and understand each kind of language and I think it is not that essential for leaders to know different languages. But, leaders should embrace, value, and care about different language speakers, especially minority language speakers. I propose in a cross-cultural school, because most people speak the majority language, individuals who speak the non-native language to a great extent feel no sense of belonging. If they are separated from the majority speakers, they will feel ignored by the majority and what is worse this may lead to some psychological problems. Consequently, what the leader should do is to try his/her best to get different languages speakers together, and let the majority languages speakers learn more about the minority languages speakers. Also, inviting the minority languages speakers to join the majority to
help them establish social interactions and friendships can assist the minority to adjust to the native living and studying style. And I think this process should be proactive and interactive. For example, in the same program, a local student and an international student can form a small group to prepare assignments and presentations. Therefore, the international student not only can develop language skills but also learn more about native cultures and customs. On the other hand, the local student can gain a broad view about different countries’ values and beliefs.

In addition, I believe it is a psychological process. If the minority students feel they are being treated appropriately, they will totally adjust themselves into native life. However, if the minority students are unable to communicate because of language barriers, they probably will have negative psychological problems and behaviors which are not helpful for the leadership of cross-cultural schools. So, in a cross-cultural school it is necessary to open special courses to help non-native speakers get familiar with the local language, including reading, writing, speaking, and listening. However, I propose that to some extent special courses are not satisfying because such kinds of courses are always set in an isolated form so that non-native speakers cannot get in touch with local students. For example, there is no connection with English speakers and no chance to learn local slang. It gives birth to the neglect of communication and comprehension of the local culture and custom. For example, ESL program should not only focus on academic purposes but also on cultural purposes. The program can have a 12-week or 16-week course on local culture to help non-native students get used to the living style. In addition, some internship courses can offer non-native students workplace experience. This allows them to develop their English language skills in a
Another crucial ingredient is the individual’s values. I think values are beliefs of a person or social group in which they have an emotional investment (either for or against something). Because of the different cultural backgrounds, each individual has quite different values. Some of them are similar, while others are not. In my opinion, a leader ought to organize a set of systematic values of the school that everyone in the school believes and supports. To win support from individuals, leaders have to understand individuals’ expectations well. For example, the expectancy theory believes that each individual can “accomplish the task” and make sure that “good performance will be noticed and rewarded” (Hoy & Miskel, 2005, p. 149). Above all, leaders should empower teachers and students to express their ideas about how the school is run and what is learned in the classroom and how. It is reasonable and helpful to use the “decision-making action cycle” (Hoy & Miskel, 2005, p. 303). If there are many conflicts in the organization, a leader should “recognize and define the problem or issue”. Next, “analyze the difficulties in the existing situation” and “establish criteria for a satisfactory solution”. In addition, “develop a plan or strategy of action” and “initiate the plan of action”. During the process, it is necessary to anticipate the negative as well as positive consequences of each action. For example, values could be embodied in the regulations and rules of the school. These values are more formal and to some extent it can limit some negative behaviors such as misconduct and negligence. If individuals disobey the rules and regulations, they will definitely be punished. Formal policies can give leaders privileges because leaders will punish individuals based on the rules and regulations. In other words, leaders only give reasons to individuals—“We are complying with rules and
regulations”. But, it has negative effects too. For instance, if something happens unexpectedly and out of the range of formal policies, the leader will have nothing to depend on. I think now it is a proper time to test the leader’s ability to handle emergencies. Also, values could be informal ones. For example, without speaking out, individuals revere the leader’s personal charisma and support his/her decisions. Hoy and Miskel (2005) state that the Weber’s ideal type includes five aspects: “division of labor”, “impersonality”, “hierarchy of authority”, “rules and regulations”, and “career orientation” (p. 85). It is too ideal and neglects some informal aspects in a school. To some degree, the relationships among leaders, teachers, students and the community should be informal and interpersonal. Hierarchy of authority “does enhance coordination but frequently at the expense of communication”; Rules and regulations “do provide for continuity…they often produce organizational rigidity and goal displacement” (Hoy & Miskel, 2005, p. 86). When I was in university, I was elected as the director of the Students’ Union. I was proud that many students from different departments supported me. When I reflected on my behaviors, I could understand why I was sponsored by others. One of the conclusions I reached is that I valued what the students valued and vice versa. Above all, I was a proactive person who stimulated, encouraged and supported them. As a result, I obtained sponsorship and assistance from the students. That was an equal process and everyone benefited from the process. In the next sections I will explain my view about developing justice, democracy, empathy and optimism in leadership.

**Developing justice**

Justice should be applied to the entire society. Education as an important factor of the society’s development also should be justified. Each one including students, teachers, and the
community should have just rights to express their voice. “Justice stipulates that every voice – not just the majority or the most powerful – should be heard” (Shields, 2002, p. 239). In a cross-cultural school, individuals have different conceptions of what justice actually is because they hold different values, beliefs and varied opinions about ethnicity, gender discrimination, racism and so on. It is indeed tough work to give each individual fair treatment and a just share of the benefits in the school. However, leaders have to exert their every effort to treat every one justly. In my opinion, a leader’s mission is to meet each individual’s needs and accordingly make the organization’s goals come true. The two aspects complement and interact with each other. In fact, individuals from the different levels represent different voices. In a cross-cultural school, for example, the principal, vice principal, administrators, teachers, students and the members of the community form the structure. They have different motivations and conceptions about the school so that contradictions and conflicts naturally exist. For example, individuals in the school have different intrinsic and extrinsic motivations. Hoy & Miskel (2005) consider that intrinsic motivation is “the natural tendency to seek and accept challenges as we pursue personal interests and exercise capabilities” and extrinsic motivations, in contrast, “is based on rewards and punishment” (p. 157). Consequently, as leadership, it is complicated to use rewards to develop individuals’ potential and punishment to limit their behaviors. I believe that the principal, as the leader, should listen to and embrace diverse perspectives and empower representatives from different levels. Centralization of the power to a great extent implies inequity and unfairness.

However, sometimes, the opinions of the lowest level are obstructed from reaching the leader because the opinions will influence the positions and privileges of the middle level so
that the voices are held up. This situation always happens among different administrators of
the school. Authoritarian structure in a school illustrates the blockages from the bottom to the
top. Hoy and Miskel (2005) assert that “disciplined compliance to the rules, regulations, and
directives is the basic principle of the authoritarian structure” (p. 99). Thus, authority is based
on position and hierarchy and concentrated power is obvious. In this situation, it is difficult to
be just to individuals. Therefore, if the leader cannot make contact with each individual face
to face due to limited time and energy, he/she should adopt distinct measures to solve the
problem. The principal’s mail-box, for example, can help individuals get in contact with the
leader indirectly through letters to reflect their opinions. Another suggestion is a fixed time
colloquia to talk with individuals face to face which could be a realistic and effective method
through informal conversation. Hoy & Miskel (2005) refer that “one generalization that
researchers and participants in organizations have observed repeatedly is that people who are
in groups, cliques, or gangs tend to reach an understanding on things or issues very quickly”
(p. 364). Consequently, the informal communication in schools is necessary.

