Abstract: Mobbing in Czech Republic

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Research objectives: In the last ten years there has been increasing concern on victimization at work. The specific characteristics, aims and consequences of these phenomena are now generally referred to as mobbing behavior. Mobbing could be defined as a specific form of systematic, long lasting harassment and degradation of people in the workplace in order to force the victims of lobbing to end their working relationship. This phenomenon negatively affects the mental and physical health of it’s victims as well as their motivation and social relationship.

Mobbing can be originated by traditional causes such as eliminating an undesired individual or by a precise corporate strategy aimed at reducing the workforce organizations. The incidence of lobbing in the Czech Republic is relatively new and is linked to global democratization of society and the transformation from a centralized to a market economy.

Proposed methodology: A special method was used for collecting relevant empirical data about the mobbing in Czech Republic: A Negative Acts Questionnaire (NAQ). NAQ was used with two groups of employees in the private and the public sector. These data were statistically compared and analyzed.

Expected outcomes: The results confirmed the expectation about mobbing in Czech Republic as well as it’s relation with the specific sector of work (private or public), with the subjective position in the work process, sex, age and other characteristics.

Key words: Mobbing, frustration, NAQ, private sector, public sector, stress.
Title of Presentation

E-government in policing: Unraveling the factors that influence website development among US police departments

Presenters

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Abstract

Community policing promoted the idea of co-production of safety by the police and the public. The key component to this partnership is the maintenance of communication between the police and the public. The development of police department websites is one of the emerging medium for increasing public participation in policing. However, there appears to be a wide variation among police departments in developing the primary qualities of a website, namely transparency, usability, connectivity and transactions. This study explores the organizational and environmental factors that influence the level of development among police department websites. Using multiple regression models, the study showed that community variables tend to have greater influence on police website development than organizational factors. Only education of officers was correlated with aspects of website development. For community variables, population size and education were significantly correlated with police website development. Further research is needed to tap more relevant variables. Also, police departments need to tap the internet resources to enhance communication and cooperation from the public.
Victims twice over: An ethnographic study on minor prostitutes

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Abstract

This ethnographic work utilizes data from a prostitution study done in a third world country. This research intends to present a new perspective in understanding the phenomenon of minor sex trafficking. Using the narrative approach, the researchers conducted unstructured in-depth interviews to examine the life histories of individuals who engaged in prostitution focusing on factors that contribute to their entry into the occupation, their persistence or desistance, or their return after leaving the profession for a while. Findings suggest that entry into minor prostitution is precipitated by abuses experienced in the household. Persistence or return is facilitated by abuses, threat, and dependency by the minor on the clients and handlers. Finally, desistance is influenced by econometric concerns borne by the profession such as diminishing demand for services and increased risks.
Conformity in adolescence
Transcultural comparative study
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ABSTRACT

The essence of the research is a transcultural analysis of conformity among two groups of adolescents. The prominent goal of the research was to take a look to the phenomenon of general conformity, peer conformity, peer pressure and popularity as well finding how risk behavior is related to the mentioned manifestations of group behavior.

The partial goal of the research was to find out the inner consistence among the scales of the questionnaire which could contribute deeper psychological grasp of the connections. There was a particular accent on the cultural, age and sex differences among the Czech and American adolescents. The participants were students aged 19-21.

According to the statistical analysis we found out that between the Czech and American adolescents there is not significant difference in perceiving the group pressure. Men from both groups perceive the group pressure more than the girls. The other results showed that the American adolescents have bigger interest to be popular among the peers. Talking about conformity, for the American adolescent is typical noticeable submissivity to the adult authorities and their demands. On the other hand the Czech adolescents incline to peer conformity and risk behavior while their desire to be popular is lower. However the peer conformity refers more to the Czech girls because the comparation of the results among the men didn't show any differences.

Key words: Conformity, group pressure, popularity, risk behaviour.
Participant Perceptions of Undergraduate Research Integrated into the Chemistry Curriculum

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The goal of the Center for Authentic Science Practice in Education (CASPiE) is to provide first and second year undergraduate students with an opportunity to conduct research within existing laboratory courses. As a part of the evaluation of the CASPiE program, students and teaching assistants were interviewed about their experience in the research-based laboratory. The participants’ responses reflect an appreciation for their experiences in the research-based laboratory and some of their apprehensions. A discussion of participants’ perceptions of research-based laboratory will be presented.
Hailed by the Congress of the United States as “Chief among all Chiefs,” Plenty Coups stood at the cusp of the Crow Tribe’s transition from freedom on the Great Plains to the restrictions of life on the newly established Crow Indian Reservation. Chief Plenty Coups chose not to resist the forced settlement of his people but instead, he negotiated terms for his people with the government of the United States in an attempt to preserve their long-recognized tribal lands and traditional customs. Rather than acquiesce to reservation life with humiliation and defeat, Chief Plenty Coups’ courage, dignity, and political astuteness has been praised as having preserved much of the Crow Tribe’s past and securing for them an equitable position for their future. Yet some of his contemporaries argued Chief Plenty Coups capitulated to the dominant White settlers rather than warring with them for better terms.

Claiming more than 11,000 enrolled members, the Crow Tribe inhabits most of the same land in south central Montana they did in Plenty Coups’ lifetime and is the 5th largest Indian Reservation. As Chief Plenty Coups transitioned his people to life on the reservation, he saw himself as being a “father to the Crow People.” Later in life, he came to see himself as “a father to all people.” Chief Plenty Coups’ words and deeds remain today. A log cabin where he lived in later life was donated by him as “a gift to all people for all times” and a statement he made to challenge the youth living on the reservation in his day is carved on the entrance of Little Big Horn College on the Crow Indian Reservation: “With education you are the white man's equal; without education you are his victim.”

This paper examines Chief Plenty Coups’ life, times, and his personal convictions that led him to establish a peaceful co-existence between the Crow Tribe and the government of the United States. The author attempts to reconcile the apparent duality within Chief Plenty Coups as the warrior and Chief Plenty Coups as the peacemaker.