Developing empathy

There are many empathetic cases in our real life. For example, in the case study course,
we analyze the cases assuming that if we were the real roles in the case, what solutions we
would carry out. Additionally, although many people recognize that the importance of
developing empathy in education is critical, it is still a tough work to apply into the reality.
Above all, we have to understand what empathy is. Empathy means:

To perceive the internal frame of reference of another with accuracy and with
the emotional components and meanings which pertain thereto as if one were
the person, but without ever losing the ‘as if’ condition. Thus, it means to
sense the hurt or the pleasure of another as he senses it and to perceive the
causes thereof as he perceives them, but without ever losing the recognition
that it is as if I were hurt or pleased and so forth. (Rogers, 1959, pp. 210-211)

Empathy is the capacity to “think and feel oneself into the inner life of another person”
(Kohut, 1984, p. 82). Hence, based on the definition, in my opinion, empathy means to
perceive and understand the other’s innermost conceptions as if you were him/her. Thus, I
think in a school developing empathy implies that every one is understood and cared for in
order that each one has a sense of belonging.

I admit developing empathy is truly difficult. First, if one does not have the experience
to study abroad, one probably could not identify feelings and ideas that another one has.
Second, even if one has the same experience with another, perhaps they would not have the
same emotion and reaction. That is because the two persons possibly hold different values
and beliefs. Additionally, the beliefs and values are influenced by socioeconomic status. On
the assumption that I am the principal of a cross-cultural school, additionally, I have studied
two years abroad and also my family has a high socioeconomic status. An international
student in the school, for instance, phones me about his/her language block during the study
process. There are two situations. First, I talk with the student face-to-face to learn whether it
is due to the psychological problem that he/she is timid and afraid of making mistakes when
speaking the local language. Probably, because of my busy work I cannot talk with him/her
every day, but I would find a helpful teacher to assist me to complete the mission. The reason
I pay so much attention to the student is partly as a result of the same situation I have
encountered before. My actions imply that I infuse empathy into my usual work. Second, my family has a high socioeconomic status and centralization of the power impresses me deeply and as the principal do not have to waste my time on the trivial things about a student. Although I had the same experience of studying abroad, I did not have the language block. Therefore, I feel the student’s problem is not so important. Perhaps, I will not respond to the student; perhaps, I only write back superficially without doing some specific work. That means no empathy exists in the process.

Finally, Cotton (1993) cites McCollough’s statements (1992) that “moral imagination is the capacity to empathize with others, i.e., not just to feel for oneself, but to feel with and for others”. This is something that education ought to cultivate and that citizens ought to bring to politics (Brooks, 2004). From this perspective, developing empathy is also a moral problem so that a leader is not a real leader if he/she is without morality. Shapiro (2006) suggests that “the ethic of care was particular complex…”, the director “constantly thought of the children …also had to consider the requests of her staff, some of whom had families of their own, who needed care” and “additionally, she had to consider the needs of the parents, who were acting in very emotional and unstable ways” (p. 6). During the caring process, the leader not only has to keep his/her professionalism but also care for the teachers, students and parents in a comfortable way.

**Developing democracy**

I had an experience that I thought I was treated unfairly when I was in elementary school. But, now when I critically and objectively think about the experience, some other interpretations occur to me. When I was in Grade 6, I was elected as the monitor of my class.
However, because I was not good at Chinese literature, the teacher who taught the course publicly opposed me as the monitor. She suggested we take a second vote, yet I still got the highest number of votes. Then, to my surprise, she just gave us some excuses to recommend another student who had a good mark in her course to be the monitor. Without asking other students’ opinions, she made the decision decisively and unfairly without democracy.

Now I consider the teacher’s behavior to definitely be undemocratic. As I know, one kind of democracy is direct democracy, which is classically termed pure democracy\(^1\), comprises a form of democracy and theory of civics wherein sovereignty is lodged in the assembly of all citizens who choose to participate. Another category is liberal democracy, \(^2\) which is a form of government. It is a representative democracy in which the ability of the elected representatives to exercise decision making power is subject to the rule of law.

In my opinion, I think direct democracy is the most democratic but in reality it is hard to practice and apply. Thus, liberal democracy is relatively easier to implement. If he/she is in a small school, a leader probably has enough energy to connect with each individual to completely learn the real condition in the school. But, in a large school, it would be challenging to apply direct democracy. My suggestion is to utilize a liberal democracy. The representatives in the school should be good listeners, like to communicate with individuals, and respect individuals’ opinions.

For example, in a cross-cultural school, representatives from different departments directly report to the principal. The representatives should not only include administrators, teachers, and usual staff but also students and members of the community. Developing democracy means caring for each member of the school and in addition it is valuable and...
helpful to form a vigorous and beneficial culture in the school.

**Developing optimism**

In my point of view, optimism does not mean considering every experience good and there are no bad things in the world. Heathfield (2006) holds that “optimism allows you to see the positive aspects of any situation and enables you to capitalize on each possibility”. In spite of this, optimism is a life of perspective that conceives and understands the world from a positive aspect, even if it is a negative experience, we also can figure out the meaningful facets. In a cross-cultural school, I suggest that part of the leader’s function is to bring hope for the present and also chances and prospects for the future, to make sure subordinates involve themselves in the process and share ideas with colleagues.

One of my teacher’s attitudes influenced me deeply and greatly. In my high school, to some extent I was interested in chemistry but I was poor in it, so sometimes I got really disappointing marks. For a short time, I was in fact upset and frustrated. However, the teacher told me if I did not get a good score, probably it was a helpful thing for me. He explained that failure gives the opportunity to discover what weaknesses and difficulties you had and when you overcome the weak points, you would acquire great progress. After that, I tried again and again and though I never got fantastic results, I actually made improvement and progress in chemistry. Optimism helped me, especially it had a constructive effect on my later living and studying.

Therefore, developing optimism is in truth critical and necessary in a cross-cultural school. The leader should cherish and respect the students and teachers from diverse cultures. I consider it a win-win process and both the leader and subordinates benefit from developing
optimism. Subordinates could have a bright and hopeful view about their personal advancement and also the school’s enhancement and growth. Similarly, if the leaders win support from the subordinates, they would embrace and persist with an optimistic view on the present and future development of themselves and the school.

Lightman (2005) proposes POWER optimism. “P” is the word proactive giving birth to responsible actions; “O” is the word open-minded resulting in innovative responses; “W” represents being well-informed which is helpful for productive conclusions; “E” is evolving good for beneficial reactions and “R” represents resilience giving birth to motivating interpretations. I think the five aspects of developing optimism are very comprehensive and far-reaching. Lightman recommends POWER optimism to help us live a more creative, productive and enjoyable life. but I believe they also can be carried out in the leadership of a cross-cultural school. Proactive, open-minded, well-informed, evolving, and resilient can be seen as leaders’ essential characters to develop optimism and also the methods to realize optimism.

Conclusion

Developing justice, empathy, democracy and optimism in a cross-cultural school definitely can help the school form a healthy and vigorous culture. If a leader wants to succeed, he/she must set himself/herself as an example for others. As a leader, if I cannot carry out my promise, I will not force others to do the same thing. In sum, in a cross-cultural school developing the four aspects is a shared process: shared ways of thinking, feeling; shared meanings and identities; shared socially constructed environments and so forth. Leaders should guide and motivate subordinates to reach the goals of the school together.
There are two stages in developing the four features. One is an intentional phase where a leader deliberately builds up the four features. Next, is an unintentional phase which I believe is a demonstration of a leader’s fantastic ability and capacity.

Notes


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http://eric.uoregon.edu/publications/digests/digest091.html
1. Title: The Effects of Parent training for parents who have a child with Asperger’s Disorder
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6. Abstract:

   This paper describes the effects of Parent Training for parents who have a child with Asperger’s Disorder. In this training, we aimed the parents to catch their child’s inner experiences - emotion, cognition that the child would have at the time of their maladjusted behaviors.

   The participants were 10 parents (7 families). During 5 months we provided 5 sessions consist of psycho education about Asperger’s Disorder and discussion about their child’s maladjusted behaviors. They completed questionnaires at the time of the first and final session. The measures were as follows; frequency of their child’s maladjusted behaviors, parent’s self-efficacy in managing their child’s behavior, anxiety in the future of the child, and intelligibility about their child’s behavior and anxiety of the other family members or child’s school.

   The results showed that
   - Parents became to suggest each other the way to manage their child’s maladjusted behavior based on their child’s inner experiences.
   - Parents’ intelligibility about their child’s maladjusted behavior and self-efficacy in managing that behavior were significantly greater. Then parent’s anxiety decreased significantly.
   - These results suggested that
     - Parents perspective about their child’s maladjusted behaviors changed from descriptive to dynamical.
     - Parents became to find the way by themselves to manage their child’s maladjusted behavior.
     - These decreased the parents’ anxiety.

   We concluded that the training aimed the parents to catch their child’s inner experiences was useful for the parents who had a child with Asperger’s Disorder.
Title of the submission: **Failure Effects of ‘Autonomous Adaptation’ in Relation to Extreme Flood Events in Bangladesh: Should It Be Addressed Without Delay?**

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Abstract and/or full paper:

United States Country Study Program (USCSP), IPCC and UNEP have formulated vulnerability and adaptation to climate change guidelines. There is a step entitled ‘autonomous adaptation’ which needs to be assessed systematically as IPCC forthcoming chapter 17: adaptation is going to emphasize on this issue. The failure effects of autonomous adaptation in response to extreme flood events in Bangladesh are huge which need to be addressed by the climate change scientists.

From 1988 to 1998 Bangladesh experienced three extreme floods which might have strong link with the current climate change issue. Climate change associated with flood management literature over the GBM river basin as well as South Asia support this argument (Ahmad et al., 2005, Prashad, 2005, Lal, 2000, Lal and Aggarwal, 2000, Warrick and Ahmad, 1996). The study has followed multi-method technique which is involved with two Participatory Rapid Appraisal (PRA), questionnaire survey over 140 households in case study area and professional judgment. It is found that farmers in Bangladesh are highly resilient with different kinds of extreme flood events in 1988, 1995 and 1998. Total agriculture cost for planting the *aman* variety rice (cost of seedling, agriculture input, land preparation) of surveyed vulnerable farmers at the *Kharif* 2 cropping season in relation with the various types of extreme floods (multi peak with longer duration flood, single peak with shorter duration flood and single peak at the period of harvesting) in each flood event is huge and it varies household to household. Farmers experienced extreme flood event more than one at the period of *Kharif* 2 cropping season; as a consequence the total agriculture cost that means the failure effect of autonomous adjustments is different in relation to other type of extreme flood events. As the case study shows that the failure effects of autonomous adjustments on marginal farmers are huge in relation with the extreme flood events in Bangladesh, therefore it should be dealt with immediately, not to be left for future.

Area: Geography
Exploring Emerging Spatio-temporal Patterns of Human Activities
with A GIS-based Extended Time-geographic Framework

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Abstract

Recent developments of advanced information and communication technologies (ICTs), such as the Internet and cell phones, are changing the ways how we conduct our daily activities and how we interact with others. With access to ICTs, we are gaining more freedom in space and time to arrange and conduct activities. For example, we are no longer forced to visit a brick-and-mortar store in person to buy a music CD; we can purchase songs from an online music store at any location with access to the Internet. We now can search literatures using an online library catalog service anytime without being limited to the open hours of a library. Researchers are expecting the capability of performing activities with more freedom in space and time to re-shape various aspects of our society. However, the question of how exactly ICTs can influence the spatial and temporal distribution of human activities remains unsolved to the research community. Therefore, effective research tools are demanded by the research community to explore the emerging spatio-temporal patterns of activities in today’s society. This study presents an ongoing effort of developing a GIS environment, which incorporates an extended time-geographic framework, to support representation, visualization, and analysis of various spatio-temporal relationships of activities. The classic time geography provides an elegant framework to study the relationships between human activities and their constraints in space and time. However, the classic framework only focuses on activities taking place in physical space. It falls short on handling current human activities, which have been extended to a virtual space supported by ICTs. This study first extends the concepts in the classic time-geographic framework (e.g., space-time path and space-time prism) so that the framework can be used to examine spatio-temporal characteristics of activities taking place in both physical space and virtual space. A temporal GIS design is then proposed and developed to accommodate the concepts in the extended time-geographic framework. The proposed GIS design includes functions to support interactive visualization of activities in their space-time contexts and analysis of spatio-temporal relationships of activities. The framework is expected to provide useful tools that can help researchers explore and gain better understanding of the emerging spatio-temporal activity patterns of people who adopt ICTs in their daily lives.
AN ANALYSIS OF HOW PEOPLE SEEK LONG-TERM CARE INFORMATION

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ABSTRACT

BACKGROUND/OBJECTIVE: This study was motivated by the rapidly aging population and the lack of information preparation for future care needs among older Americans. Some researchers contend that the existing studies of information- and help-seeking behaviors underestimate the importance of social support and social network. To explore an alternative understanding of how people seeking health-related help, this study employed the Social Organization Strategy (SOS) framework as proposed by Pescosolido (1992). The main objective was to gain a deeper insight into how older people seek long-term care information, the social determinants of information-seeking behaviors, and how the information-seeking pattern affects older people’s knowledge of long-term care services.

METHODS: This study analyzed data from a telephone survey conducted in 13 communities across the United States, containing a representative sample of 4,699 individuals aged 50 or above. The survey respondents were asked about the sources that they would turn to for information of in-home personal-care services, their knowledge of various home- and community-based long-term care services, and a set of basic social-demographic information. Cluster analysis was performed to explore patterns of sources that people rely on for long-term care information. The effects of social characteristics on information-seeking strategies were examined in a multinomial logistic regression model. Associations between information-seeking patterns and knowledge of long-term care service were examined using ANOVA.
RESULTS: (1) By applying clustering procedures, seven information-seeking patterns emerged in the data and provided insights on the different strategies people used to acquire long-term care information. (2) Each of the six social characteristics was found to be influential on the use or non-use of an information-seeking strategy at \( p=0.000 \) level. However, there were substantial differences in the specific influences each social characteristic had on each strategy. (3) The information-seeking strategy was able to explain 10% of the variance of the service-awareness index.