6. Practicing cultural competence with Native Americans: The social worker’s role

The presenter identifies several health and mental health problems confronting Native Americans and offers a number of strength-based techniques social workers can employ demonstrating culturally competent care. An examination of traditional beliefs and cultural healing practices will be explored such as the Medicine Wheel, Sweet Lodge, and Sun Dance. Examples of the ways in which social workers will become students of Native American practices are working collaboratively with extended family members and receptivity to alternative and multiple paths to healing.

Many of the approaches suggested are the result of the presenter’s decade of experiences as a social worker whose practice included work with Native Americans. This presentation offers culturally sensitive, caring, and practical solutions to common concerns social workers have about working with diverse populations.
THE PROSTITUTION DEBATE

*Narrated by Scarlot Harlot, Featuring Jane Dawson*

By Anya Cherneff
Since the beginning of patriarchal civilization, women have been considered second-class or inferior to men, lumped in with slaves, foreigners and homosexuals as not deserving full human status (Ishay 2007: 164). Within this paradigm, prostitution exists as a formula to challenge and marginalize women’s position in society. Feminism, on the other hand, is a response to the patriarchal paradigm. It is a theoretical understanding of the world as a socially constructed, hierarchical and stigmatized fragmentation of humankind meant to keep the power paradigm in place. “Over time, demeaning an individual or group is a common, often subconscious, technique used by one group seeking to maintain power over another -- results in stereotyping and the denial of recognition of that group's accomplishments or contributions to society” (Fraser 2001:17). It is within this framework that the following discussion of prostitution is presented.

**SCARLOT:** My street name is Scarlot Harlot and I am 58 years old. I am a former sex worker, current sex workers’ rights advocate, sexual health promoter, artist and anti-conformist. I was a feminist in the 70’s, but my feminism manifested differently from that of many of the women in the movement. “My political beliefs [regularly] conflicted with my masturbatory practices” (Leigh 2004:23). Before taking a leading role in the sex worker rights movement, I was sort of a hippie and “was always ambivalent about commercial sex — curious and guilty” (Leigh 2004:22). I am credited with coining the term “sex work.” I will tell you what sex work is really about based on my experiences, in order to make you to understand why I feel so strongly about decriminalizing prostitution, and recognizing and protecting sex workers’ rights.

**JANE:** Before Scarlot begins her tale, I would just quickly like to introduce myself. My name is Jane Dawson, and I am 24 years old. I grew up in suburban middle-class New Jersey, and was first prostituted in Boston, where I had moved for college. I am a survivor. I got into ‘The Life’ at 18 and escaped from my pimp at 22. I advocate for the abolition of prostitution and
recognition of it as a human rights violation. My voice and story are quite different from that of Scarlot's. Where those differences are most intense I will interrupt her story to show you an alternative perspective, for I am a firm believer in letting ALL voices of women who are prostituted and exploited ring out to tell their truth about prostitution. Although I now suffer PTSD from my experience of being prostituted, I believe it has also made me a stronger person and a better mother. “I will be able to give my daughter real life examples of the wrong things [that happened to me] and hopefully help her make the right decisions” (Dawson 2009). My voice stands for all women exploited in the sex industry — to bring awareness to their reality and show them that escape is possible.

SCARLOT: I grew up in a Socialist working class family on Long Island, New York. My parents raised me to have a political consciousness and to respect non-conformity. I was sexually curious as a girl and wanted to be part of the sexual revolution. I went to college for writing, and later for film, but felt unsatisfied. Before I became a sex worker I was doing feminist organizing, leading a women’s writer’s group in Cambridge. This was early on in the development of a feminist consciousness and we were all new to it. One of the main issues we discussed was women’s anonymity in first-person narratives, and the need to claim our voices as women.

Feminism can be dated back to as early as the 15th century with the publication of Christine de Pizan’s *The Book of the City of Ladies*, which sparked a debate about women that continues to this day (Fraser 2001). Olympia de Gouges, a French Revolutionary, fought fiercely for women's rights and is noted for criticizing the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen for its exclusion of women (Ishay 2007:164). French female
Revolutionaries realized that the blood, sweat and tears of women, fighting for their freedom right alongside the men, was worthless if women’s recognition as equals was being refused. “In her ‘Declaration on the Rights of Woman,’ addressed to Queen Mary Antoinette, whom she had hoped to convert to the women's cause, de Gouges asserted women's natural rights as equal to the rights of male citizens enjoyed in the 1789 declaration” (Ishay 2007:164). In 1792, the publication of Mary Wollstonecraft’s *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* became a major historical marker of the feminist demand to be included in the development of a human rights consciousness in the West.

During the 19th century, feminist energy was focused on the civil and political rights of women, with women like Abigail Adams calling for attention to women’s rights from the White House, and the extension of suffrage in the English Reform Act of 1867 beyond “male persons” only (Fraser 2001:25). Feminists fought hard to end chattel slavery. Women like Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott organized publicly to end slavery and recognize women's rights. They brought women together for such historical meetings as the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848. “It was the 1848 call to action on all fronts — public and private — that spurred women's organizing nationally and internationally, and that ultimately led not only to women achieving the right to vote but to their increasing political activity” (Fraser 2001:31).

American women achieved the vote in 1920 and went on to fight for equal rights to education, birth control and employment. Feminists realized that suffrage was worthless if women did not have freedom over their own bodies and their own sexuality. Margaret Sanger, a leading advocate for women's health and sexuality rights, “saw too many poor women at the mercy of their sexuality” (Fraser 2001:41). Rifts in the feminist movement began to form as Betty Friedan, Catherine McKinnon, Andrea Dworkin and others were raising issues of violence against women in both the public and private sphere leading to the criminalization of domestic abuse in the US. The development of several United Nations instruments and conventions, such
as The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and The Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) that focus specifically on women, show the progress made by the Second-Wave Feminist movement during the second part of the 20th Century. Issues such as violence against women, public and private discrimination and women’s vulnerability to poverty due to their ‘double day’ workload, were brought to international debate. Toward the end of the 20th century, Third Wave Feminism, a term coined by Rebecca Walker, a 23-year-old African-American bisexual, brought the critique that feminism had been dominated by Western, privileged white women, and had ignored women of color, lesbians, transgender and bisexual women, poor women and women living in the developing world (Head 2007). The emergence of Third Wave Feminism solidified the chasm that had been created within the movement between Western white women, and the women who felt they were being spoken for by those more privileged, who did not truly understand or respect their issues and needs.