CONCLUSION: People’s information-seeking strategies are bounded by the socially organized constraints and opportunities presented in everyday interactions. The SOS approach views people’s help-seeking behavior from a network perspective where clustered sources rather than a singular source of help are the focus of study. Without assuming homogeneity among people who seek a particular source of help (e.g., physicians) or among those who do not, the SOS approach offers additional insights into the dynamics of coping by showing that there are different pathways to the use or non-use of a particular form of help. The shift of focus to social networks of interaction from individual mental events also helps to reveal the intertwined nature of individual and structure where the bounds of choices in planning and decision-making emerge.
INTRODUCTION

America is not ready for the escalating demand for long-term care that will come with its rapidly aging population. It is projected that one in five Americans will be 65 years or over by 2040—that represents twice as many elderly as there are today, or an additional 43 million elderly (U.S. Census Bureau, 2004, 2006). Although rates of chronic disease and disability among the elderly may continue to decline in the near future, the need for long-term care is expected to exceed our current ability to meet the demand by at least one-third by 2040, simply due to the sheer number of elderly individuals (Allen, 2005).

Long-term care encompasses a wide range of personal and nursing support needed by frail and disabled individuals in their everyday lives. People generally do not anticipate needing long-term care, and when such needs arise, many rely on unpaid caregivers such as family members and friends. When unpaid caregivers are not available and such services have to be purchased, many people found it difficult to find the right and affordable services due to a general lack of knowledge of the existing services in their communities and the complexity of long-term care delivery and financing system.

It is imperative to encourage individuals’ proactive coping behavior in the area of long-term care information gathering. Research found that when long-term care decisions are made in response to a health crisis that has resulted in a hospitalization, they are often made under great time constraints and psychological stress, based on incomplete information about home- and community-based long-term care and financing options; and they may in fact be made with little input from the elderly person needing the care
(Maloney, Finn, Bloom, & Andresen, 1996). As a result, such decisions usually favor institutional care over community-based care, which may not be the preferred care setting of the frail elderly, and which could cause ineffective use of long-term care resources.

**LITERATURE REVIEW**

Some researchers contend that the existing studies of information- and help-seeking underestimate the importance of social support and social network. Social supports are frequently measured by quantity; for examples, the number of adult children, the frequency of contact with family members and friends, and the number of confidants the respondent could talk with about personal problems (Chapleski, 1989; Sörensen & Pinquart, 2000). To the extent that social support provides information and helps an individual appraise stressful events, the mere number of social support resources inadequately represents the role of the social support in question (Aspinwall & Taylor, 1997). This is illustrated in a study using formal-informal typology of social support in explaining knowledge of services, which found that those who rely on formal sources of information are more knowledgeable about all services (Calsyn & Winter, 1999).

Pescosolido (1995) advanced the argument by pointing to the ways in which social behavior is embedded in the social network of interaction. In her empirical work, Pescosolido (1992) proposed the Social Organization Strategy (SOS) framework as an alternative understanding of how people seek health-related help:

> [In the SOS approach], a particular action, choice, or decision is embedded in a social process where the network interactions of individuals not only influence preference formation and define the situation but also drive the process of deciding whether something is wrong, whether anything can be done about it,
what should be done, and how to evaluate the results. By doing so, network interactions produce systematic structures and contents (or cultures) and sometimes become crystallized into organizations and institutions that, in turn, affect social interactions. (p. 1104)

The SOS approach views people’s help-seeking behavior from a network perspective where clustered sources rather than a singular source of help are the focus of study. Without assuming homogeneity among people who seek a particular source of help (e.g., physicians) or among those who do not, the SOS approach offers additional insights into the dynamics of coping by showing that there are different pathways to the use or nonuse of a particular form of help.

This study employed SOS framework to explore an alternative understanding of how older people seek health-related help. The main objective was to gain a deeper insight into how older people seek long-term care information, the social determinants of information-seeking behaviors, and how the information-seeking pattern affects older people’s knowledge of long-term care services.

**METHODS**

Data from the Survey of Older Adults (SOA) of the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation (RWJF) are used in this study, with permission from the national office and grantees of the Community Partnerships for Older Adults program. The survey was conducted in 2002, contained a representative sample of 5,298 persons aged 50 and over living in 13 communities across the United States. Overall, 27% of the samples were screened and determined to be eligible for the survey. The post-screening response rate was 63% for all communities combined. This study analyzed data collected from 4,699
self-respondents living in a household setting who provided age information. Weighted data are reported in the analysis.

These telephone interviews asked about the sources that the older adults would turn to for information of in-home personal-care services, their knowledge of various home- and community-based long-term care services, and a set of basic social-demographic information. Refer to Tables A to C in appendix for descriptive statistics of the variables used in this study.

Cluster analysis was performed to explore patterns of sources that people rely on for long-term care information. The effects of social characteristics on information-seeking strategies were examined in a multinomial logistic regression model. Associations between information-seeking patterns and knowledge of long-term care service were examined using ANOVA.

RESULTS

This study aimed to gain a deeper insight into how people seek long-term care information and how the information-seeking pattern affects people’s knowledge of long-term care services. The survey respondents were asked about the sources that they would turn to for information of in-home personal-care services.

The sources were grouped into nine major categories, including an “other” category for all rarely mentioned sources. Among those who answered (83% of 4,795 respondents), 59% provided one source, 29% provided two, 12% provided three or four,
and a few respondents provided more than four sources. By just including up to four answers would generate 255 possible combinations.

Following the analytical strategies proposed by Pescosolido (1992), cluster analysis was performed to explore the patterns of the sources that people rely on for long-term care information. Clustering is a type of partitioning method that is used to assign cases into groups so that the cases are most similar within a group and most different among groups. The results of the cluster analysis are discussed next.

**Exploring Information-Seeking Strategies**

The $K$-means clustering procedure was chosen because of the non-hierarchical nature and large size of the data set, and because of the assumption that both states of a variable, “mentioned a source (1)” and “did not mention (0)” were equally important in describing the patterns of the data (Kaufman & Rousseeuw, 1990). An “iterate and classify” method was used to update cluster centers in the iterative process and classify cases according to the updated centers. Nine binary variables on information sources were entered into the procedure, and the “don’t know” answers were excluded. The procedure required the user to specify the number of clusters ($k$). Since cluster analysis was used as an exploratory tool, a range of partitions between 2 and 12 was run and the results were compared to determine an optimal $k$. After considering the interpretability and the minimum size (at least 5% of respondents in a cluster for statistical purposes) of the clusters, the 6-cluster solution was selected. The “don’t know” group was later added as the 7th cluster.
The density and image matrices derived under the clustering algorithm are presented in Table 1. Each cell of the density matrix represents the percentage of respondents in each pattern that chose a particular source for long-term care information. A high percentage indicates high resort to that source in that strategy. An arbitrary cut-off point for high density was set at the 40% level. The substantive nature of the strategy was revealed by the patterning of high densities in each cluster, indicated as 1 in the image matrix.

Table 1. Patterns of Information Seeking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INFORMATION SOURCE</th>
<th>DENSITY MATRIX</th>
<th>IMAGE MATRIX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Family/friend</td>
<td>61 11 0 0 100 64 0</td>
<td>1 0 0 0 1 1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Doctor</td>
<td>32 19 13 5 14 57 0</td>
<td>0 0 0 0 0 1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Other health care provider</td>
<td>0 13 14 47 53 5 0</td>
<td>0 0 0 1 1 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Hospital-based referral</td>
<td>0 100 1 1 10 20 0</td>
<td>0 1 0 0 0 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Area Agency on Aging</td>
<td>2 6 56 1 4 10 0</td>
<td>0 0 1 0 0 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Senior center</td>
<td>2 9 49 3 5 8 0</td>
<td>0 0 1 0 0 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Government office</td>
<td>22 12 13 8 12 16 0</td>
<td>0 0 0 0 0 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Phone book/yellow pages</td>
<td>3 8 6 22 53 12 0</td>
<td>0 0 0 0 1 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Other</td>
<td>0 8 6 46 19 100 0</td>
<td>0 0 0 1 0 1 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Don’t know</td>
<td>0 0 0 0 0 0 100</td>
<td>0 0 0 0 0 0 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Total N=4,752. Pattern 1: family/friend (n=1,438); 2: hospital-based referral (n=562); 3: AAA + Senior Center (n=431); 4: other health care provider + other (n=1,076); 5: family/friend + other health care provider + phone book (n=269); 6: family/friend + doctor + other (n=219); 7: don’t know (n=757).

The results indicated that “family/friend” was called upon in three different strategies (1, 5, and 6) but only one of them depended on “family/friend” as the sole source (1), which was also the strategy of greatest resort (30%). The “other health care
"other health care provider" was included in two strategies (4 and 5), but neither of them relied solely on it. Over one-fifth of the respondents would use “other health care provider” and “other” (4), but only 6% of respondents would use “other health care provider” together with “family/friend” and “phone book” (5). Other multi-strategies included “AAA” and “Senior Center” (3) and “family/friend,” “doctor,” and “other” (6), adopted by 9% and 5% of respondents, respectively. Another “single” strategy beyond “family/friend” (1) was “hospital-based referral” (2), used by 12% of respondents, and “no strategy” (7), which was observed in 16% of respondents.

By applying clustering procedures, patterns emerged in the data and provided insights on the different strategies people used to acquire long-term care information. Clustering was especially useful in making multi-strategies (multiple responses) analyzable. Pescosolido (1992) further argued that, since social interaction is the basis of social life, these patterns are best understood as socially organized strategies rather than as individuals’ rational choices. While the data in this study do not allow the examination of the dynamics between social actors and social structure, the effects of social structure on people’s information-seeking strategies are discussed next.

**Social Organization of Information-Seeking Strategies**

The effects of social characteristics on information-seeking strategies were examined in a multinomial logistic regression model. Seven social characteristics were first examined at the bivariate level, and only those with statistically significant relationships at $p=0.05$ level were entered into the multivariate model. Co-residence status was dropped, while the six characteristics included were age, gender, race,
education, financial resources, and emergency support. To further reduce the complexity of the model, all independent variables were dichotomized.

Since the dependent variables had seven different outcomes, the pair-wise comparison of the outcomes produced 21 unique coefficients for each of the six independent variables, a total of 126 for the whole model. The results presented in Figure 1 follow the graphic presentation method proposed by Long (1987). The graphic presentation is an effort to summarize the size, direction, and statistical significance of all effect coefficients produced by the multinominal logistic model.

Figure 1 consists of six effect plots, one for each independent variable. The reference category (0) of an independent variable was enclosed in parentheses. The effect coefficients were plotted on a linear scale, with the 7th outcome category—no strategy—lined up at zero in each plot. This corresponds with the odds ratio of 1 on a natural-log scale. The magnitude of an effect is indicated by the distance between any two outcomes. The farther is the horizontal distance, the stronger the effect. The vertical distance is not interpretable, but was created so as to avoid overlapping of the graphic elements. An outcome to the left of a reference indicates a negative coefficient, whereas an outcome to the right indicates a positive coefficient. A line connecting two outcomes indicates a statistically insignificant coefficient at \( p=0.05 \) level.

For instance, the first effect plot on the left indicates the net effect of age on information-seeking strategies. The strongest effect of age is found among those who use strategy 6 versus strategy 7, which has the farthest horizontal distance (0.63 on the linear scale) between two strategies among all pairs in the plot. People between the ages of 50
Figure 1. Social Organization of Information Seeking: Graphic Representation of All Contrasts in Multinomial Logistic Regression Analyses

Note: Only horizontal distances are interpretable. Effect coefficients are plotted on the linear scale. The log scale provides reading of the odds ratios. Reference category is in parentheses. N=4,373. Model $\chi^2=426.69$, d.f.=36, $p=0.000$. Pseudo-$R^2=0.10$ (Cox and Snell Index).

Figure 1. Social Organization of Information Seeking: Graphic Representation of All Contrasts in Multinomial Logistic Regression Analyses
and 65, compared to their older counterparts, are more likely to use strategy 6 (family/friend + doctor + other) than strategy 7 (no strategy). A slightly weaker effect is also found among those who use strategy 6 versus strategies 1 and 3. The effect of age is statistically insignificant among those who use strategies 2, 4, 5, and 6, and among those who use strategies 1, 3, and 7, as indicated by the lines connecting strategies within each of these two clusters. However, the effect of age is significant when comparing any two strategies from different clusters.

In sum, the effect of an independent variable is more unique to an outcome when it is farther away on the graph (indicating a stronger effect) and is less connected to other outcomes (indicating a significant effect). In contrast, the effect of an independent variable does not differ across outcomes if the coefficients are plotted in close proximity and are connected in all possible ways.

The overall model was statistically significant ($p=0.000$), with a pseudo-$R^2$ of 0.10 (Cox and Snell Index). The chi-square test of the effect of each independent variable is reported in Figure 1. Each social characteristic was found to be influential on the use or non-use of an information-seeking strategy at $p=0.000$ level. However, there were substantial differences in the specific influences each social characteristic had on each strategy.

The effect of younger age on two groups of strategies was distinctive: positive in the case of those involving health professionals (2, 4, 5, and 6) and negative in the case of those not using health professionals (1, 3, and 7). Respondents who were female, had higher education, had financial resources, and had emergency support were less likely to use “no strategy” (7) compared to all other strategies (1 to 6). Those who were female,
had higher education, and had emergency support tended to use a strategy including a
doctor (6) versus other strategies, although some of these distinctions were not
statistically significant. Whites were more likely to use hospital-based referral (2) than no
strategy (7), while the effect of white race on other strategies was not significant.