**SCARLOT:** Okay, so you got the history of feminism up until the emergence of the sex workers movement, right? Great! Let's get back to my story. Early on, I didn’t necessarily want to get involved in prostitution, but I was in fact unknowingly involved when I was seventeen. I was working as a nude model in the East Village and this old guy paid the agency to watch me and jack off. As a young person, I never figured out that you could actually make money at this, but in my late 20’s I met an older woman whom I admired very much, a lesbian feminist actress, who mentioned that she did survive sometimes by actually “turning dates” (Leigh 2009). So I tried it, and prostitution was nothing like I had imagined, so I remained a sex worker for like 25 years. “According to my own ethics, the experiment with sex for money was not heresy [to my feminist identity] because it was a private act” (Leigh 2004:23). For me, it was providing a service. I never felt I was just selling my body, because there was so much work to it. Maybe only providing my body would have been easier? I always felt that I was sort of like a hostess, I
was an entertainer, I was kind of like between a therapist and masseuse (Leigh 2009). I portrayed a certain identity, trying to provide what my clients wanted and what I thought they’d like. I am a compassionate and kindly person so that’s what I tried to provide for my clients, to make a difference in their lives, and give them what they wanted.

Coming from my feminist background, I felt a political resentment against men on the one hand, but on the other I wanted to help them too. It was an internal paradox! There was a big conflict around my politics, and I couldn’t help but think: Oh! These men are the oppressors and we shouldn’t give them anything (Leigh 2009). Examining this disconnect between feminist discourse on patriarchal oppression and my own feelings makes me think this is not a linear kind of exchange or a linear situation. I was definitely frustrated with the power dynamic of my clients, because they frequently tried to stay longer than the agreed hour and I had a hard time being assertive enough to tell them to leave, but I didn’t see that as an issue within prostitution overall, just with the specific men I served.

**JANE:** I entered into prostitution because I had no self-esteem and a lot of self-hatred. I had been raped at the age of 12, so my choices were never the “right” choices, as if they had been altered by the rape (Dawson 2009). During the time I was prostituted, I traveled from track to track, covering half the country with my pimp and being constantly threatened and assaulted by him. I was raped, stabbed, beaten, robbed and arrested several times. I never really felt good about what I was doing and I knew the Johns, my customers, did not respect me. On one of the many times in which I was arrested, the public defender appointed to me wound up sexually harassing me, so I ran from him right back to my pimp. I was in it out of fear, and kept at it to survive. I was never in control of the money, although if I ever wanted something he would get it for me — furs, jewelry, clothes, even a car.
THE DEBATE: Is sex work really work?

NO: Abolitionist feminists refuse to accept prostitution, which they see as inherently harmful to all women, as work. “The promotion of prostitution as a job like any other is used in an attempt to normalize and legitimize it as an employment option for poor women, and allow enormous, legal profits for the sex industry and tax revenues for the governments” (CATW 2007). For abolitionists, prostitution is not a vocation, it is violence against women and girls, and a human rights violation. No one should have to accept violence as part of one’s job description. "[Unfortunately] this violence is entrenched in every day ‘work’ practices and ‘work’ environments [of the sex industry] and results in ongoing physical and mental harm for women who must accept that in a legal system, such violence has been normalized as part of the job” (Sullivan 2006:5). Differences between what is work and what is violence become obscured in prostitution. “For the recipient, prostitution is a traumatic sexually exploitive predation... the existence of prostitution anywhere is society's betrayal of women and its betrayal of those who are marginalized and therefore vulnerable because of their ethnicity or poverty or abuse and neglect” (Farley 2007:2-3). Just because prostitution is a "last-ditch" survival strategy for many women who lack options, does not mean that the inherent exploitation of women within an industry where pimps and traffickers prey on women’s economic and personal vulnerabilities should be accepted by society. “Legitimizing prostitution as work sanctions the oppression and inequality of women” (CATW 2007). Women’s bodies should not be commodified. Mary Sullivan, in her research of legalized prostitution in Victoria, Australia notes that the state, which is supposed to protect the human rights and independence of its citizens, “…allows women and girls to be treated as common commodities to be bought and sold like any other marketable product in a capitalist marketplace” (Sullivan 2006:3). For abolitionists, this is a betrayal by the state of the rights women fought so hard for during the first and second waves of feminism.
**YES:** Advocates for legalizing prostitution as sex work want to empower women working in the sex industry who are marginalized and made vulnerable by their criminalization. Legalizing prostitution could ameliorate the harmful work environment faced by sex workers by guaranteeing health and safety standards in brothels and escort agencies, making the business legal brings it above ground where it can be regulated. Sex worker rights advocates acknowledge the exorbitant amount of violence within prostitution, but they promote a "health and safety," or "risk reduction" model, that focuses on providing women with legal rights to worker protection, rather than attempting to eradicate a social reality by pushing it further underground. Many sex worker rights advocates recognize that there is a disproportionate number of women in the sex industry who are not happy with their occupation for reasons including discrimination, violence, lack of other options, drug addiction, etc. However, this should not mean that women who do “… see the role of sex worker as a ‘role’, in the sense of acting a part, which some play with relish and personal enjoyment; others play professionally, pleased if a good performance was well rewarded, but without necessarily getting much personal satisfaction from the job” should be denied their rights (Kinnell 2003:3). Sex worker advocates criticize abolitionists for making deals with the “right wing” and its moral agenda, promoting “… policies toward sex work that actively endanger sex workers’ health and safety, increase their criminalization, or define them as incapable of making their own judgments about their own best interests” (Kinnell 2003:1). Women should be able to make choices about their own bodies, and objections to sex work are a moralistic inability to accept the commodification of sexual pleasure (Kinnell 2003). Even if the commodification of women's bodies is not ideal, sex worker advocates refuse to ignore the existence of those involved in the sex industry, and demand they be recognized, legitimized and their human rights be upheld.
**SCARLOT:** I started working at my main massage parlor, Lucky’s in 1978. It was very close to the street, very sleazy (Leigh 2009). For me, it was never really a matter of being exploited. “I’ll fuck for money if I want, I told myself” (Leigh 2004:25). I never was seriously approached by anyone who wanted to be my pimp. The parlor owner kept the massage fee but they paid us a low hourly wage and we got to keep all our tips. That’s similar to how bartenders make their money, isn’t it? I remember one place we were supposed to fold some sheets, but I never really felt exploited by the owners. In fact, I enjoyed working in massage parlors. After working in a few more parlors, I worked for myself, but managing my own prostitution business was just too stressful. That’s one reason why I think it needs to be a legal business (Leigh 2009). It’s too much to do everything, from scheduling, client interaction, and security, all on your own.

**JANE:** I had a pimp. I met him after turning a trick or two with my friend. I was invited to a party where I thought all of my friends would be but when I arrived no one was there except this old-school pimp (Dawson 2009). I didn’t know he was a pimp until he told me that I could work for him and make a lot of money (Dawson 2009). He promised me diamonds, furs and trips (Dawson 2009). I figured I could try it but had no idea what I was agreeing to (Dawson 2009). He had me making money for him all night long and I didn't keep a cent. He controlled when/what I ate, when I slept, where I went and what I did. If I talked back, didn't make enough money or got into trouble, like getting arrested, robbed, raped or not paid enough, he would beat me. When I was on the track I couldn't talk to or look at any of the other girls, or he would beat me. If another pimp came up to me on the track and try to talk to me, try to steal me away, I had to look down at the ground to avoid a beating. He had other girls too. He did drugs with them, kept them high and addicted. He definitely “trafficked” us when we left Boston because I had too many arrests under my name there. We worked tracks in Canada, Michigan and Florida — we were always on the move.
I was with this pimp for two years. As I began to win his trust, he allowed me more freedoms. I was able to leave the house alone and run small errands (Dawson 2009). He had kept such a tight hold on me that he had brainwashed me not to stray with the threat of getting beaten or killed (Dawson 2009). One day my mother, who had no idea what I was doing at the time, called me to tell me about an upcoming family vacation. Miraculously, the pimp allowed me to go on the trip. He was doing more and more drugs at the time and was busy with the other girls and I think he felt I was brainwashed enough to not try to escape. As soon as I left his presence it was like I awoke from a long sleep. I knew I could never go back there and if I didn’t escape now I’d be dead very soon. I told my mom not to ask any questions but that I needed help to hide. Thankfully I had her support and love and I never came back from that vacation. Hiding at my mother’s house, I would have nightmares that he would find me. After a few weeks, his car appeared outside my house. I refused to go out, and eventually he left. I was emotionally exhausted and even more frightened of what the future held for me. After a few months of living in complete terror and isolation, I got a call... the pimp had died. He died of a drug overdose, or someone had killed him over one of his girls, I'm not sure. All I knew was, he's dead, and I was free.

SCARLOT: Exploitation wasn’t the issue for me but I was very frustrated with the power dynamics with my clients. I would complain often, but I always felt like I couldn’t be as assertive as I wanted because they had more power. I was a “criminal” and had to stay underground, not draw any attention to myself, because of the police. So, I chose to work with regular customers only, especially when I was more visible as an advocate, which wasn’t ideal because working for regulars was problematic for reasons I’ve explained above.
The debate over legalization of prostitution is a global one. Feminists, legislators, and the press argue that one side or the other will provide a solution to the abuses committed within the industry. Legalizing prostitution has been posed as a way to regulate a large, existing market in order to decrease the influence of organized crime and increase public health and safety. Countries such as Australia, the Netherlands, South Africa and the US have experimented with legalization. “One of the Victorian Government's core justifications for legalizing prostitution was that it would limit the visible and tangible impact of the industry on the community” (Sullivan 2006:4). Where prostitution is legal the police can be even more abusive than the brothel owners, pimps or Johns. Many women raped while working never report it out of fear of being treated inhumanely by the police.

A study conducted by Durbar, a sex worker’s organization in India, found that many women chose to stay on in the sex industry even after they could have “notionally returned” to their previous lives (Bandyopadhyay 2004). It was not the threat from traffickers or pimps that was keeping them in the sex industry, but the social stigma they faced in their home villages because of the illegality of sex work (Bandyopadhyay 2004). With criminalization, women in the industry become dichotomized into groups of good and bad, who are either entitled to protection or deserve what they get on the streets. Thus, the Madonna/Whore paradox is created. The “victim stance” on prostitution depicts women in the industry as lacking in personal agency and needing rescuing from the outside (Desyllas 2007:62). Alternatively a sex worker's rights perspective focuses on women's agency and supports the survival strategies these women choose. If sex work were legal and women could unionize, they could work together to prevent abuses within the industry, not just the trafficking of girls into sexual slavery, but all other labor rights abuses too. “The pro-rights or sex worker perspective is supported by the belief that women have the right to sexual determination, the right not to work in slave labor conditions and the right to migrate for sex work wherever they choose” (Desyllas 2007:59). If the industry was
legal, the State would be responsible for protecting the women working in it. Crime and violence around prostitution would decrease, women would be safe in a brothel, off the streets, and could feel comfortable calling the authorities if they were threatened, raped or robbed. Brothel owners would have to pay state tax on their revenue, providing incentives for local government to make sure things ran ‘by the books.’ Sex worker rights advocates want “decriminalization” of prostitution, where neither sex workers nor Johns would be committing a crime when engaging in a sexual transaction.