While these results can be further discussed in greater detail, the point has been
made that people’s information-seeking strategies are bounded by the socially organized
constraints and opportunities presented in everyday interactions. The next section
discusses the extent to which the information-seeking strategies, as explored in cluster
analysis, helped to explain knowledge of long-term care services.

**Information-Seeking Strategies: Relationship With Knowledge of Long-Term Care
Services**

The relationship between socially organized information-seeking strategies and
knowledge of long-term care services was examined using one-way ANOVA. As shown
in Table 2, the relationship was found to be statistically significant at $p=0.001$ level. The
information-seeking strategy was able to explain 10% of the variance of the service-
awareness index.

The statistical test for the pair-wise group means differences were performed. The
lowest level of the service-awareness index was first associated with the “no information-
seeking strategy” and second with a strategy that included “family/friend” only. Those
who relied on an “other health care provider + other” strategy had a lower service-
awareness index than those who adopted strategies 2, 3, or 5.
Table 2. Associations Between Information-Seeking Strategies and Knowledge of Long-Term Care Services

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INFORMATION-SEEKING STRATEGY</th>
<th>Service-Awareness Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Family/friend</td>
<td>3.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Hospital-based referral</td>
<td>3.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 AAA + Senior Center</td>
<td>3.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Other health care provider + other</td>
<td>3.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Family/friend + other health care provider + phone book</td>
<td>4.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Family/friend + doctor + other</td>
<td>3.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 No strategy (don’t know)</td>
<td>2.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand mean</strong></td>
<td><strong>3.48</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>N</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,748</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PVE</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.101</strong>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: PEV denotes the proportion of variance explained by information-seeking strategy. The F-test for significance of difference among two or more group means was performed. The results are indicated as follows: \( p < 0.05 \) (*), \( p < 0.01 \) (**), \( p < 0.001 \) (***) , and \( p \geq 0.05 \) (n.s.).

**CONCLUSIONS**

A common approach to analyzing information sources is to classify each source as formal (such as doctors and government offices) or informal (such as family and friends). Studies have found that reliance on formal sources of information predicts higher service awareness. This study explored the information-seeking strategy of older adults using a clustering technique, following the suggestions by Pescosolido (1992). A total of seven strategies were identified, including “no strategy,” two single strategies, and four multi-strategies. This approach does not assume any classification of information sources (e.g., formal versus informal; community-based versus institution-based); instead, it treats each one as a unique source and allows the patterns of use or non-use of sources to emerge.
The analysis of these patterns by individual characteristics supported that information-seeking strategies are socially organized. Individuals’ age, gender, race, education, financial resources, and emergency support all play a part in the formation of information-seeking patterns. This was supported by the multinomial logistic regression results, where the model as well as the six individual predictors were found to be statistically significant at \( p = 0.000 \) level. Information-seeking strategies were also found to be associated with information preparation at the bivariate level \((p<0.001)\).

Clustering analysis provided an analytical advantage by allowing the data to speak for itself instead of imposing a classification schema onto the data. The analysis of the information-seeking patterns helped reveal the embeddedness of the information network in the social structure. The shift of focus to social networks of interaction from individual mental events also helps to reveal the intertwined nature of individual and structure where the bounds of choices in planning and decision-making emerge.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study would have been impossible without the valuable data collected in the Survey of Older Adults (SOA) by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation’s Community Partnerships for Older Adults (CPFOA) program. I am grateful to the CPFOA national office and the partnership grantees for granting me permission to use the survey data in this study. I hold full responsibility for the opinions expressed in this study.
APPENDIX

Table A. Information Sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INFORMATION SOURCES</th>
<th>(N=4,752)a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Those to whom respondents would turn for in-home personal-care information</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Family/friend</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Doctor</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Other health care provider</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Don’t know</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Hospital-based referral</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Phone book/yellow pages</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Area Agency on Aging (AAA)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Senior center</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Other</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a The sum of all percentages exceeds 100% because more than one-third of the respondents gave multiple answers.

Table B. Service Awareness: Five Selected In-Home and Community-Based Services

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SERVICE</th>
<th>AWARENESS (% RESPONDENTS)</th>
<th>Total (N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Chore service</td>
<td>Yes (1)</td>
<td>No (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Personal-care service</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Visiting-nursing service</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Adult day program</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) Assisted-living facility</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SERVICE AWARENESS</th>
<th>SCORE (% RESPONDENTS)</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Index (scale: 0 to 5, where 5 is the highest level)</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table C. Social Characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS</th>
<th>PERCENT (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age of respondent (N=4,795)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. 50 to 64</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 65 to 74</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 75 to 84</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 85+</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean age=64.5; S.D.=10.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female (N=4,786)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0. No</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Yes</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### SOCIAL STRUCUTURAL CHARACTERISTICS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race (N=4,595)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. White</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Black</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Asian and Pacific Islander</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Other</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational attainment (N=4,631)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Less than high school</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. High school/GED</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Some college</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. College degree (four-year)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Advanced degree</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### FINANCIAL RESOURCES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Could afford to pay $100/week or more for in-home personal care (N=4,739)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Yes (1)</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Yes, for a short time (1)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. No (0)</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Don't know (0)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### EMERGENCY SUPPORT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Could call on someone at any hour should some emergency occur (N=4,723)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0. No (0)</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Yes (1)</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LITERATURE CITED


Family Therapy for Chinese Canadian
--Transcultural issues and Family Therapy Introduction

Dan Zhang, Ph.D., M. D.
Vancouver Community College, Canada

Abstract

In the process of cultural transition, people often experience changes both individually and in their families. The process of immigration likely necessitates a large number of life changes associated with normative conflicts and confusion. As new family structures and practices have been emerging, traditional values and assumptions have often been called into question. At the same time, relevant norms are lacking to guide families in transition as they experiment with alternative patterns of relating and adapting to a changing social world. Transactional issues in many immigrant families, for example, are the major problems needing help.

Considering Chinese cultural and family traditions, working with Chinese Canadian family or any other culturally diversified situations, the following strategies such as: The use of symbols; Re-labeling; Borrowing or applying the Chinese traditional medicine theory; the importance of involvement of family members; Respect and avoid stereotyping. have found to be useful. How to apply those therapies will be further discussed.
ORDER PSYCHOLOGY, QUANTUM PSYCHOLOGY
CONFIGURATION METHOD – AN INDEPENDENT METHOD REGARDLESS LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

a. Topic area of the submission: Psychology
b. Presentation format: Poster sessions
c. Name(s) of the author(s): Roxana Zubcov, Corneliu Augustin Sofronie
d. Department(s) and affiliation(s): Training and Development Centre PS
e. Mailing address(es): ROMANIA, Bucharest, Sos. Oltenitei 36, bl. 5D, ap.3, sector 3
f. E-mail address(es): roxanazubcov@yahoo.com, cornelsofronie@yahoo.com
g. Phone number(s): 0040(0)744335616, 0040(0)723148652