Abolitionists argue that the legalization-ideal of protecting women within the industry is just that, an idyllic conception of prostitution that fails to acknowledge that the system itself is inherently harmful to women. Abolitionists believe legalizing prostitution does nothing to make women safer. Studies conducted on legalized prostitution show that women enter into legal prostitution out of the same lack of options as women who enter illegal prostitution, and they are no more protected and no less stigmatized in legal prostitution than they are in illegal forms (Farley 2007). In places where prostitution is legal the negative social stigma faced by women is still apparent. “This social stigma isolates women in legal brothels, where they are generally shunned by the rest of the population, and treated disrespectfully… Contacts with others are so limited that it reinforces their sense of a lack of alternatives, and the inescapability of their status, even though they are considered legal” (Farley 2007:15). Legalizing prostitution normalizes the violence and abuse men commit against women, thus reinforcing the patriarchal paradigm of dominance and sex inequality. This leads women to enter legal brothel prostitution for the same reasons of poverty, discrimination, lack of opportunity, racism, homelessness, etc., that they would have for entering illegal prostitution. Legalization only enhances the opportunities for pimps, Johns and the State to profit from the bodies of prostituted women. "[The] State endorsement of prostitution intensifies the commodification of women's bodies and greatly expands the illegal, as well as legal, sectors of the industry... Other consequences of legalization
include the encroachment of prostitution on public life, its integration into the State tourism industry and the growing role of the [State’s] financial institutions in supporting the industry” (Sullivan 2006:4). Legalizing prostitution leads to an increase in illegal activities such as human trafficking, as the demand for women and girls within these legalized zones increases. “The State’s increasing tolerance of prostitution, in turn, has encouraged an unprecedented demand for ‘sexual services’ resulting in more and more women being prostituted for sex and profit, with negligible benefits for themselves” (Sullivan 2006:1).

According to abolitionists, the “health and safety” goal behind sex worker’s promotion of decriminalization of prostitution has failed to be realized in places where prostitution has been legalized. Many women working in the sex industry do not agree that legalization makes it any safer for them to exist within. “Forty-six percent of people in prostitution in 6 countries felt that they were no safer from physical and sexual assault if prostitution were legal” (Farley 2007:20). “The Victorian experience demonstrates that legalization does nothing to protect the health and safety of those within the industry…legalization does not alter the reality that economic vulnerability to homelessness remains a prime reason why women in the State ‘choose’ prostitution” (Sullivan 2006: 4-7). Violence occurs within legal brothels as well as on the streets. A study conducted by Melissa Farley on women working in legal brothels in Nevada, showed that 57% of the women interviewed gave part or all of their income to a pimp or a partner, 47% of them were currently or had in the past been homeless, and 44% had been verbally abused, with 24% being physically assaulted (Farley 2007).

Since legalization has produced more harm than it has prevented, abolitionists advocate globally for legislation that follows the Swedish Model. In 1999, the Swedish Law that Prohibits the Purchase of Sexual Service was enacted. This groundbreaking law reversed the gender roles of criminality inherent in prostitution, by going after the Johns who buy sex and decriminalizing the women who sell it. "As Kajsa Wahlberg, head of the human trafficking unit of the Swedish
police, says: ‘We no longer have a problem with prostitutes. We have a problem with men who buy sex’ (Craig 2008:2). Instead of being arrested, women caught being prostituted are offered psychological services and assistance in leaving the sex industry. The Swedish law is part of an overall attempt by the people of Sweden to “create a democratic society where full gender equality is the norm, and to recognize the right to equal participation of women and men, girls and boys, in all areas of society” (Ekberg 2004:1188). Swedish legislation defines prostitution as male violence against women and children; thus it has reframed social understanding of prostitution. Men who buy sex in Sweden face fines, the possibility of incarceration, and social humiliation (Craig 2008). “The number of punters picked up has fallen 80 per cent [and] in the nine years since the legislation changed, 1,650 men have been charged with paying for sex” (Craig 2008:2). Results from the Swedish model show an overwhelming drop in the number of women who walk the streets of Stockholm or work in brothels, as well as a decrease in the number of Swedish men who buy sex:

From 1999 until today, the number of women involved in street prostitution [in Sweden] has decreased by at least 30% to 50%, and the recruitment of new women has come almost to a halt. It is estimated that the number of women in prostitution has decreased from 2,500 in 1999, before the Law came into force, to no more than 1,500 women in Sweden in 2002. (Ekberg 2004:1193)

The Swedish law brings trafficking for sexual exploitation and prostitution together as one issue, and addresses it with a gender equality approach. This eliminates not only the physical harm and social stigma faced by women in prostitution, it also gets at the root of the problem by curbing male demand.

**SCARLOT:** From a sex worker rights perspective, the Swedish model doesn’t work. “The criminalization of prostitution was a cruel mistake, promoted by feminist moralists near the turn of the century…Going after the clients keeps the business illegal and underground and does nothing to further the rights of the prostitutes” (Leigh 2004:29). It also keeps us sex workers away from protections, and I don’t believe that the Swedish law has made any significant impact
on the arrests of the clients (in 2008, there had yet to be any actual arrests of Johns in Sweden), but has only increased the dangers faced by the Swedish prostitutes (Craig 2008). If clients or sex workers fear arrest, an atmosphere of rushed illicitness is created around what we do, allowing disrespect with impunity and spreading our agency thin by having to watch out for attack from all sides. “It’s hard to protect yourself from the rapists while you’re busy protecting yourself from the police” (Leigh 2004:28). I’ve read so many things from the anti-prostitution movement saying things like, you know, you’re not supposed to try to make it better and this kind of a tough love attitude about prostitution, like you’re supposed to let them bottom out and not necessarily help them in a harm reduction model (Leigh 2009). I can’t fathom how this could be a positive way to promote women’s rights inside or outside the sex industry. Sex workers had no agency in creating the Swedish Law, but they should really be the ones creating the system from the ground up.

Now don’t get me wrong, just because I feel that workers’ rights should be protected within prostitution and that the empowerment of women should be paramount, it does not mean I don’t see the structural flaws. I do think prostitution reflects the patriarchy, there’s so many oppressive aspects, it’s more oppressive in the context of poverty, of capitalism, in the world as we know it (Leigh 2009). I look at it primarily as a survival strategy, but I think respecting the survival strategy of poor or less privileged women is key. Although it may not be an ideal choice for many who often do it out of a lack of other choices, I think that it’s very important to prioritize the survival strategy and…to really empathize with someone who doesn’t have too many options (Leigh 2009). I think there’s a tendency, especially from a middle class perspective, to judge, and to think that women in prostitution could be going to college, could be getting “good” jobs instead. This prevailing attitude ignores the reality of poverty and its connection to prostitution.
Although I’m aware that this is a last resort for many women, and that there are no other options for most women to make similar salaries in other professions, Scarlot Harlot did not grow up in this reality. I most certainly recognize my unusual amount of privilege: first of all privileged as a white person, I was second of all privileged to be from the working class (Leigh 2009). My parents may have been poor but they supported my capacity for upward mobility. I feel fortunate that I was extremely stable mentally and emotionally. I’m not saying my family life was perfect, but whose is, right? When I was a teenager, I felt I was treated wrong (Leigh 2009). My father used to yell at me and my mother. He was definitely verbally abusive, so I am fully conscious of the negative and positive reinforcements my family life provided to influence my future decisions. For me, getting involved with prostitution was multifaceted. I took that concept of upward mobility and set it to my own tune, defying moralistic constructions of prosperity. I really enjoyed certain aspects of prostitution, which were positive experiences for me. If you just meet a stranger and just do it and they don’t know you, there’s something magical in that (Leigh 2009). I remember one time, before I was a sex worker, I was just hanging out on the streets of Canada and I met this guy, took some LSD, and we had sex. I mean my life was like that (Leigh 2009). I wanted sexual liberation, to be able to enjoy and embrace my sexual desires without being stigmatized as improper or unnatural. Being a feminist, artist, sexual adventurer and outside the norm being so bohemian I think that’s the main thing that led me into this (Leigh 2009). Becoming a prostitute was definitely a choice I made as an empowered agent.

It’s the resonance of this choice that goes unrecognized. The recognition of justice around women’s options is what I fight for as a sex worker advocate. As a feminist, my analysis may have said that society sort of, maybe, socialized me to cater to men and that my economic position sort of socialized me (Leigh 2009). But I could have been socialized into many other “subservient” gender roles, such as the doting wife and self-sacrificing mother (Leigh 2009). So
you see, you can’t just blame prostitution on socialized brainwashing, it comes from so many other factors. I regard the socialization as part of my choice, which no one makes in a vacuum. Most people I met in the industry feel the same, and have indeed made a choice in some way or another. I talk to people everyday who talk about how they have fantasies, how they want to, it’s very common, and it’s more and more common with all the sex in the media (Leigh 2009). What angers me is the negation of the reality that women are saying they actually want to do this (Leigh 2009). I’m sick of other women telling me the choices I make in my life aren’t valid. The issue of choice is kind of a red herring in this discussion (Leigh 2009). Gloria Steinem, a well-known feminist, has said that no woman could ever really want to be a prostitute, and I keep reading this same thing from the anti-prostitution movement. What bullshit! It’s that kind of Orwellian lie that is just so blatantly not true (Leigh 2009).

**JANE:** I agree with Scarlot that choices are not made in a vacuum and lacking in developmental options is not the only reason women get involved in the sex industry, but my experiences showed me that the concept of choice within prostitution should not even be debated. I believe that the majority of women involved in prostitution worldwide did make a choice. This choice, however, was not made out of a desire to explore their sexuality, but one that was not entirely their own, influenced by the need to survive or a lack of self-confidence, which allowed these women to accept being treated as inferior. I do feel that I originally made a choice. I put myself in the situation in which I later became imprisoned, when I agreed to prostitute myself. But that choice was influenced by my past experiences of depression, self-mutilation, and rape (Dawson 2009). I did not have the right frame of mind to make the choice wisely, and once I was in it, I was forced to continue by the pimp (Dawson 2009). This is what is meant when advocates point to the illegitimacy of choice for women in prostitution. My power to choose ended quickly, within moments after I’d agreed to prostitute myself. Once I was in the life, I had no choices
except what to wear (Dawson 2009). When you fear for your life, your choices are formed around survival, not life of human dignity.

SCARLOT: Of course, I am aware that many people out there don’t want to be in prostitution, but are forced to, either to feed their drug addiction, their children or themselves. When I worked at the massage parlor, there was a woman people used to tell stories about. They said, “Oh she made the most money,” and she had a boyfriend (Leigh 2009). She probably didn’t keep the money, she was always so high (Leigh 2009). Anyway, women have so many reasons for not wanting to be sex workers: religion, morality and health risks. It’s a gamble, there are risks (Leigh 2009). Sometimes the risks outweigh the benefits and sometimes it’s the other way around. Choice is a continuum, and women might want to work in the sex industry more than they want to work at McDonalds, or they might want to because they are curious (Leigh 2009). Regardless of why women choose sex work, I advocate for public respect of those choices. We should all respect survival strategies; respect the struggles and decisions that people make within these limited conditions.

JANE: But discerning between forced and voluntary prostitution will make no difference in the lives of women suffering in ‘the game’. Arguing that women make choices should not justify the promotion of a social evil that oppresses and exploits them as a class or group. Violating a group of humans’ rights in the name of respecting women’s survival strategies makes no sense to me. The person being prostituted may tell you it was their "choice" but they are not even sure (Dawson 2009). I personally know how hard it is to escape prostitution, and I always say that I only made it out because I never got addicted to drugs like the other girls. The other girls the pimp kept were all addicted to heroin or crack. It was like they didn’t exist, they were just shells that got refilled with their fix every night before they went out. Something in a woman’s
experiences, an emotion or lack thereof, causes her to choose prostitution, if she’s not being overtly forced by a third party. Adapting to extreme situations in order to survive and becoming dependent on ways to shut out your reality, are not the same as free-will choice. “[If] you ask a woman/girl why they are prostituting, they will say because they want to... I bet if you put them in a house in the country alone for a week they wouldn't be saying that” (Dawson 2009)! It's brainwashing, just like a cult (Dawson 2009). The life of a prostitute is life in a cult (Dawson 2009).