The method belongs to Order Psychology. Quantum Psychology, authors Corneliu Sofronie and Roxana Zubcov, registered mark in Romania. The content and the answers of the test are not depending of words. The test is based on the Chomsky’s universal grammar. The genetic cores are the letters of the genetic code A,T,G,C. They contain information about male rationality (A), female rationality (T) – structured on the human sense chain, male irrationality (G) and female irrationality (C) – on the human anti-sense chain. We discovered, by experiment, the behavior forms of the four letters, the four universal senses. The final product is an image similar to the image obtained with the magnetic resonance scanner. The image indicates the form of the thought (male, female and androgyny), the thought position (rational/irrational), and the structure degree (organized/disorganized, thus efficient/inefficient). The thought is the answer intention of the subject to a stimulus. The standard forms, experimentally obtained, enable the correlation with other known methods: Jung and Myers Briggs, Transactional Analysis, NLP, Heymans Le Senne, Szondi and Luscher. Theory basis of the test consists in morphogenetic theories and Quantum generalized theory. The test enables the application of the quantum probability starting from the uncertainty principle. The bench mark is the couple coherence – de-coherence and not frequency-correlation.
Title of the submission:

AN ANALYSIS OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND WOMEN EMPOWERMENT

Topic area of the submission: Women’s Studies

Presentation format: Paper Sessions

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AN ANALYSIS OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND WOMEN EMPOWERMENT

Dr. Venkateshwarlu Munaganti and Sumanth Garakarajula

Introduction

Entrepreneurship is considered to be a strategic input in the process of economic development. Entrepreneurship could be conceived as an individual’s free choice of activity or a profession. Commercialization and modernization of Indian economy have resulted in a decline in the avenues of employment especially to women in both agriculture and industries and thus compelled them to supplement their incomes with the spirit of entrepreneurship. Hence entrepreneurship became a logical necessity to women in particular. This state of women is being complemented by an increase in women literacy rate and enhanced opportunities. This combination of enhanced literacy rate and enhanced opportunities pushed upwards the spirit and activities of entrepreneurship among the women class (refer Table A). However, women in India suffer from many handicaps including the traditional, conservative, orthodox approaches of understanding women at the time of entry into business. But the compelling urge for self-expression by women enabled them to overcome the barriers created by the society. For Indian women, today, danger means not only crisis but also opportunity.

TABLE : A
PERCENTAGE OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION IN INDIA: 1901-2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census year</th>
<th>Males(%)</th>
<th>Females (%)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>61.11</td>
<td>31.70</td>
<td>46.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>61.90</td>
<td>33.73</td>
<td>48.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>60.52</td>
<td>32.67</td>
<td>46.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>58.27</td>
<td>273.63</td>
<td>43.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>54.05</td>
<td>23.30</td>
<td>39.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>57.12</td>
<td>27.96</td>
<td>42.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>52.75</td>
<td>14.22</td>
<td>32.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>53.19</td>
<td>20.85</td>
<td>37.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>51.60</td>
<td>22.73</td>
<td>37.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>51.9</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>39.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India, 1901-2001

Women entrepreneurship is the order of the day. More and more women are participating in the entrepreneurial economic activities in various fields. Women entrepreneurs have got vast entrepreneurial talents which could be harnessed so as to convert them from the position of job seekers to job givers. The range of activities of women entrepreneurs vary from small business to manufacturing enterprises. The line
of differentiation between men and women entrepreneurs is being erased by the performance of women entrepreneurs.

The present research effort is a modest attempt to analyze the nexus between women entrepreneurship and women empowerment. As the women entrepreneurship is playing an equally important role in the development of the economy, this area of entrepreneurship and its impact on women empowerment needs to be understood, studied and researched. Hence the present study is about the women entrepreneurship and its implications for women empowerment.

Many research attempts have been made on women entrepreneurship and its implications. The extent of fulfillment of expectations of women entrepreneurship towards supporting agencies\(^1\), the study socio-economic profile and factors motivating women entrepreneurship\(^2\), the relationship between perceptions about and the performance of women managers\(^3\), lower representation of work force and its link with education\(^4\), paucity of women managers in corporate sector\(^5\), distorted perceptions about women executives\(^6\), the need and importance of skill up-gradation especially marketing strategies\(^7\), various categories of women entrepreneurs including chance, forced and created\(^8\) are major areas addressed and analyzed by the said researchers. The major area uncovered in the above mentioned studies is women entrepreneurship and its implications for women empowerment. The present study entitled “AN ANALYSIS OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND WOMEN EMPOWERMENT” assumes significance and relevance as the natural outcome of women entrepreneurship should be women empowerment.

The term ‘empowerment’ gives the people of a community, the ability and opportunity to take part in decision processes with regard to socio-economic and political issues affecting their existence.\(^9\) In the present study an attempt is made to make use of the women empowerment as given by Shashi S. Narayana\(^10\). Women empowerment is measured in the present study as followed:

1. Self image
2. Knowledge and awareness
3. Cohesive women’s group
4. Networks of women
5. Access to resources
6. Set-up and manage of their own services
7. Ability to question various forms of exploitation
8. Ability to communicate and act on oppressive practices and violence against women.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY:
1. To estimate the status of women empowerment of the sample respondents.
2. To study the relationship between the socio-psychographics of women entrepreneurship and empowerment.
3. To suggest measures to strengthen the processes of women empowerment through the means of women entrepreneurship

HYPOTHESES:

1. The relationship between education status of first generation entrepreneurship and their status of women empowerment is assumed to be statistically independent.
2. The relationship between socio-psychographics of the sample women entrepreneurs including technology induced, innovative proneness and risk behavior on the one hand and the status of women empowerment on the other, is assumed to be related in a statistically dependent manner.

METHODOLOGY:

For the purpose of the objectives and hypotheses mentioned, 60 first generation women entrepreneurs were selected on the basis of judgement sampling from a backward district, namely, Nalgonda, Andhra Pradesh, India. The relevant data were collected for the financial year 2005-06 by administering a pre-designed and tested questionnaire /schedule among the women entrepreneurs. First generation women entrepreneurs are defined as those women entrepreneurs who did not inherit any enterprise background either from parents or from in-laws. First time on their own they have started the enterprising activities. Women empowerment status is defined as

1. Low (Less than the mean 2.04)
2. High (More than the mean 2.04)

To analyze the perceptions of women entrepreneurs, Spearman’s rank correlation coefficient was used.

\[
R = 1 - \frac{6 \sum d^2}{n(n^2-1)}
\]

To study the relationship between age, education, psycho-graphics and women empowerment the Chi-square statistic was used.

\[
\Lambda^2 = \sum \frac{(0-E)^2}{E}
\]
MAJOR FINDINGS

1. Three-fifths of the sample women entrepreneurs have experienced low level of women empowerment status and two-fifths of the sample respondents have enjoyed higher empowerment status. (Refer Table 1)

2. The relationship between the age of the sample respondents and their empowerment status is found to be statistically dependent as is evident from the rejection of the null hypothesis when tested at 5% level of significance (LOS) and degree of freedom (df =2). (Refer Table 2)

3. The level of education and the status of women empowerment are found to be influencing each other and the same is evident from the Table 3. (Ho is tested at LOS=.05 and df=2) Refer Table 3.