SCARLOT: And so the debate rages on. I spend my time these days involved in the production of erotic works and sex worker activism. The anti-prostitution people have their propaganda and we have ours (Leigh 2009). I sort of feel that it’s like trying to unify the anti-gay movement and the LGBT movement (Leigh 2009). The division over whether prostitution is supposed to exist is just too black and white, although I see prostitution as a giant clump of grey matter. Women on the other side refuse to talk to me, saying I’m too different from them and I’m inherently harmful to the women’s rights movement. “I’m not one to deny the relationship between imagery and action, but sluts and whores and erotic entertainers are not the enemy of the matriarchy” (Leigh 2004:28). Unfortunately, the leaders of the anti-prostitution movement don’t agree with me on that. They “can’t stand the Happy Hookerism of my crowd. [They] claim that the glamorization of prostitution (one of my favorite pastimes) exacerbates [other women’s] dependency and vulnerability within the life” (Leigh 2004:32). Because of this tendency to view sex workers as nothing more than helpless victims or brave survivors of some atrocity, I don’t see any resolution to the debate happening any time soon.

JANE: Images of Julia Roberts in ‘Pretty Woman’ and the mainstreaming of dominating, ‘hardcore’ pornography shaped my choice, back in Boston, just as much as my experiences with
history of abuse. When my friend first proposed I go with him to the track and turn a trick, I thought of shows like HBO’s ‘Cathouse’ or ‘Diary of a Manhattan Call Girl,’” and how much fun those women seemed to have. I’d grown up watching these glamorized images of prostitution. “Thongs, and other stripper clothing, including underpants labeled ‘hotty’ or ‘wink wink’ are designed for and marketed to young girls… prostitution is marketed as a fun job to young children” (Farley 2007:182). When I first met the man who was to control my life for the next several years, images of Snoop Dogg, a popular rapper, and all the fun ‘Pimp n’ Ho’ parties I’d been to, popped into my head. If only I’d been able to initially see him for what he was, a misogynistic, exploiting abuser, instead of thinking that pimping was cool. In Melissa Farley’s study on prostitution in Nevada, it was noted that the total cost of advertising for prostitution in Las Vegas alone, where prostitution is actually illegal, amounted to $26,519,292 for the year of 2007 (Farley 2007). Prostitution propaganda is everywhere. I made my choice, based on what I thought prostitution was like on TV, but the reality was nothing like the shows. I never enjoyed myself. I was a prostituted woman, forced to work by a pimp. There was no glamour, there was no fun, there wasn’t even a me, I had to disappear inside myself in order to survive the ten to twenty times I was raped for money every night.

SCARLOT: Still, I hold firm that we need not deprive women of their rights because of the world’s current contextual construction. The solutions to the problems of prostitution are the same as the solutions to all the other problems (Leigh 2009). I think it’s more about empowering workers, empowering those who are involved, because to me, commercial sex is part of human culture. Prostitution cannot just be a social pathologization of the sexuality of men and the economic structures that it creates. It must make some sense culturally as part of the relations between the genders, right? Otherwise, it would not be the oldest profession.
**JANE:** What I want people to take away from hearing my experience is that I escaped, and hopefully my story will show other women in similar situations that they can be empowered to exit prostitution. In order for this to happen, people like me need to tell their stories to their children, neighbors and lovers, and break down the patriarchal construction of prostitution as the oldest profession. We must see it instead as the oldest oppression. “Prostitution continues to exist because significant numbers of men are given social, moral and legal permission to buy women and girls to act out sexually, based on violence and inequality” (CATW 2007). Demand and acceptance of prostitution is a social construction within the existing patriarchal paradigm, which could be shifted, as it has been in Sweden. I want women to be equal participants under an alternative, more holistic paradigm. Empowerment of women within the current design of prostitution is an impossible ideal. In fact, promoting prostitution ‘as is’ is harmful to all women, creating generalized stereotypes that undermine all women’s agency by categorizing them as a group of sexualized “whores” and “ho’s.” Society needs to acknowledge the truth about the harms inherent within prostitution, and refuse to accept the continued violations of a group that is most vital to continuation of the species.

Anyway, good luck to you, Scarlot. Hopefully one day we can meet upon common ground as women, struggling to claim our places within history and society. Until then, I will continue to tell my story and feel proud that I survived prostitution and am able to be a beacon for those millions still lost within it, and hope that I will influence the lives of my young daughter, my husband and many more around me with a renewed understanding of the dangers of legitimizing prostitution as sex work.
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*The majority of the words spoken by Scarlot and Jane were taken directly from interviews with them conducted by the researcher.*


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Tourism and Crime in European Nations

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March 2010

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ABSTRACT

The goal of this study is to examine the effects of tourism on the rate of crime against persons while controlling for the degree of urbanization, the rate of unemployment, and the region of nations in Europe. Hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted using data from 46 European nations for the years 2000 to 2004. An increase in rates of foreign tourist arrivals predicts a decrease in rates of crimes against persons committed by males or females. This finding is consistent with previous reports (Messner and Rosenfield, 2001; Levantis and Gani, 2000; Tran, Philipp, and Bridges, 2008). Lower rates of crimes against persons and higher rates of crimes against property might be the products of tourism.

Key words: Tourism, Crime.

FULL PAPER

INTRODUCTION

Although assumptions about a relationship between tourism and crime have long been discussed (Pizam, 1982), the exact nature of this relationship is still largely unknown. Levantis and Gani (2000) reported that when rates of crime were conversely associated with rates of tourist arrivals when they study the relationship in the nations on the Caribbean islands and South Pacific from 1970 to 1993. Brunt and his colleagues (2000) reported that tourism contributes to an increase in crime based on the survey of 514 readers of a journal titled ‘Holiday Which’ whereas Pizam (1982) reported that there were no significant contribution of tourism to nine various types of crimes throughout the 50 states of the U.S. in 1975.