4. There existed no significant relationship and economic status of the sample women entrepreneurs and their women empowerment status is found to be statistically independent and do not influence each other. (Refer Table 4)

5. Social status of women entrepreneurs and the their empowerment status are mutually influencing each other thus, they are related in a statistically dependent manner. (Refer Table 5)

6. The psycho-graphics which include the personality traits of women entrepreneurs like technology induced, innovative proneness and risk taking behavior are found to have no influence and judged to be statistically independent. (Refer Table 6,7 and 8)

7. The relationship between women empowerment status and their personality traits like management orientation are found to influence each other and they are judged to be related in a statistically dependent manner. (Refer Table 9)

8. Women empowerment status and their nature of activity that they are conducting are found to be related in a statistically independent manner and they do not influence each other. (Refer Table 10)

Thus, it is concluded that age, education status and social status with management-oriented mind have a considerable amount of influence on the status of women empowerment. It is also concluded that the first hypothesis “The relationship between education status of first generation entrepreneurship and their status of women empowerment is assumed to be statistically independent” has not been accepted.

The second hypothesis “the relationship between psycho-graphics of the sample women entrepreneurs including technology induced, innovative proneness and risk behavior on the one hand and the status empowerment on the other, is assumed to be related in a statistically dependent manner” has not been accepted.

Hence, it is suggested that in the wake of the role played by the entrepreneurial class in the process of industrialization, the state should design and implement some measures on improving the empowerment status of women by dealing with the issues within the matrices of age, educational and social status and management oriented mind.
### Table 1: Distribution of sample respondents by women empowerment Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Empowerment status</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>60.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled from Primary data records

### Table 2: The Relationship between Age and WOMEN EMPOWERMENT STATUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upto 30 yrs</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-50 yrs</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 50 yrs</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled from Primary data records

Chi-square = 5.833  DF=2  LOS > 0.05

### Table 3: The Relationship between Education and WOMEN EMPOWERMENT STATUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low level</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium level</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High level</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled from Primary data records

Chi-square = 0.833  DF=2  LOS > 0.05
Table 4: The Relationship between Economic status and WOMEN EMPOWERMENT STATUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic Status</th>
<th>STATUS</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rich class</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled from Primary data records
Chi-square = 17.66   DF=2   LOS < 0.05

Table 5: Relationship between Social Status and WOMEN EMPOWERMENT STATUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Status</th>
<th>STATUS</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unprivileged</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privileged</td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-square = 0.476   DF=1   LOS > 0.05
Source: Compiled from Primary data records

Table 6: Relationship between Technology induced and WOMEN EMPOWERMENT STATUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Technology induced</th>
<th>STATUS</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-square = 21.417   DF=1   LOS < 0.05
Source: Compiled from Primary data records

Table 7: Relationship between Innovative prone and WOMEN EMPOWERMENT STATUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Innovative prone</th>
<th>STATUS</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled from Primary data records
Chi-square = 22.500   DF=1   LOS <0.05
### Table 8: The Relationship between Risk taker and WOMEN EMPOWERMENT STATUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Risk taker</th>
<th>STATUS</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled from Primary data records  
Chi-square = 7.619        DF= 1                LOS < 0.05

### Table 9: The Relationship between Management orientation and WOMEN EMPOWERMENT STATUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Management orientation</th>
<th>STATUS</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled from Primary data records  
Chi-square = 0     DF= 1                LOS >0.05

### Table 10: The Relationship between Nature of activity and WOMEN EMPOWERMENT STATUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of activity</th>
<th>STATUS</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled from Primary data records  
Chi-square = 11.250      DF= 2                LOS < 0.05
Notes:
1. Dhameja SK, B.S Bhatia & Saini J.S; “women entrepreneurs their perceptions, about business opportunities and attitudes towards entrepreneurial support agencies (a study of Haryana state)”, Sedme, December 2000 pp 37 to 50.
Title: Lessons learned from research, education, and clinical training in cross-cultural psychology

Topic Area: Psychology

Presentation Format: Panel Session

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Abstract

The purpose of this panel discussion is to highlight some of the challenges, pitfalls, and insights gained in becoming cross-culturally competent in terms of both research and clinical practice. A unique aspect of this panel is that the perspectives of both seasoned faculty and advanced doctoral students will be offered. Rather than being a run of the mill academic exercise and relying on a textbook approach, the panel presenters will discuss insights gained from experiences in teaching and counseling practice centered on developing cross-cultural competence. The first part of the panel will focus on teaching cross-cultural research methods as a vehicle to heighten awareness about the tremendous influence of race and culture in psychology. The second half of the proposed panel session will center on the concrete and practical lessons learned in the process of becoming culturally competent counselors. Hence, those factors that worked or did not work in the struggle to become culturally competent clinicians will be presented. The insights of the panel presenters will make salient the differences and similarities between training in an East versus West coast doctoral program, as well as counseling sites.
Title page:

Title: Making their voices heard: Social Workers’ Recommendations for Reducing the Number of African American Children in the California foster care system.

Name: Sylvester Bowie, Ed. D, MSW

Affiliation: Division of Social Work- California State University, Sacramento

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Abstract

“Making their voices heard: Social workers’ recommendation for reducing the number of African American children in the California foster care system.”

African-Americans make-up 6.8% of California’s 36.1 million population, they also account for 7.1% of the 9.7 million children in the state. On the other hand African Americans account for 28% of the children in foster care in the state (U S. Census Bureau, 2006; Needell, et. al. 2006). The evidence also shows that African-Americans account for 44% of the cases that have been in the foster care system for over 36 months. It is evident by such statistics that African American children are overrepresented in the foster care system.

This follow up study consisted of a self-designed 27 items survey instrument entitled “Social Worker Recommendation Survey II.” This survey instrument was made available online for self-administration by child welfare social workers, supervisors, and managers in the State of California. The instrument consisted of nine (9) items to elicit demographic data and 18 items in thee (3) sections with a 1-6 ranking scale addressing the questions of how to reduce the number of African American in the foster care system as it is related to social worker performance, parents behavior/reaction and systemic challenges/barriers. After each section there was provision for respondents to write additional comments if it was believed that the rank ordering was incomplete. A total of 350 respondents were used to complete the survey analysis. Like the original study, the majority of the respondents have Masters Degrees 56%, including 44 % with Masters
Degree in Social Work (MSW). 35% of the respondents are in the age range 25-34, there were 74% female and 26% male responding to the survey.

Respondents to the survey recommended that the number of African American children in the foster care system could be reduced if:

- Social workers employed more family focused practice (such as family conferencing) with African American parents (26%).
- Social workers were better trained to work with African American families (20%).
- Social workers were able to do more effective interventions as part of prevention efforts (19%).
- Social workers were more culturally sensitive to African American families (17%).
- Reunification workers caseloads were reduced so they could have more time to work more effectively with these families (15%).
- Social workers were better advocates for African American families (13%).

Additionally, the written comments provided by the respondents have been coded into nine sub categories. These categories of recommendations include: poverty issues, racial & bias issues, prevention, training, social workers, case loads, drug treatment/mental health, community based interventions, court system, African American cultural issues and parent training.
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