Jud (1975), and Lin and Loeb (1977) investigated the effects of tourism on crime against property in 32 states in Mexico using the following model:

\[ Ci = a + b \, Ti + c \, UR_i + Ui \] (Jud: 1975: 325)

where \( Ci \) is the number of offenses committed per capita in state \( i \), i.e., the rate of crime; \( Ti \) is the number of arriving foreign tourists per capita in state \( i \), i.e., the rate of...
foreign tourist arrivals; URi is the fractions of people living in cities in statei, i.e., the degree of urbanization in statei; and Ui is the disturbance term in statei. Jud (1975) reported that select crimes against property, i.e., fraud, larceny, and robbery were significantly predicted by the rate of foreign tourist arrivals, but there were not any significant causal relationships between the rate of property crimes and the degree of urbanization. However, when Lin and Loeb (1977) excluded the non-border states of these Mexico’s 32 states in the model using a dummy variable, they reported there was a significant causal relationship between the rate of property crimes and the degree of urbanization, but there was no causal relationship between the rate of property crimes and the rate of tourist arrivals. Lin and Loeb (1977) posited, “The degree of urbanization was found to have a significant positive effect (at the .05 significance level) on two criminal activities, namely, fraud and robbery…Our regression results do not substantiate at this time the fact that tourism is a significant contributor to crime.” (p. 166). The main reason leading to different results was the selected sample; Jud used both border and non-border states in Mexico, whereas Lin and Loeb used only non-border states in Mexico. Crotts (2003) reported tourists are victims of criminal behavior against property because they create more opportunities for these unlawful acts. Recent research has reported that an increase in rates of tourist arrivals results in an increase in rates of property crimes (Agarwal & Brunt, 2006; Barclay & Mawby, 2006). However, little research has considered the effects of foreign tourist arrivals on criminal activities against persons, i.e., homicides or murders. The purpose of the present study is to determine if rates of tourist arrivals can be used to predict rates of crime against persons in 46 European nations.
LITERATURE

Jud (1975) studied the economic models of criminal behavior of Becker and Landes (1974) and Ehrlich (1973). The main assumption underlying their models was that illegitimate activity responds directly to economic incentives. Jud (1975) reported that amount of criminal activity against foreign tourists increases as the number of illegal opportunities increase. Said another way, more foreign tourists arriving result in more opportunities for crime against property. However, Lin and Loeb (1977) asserted that there might be no positive relationship between tourists and criminal activities. An increase in rates of tourist arrivals leads to increase in the degree of urbanization. As a result, criminal activities increase (p. 164). The latter is supported by previous research (Clinard and Abbott, 1973; Ehrlich, 1974). It is thus important to clarify the relationship between tourism and crime.

Bernasco and Luykx (2003) reported that three factors: attractiveness, opportunity and accessibility, pull crimes against property. Another explanation for the associations between tourism and crime against property may be found in the theory of social disorganization from Shaw and McKay (1942). This theory implies that “criminal behavior is not caused at the individual level, but is a normal response by normal individuals to abnormal social conditions” (p. 142). Therefore, if a community is not self-protected and imperfectly policed by outside agencies, some individuals will express their dispositions and desires toward criminal behavior against property and people. Shaw and McKay (1942) posited that a weak organizational structure within a community may create an environment more conducive to the manifestation of criminal behaviors against people and vice versa. Cohen and Felson’s (1979) study showed that there must be three
conditions for an illegal activity: 1) motivated offenders, 2) suitable targets, and 3) absence of capable guardians in a community. According to Cohen and Felson, if the three conditions are not met, crimes against property and persons will not happen. As a result, more police will decrease criminal activities against persons. Consequently, an increase in rates of tourist arrivals may provide a more secure environment due to an increase in the number of security in the community, resulting in a decrease of the rate of crime against persons. Levantis and Gani (2000) reported that if a country suffers an increase in order problems, the demand for tourism to that country will be decreased. Thus, different crime rates in different European nations could be partly due to differences in the presence of police in these countries. European nations are different in terms of age of their countries and political structures in the past so the present study has assumed regional differences rather than just country-level differences. According to the World Health Organization Regional Office for Europe, Copenhagen, Denmark (2008) there are four main regions in Europe: North, West, central/East, and Southern/Mediterranean. In order to examine the relationship between the rate of tourist arrivals and the rate of crime against persons, these regions of the nations in Europe were controlled in the present study.

Several researchers reported that higher levels of ethnic heterogeneity and urbanization will affect a community's level of social disorganization (Bursik, 1988; Crutchfield, Geerken, & Gove, 1982; Kornhauser, 1978; Messner & Golden, 1992). When a community is socially disorganized due to high degrees of urbanization, it will have less of an ability to engage in both the social control and the appropriate socialization of its residents, resulting in an increase in rates of crimes (Sampson and
Groves, 1989). Wilson (1987) also reported that the ability to sustain social control of a community can effectively reduce criminal behaviors. Cities with larger varieties of specific populations should have less ability to maintain effective social control and thus, experience higher rates of crimes against property and persons. Therefore, degrees of urbanization which might affect rates of crimes against persons were controlled in the present study.

Messner and Rosenfield (2001) reported that some societies are more regulated by specific social institutions and thus have lower crime rates than societies not as regulated by those institutions. These institutions might be tourism organizations or travel agencies because they can provide more opportunities for employment and reinforce police to protect tourists (Ap and Crompton, 1998; Gee et al., 1997). Therefore, tourist arrivals might affect not only rates of crimes but also rates of unemployment. In order to examine only the relationship between rates of crimes against persons and rates of tourist arrivals, rates of unemployment were controlled in the study.

All the above studies are about tourism associated with crime against property. Contemporary research is lacking reports regarding tourism associated with crime against persons. Therefore, the present study examined the relationship between tourism and crime against persons.

This study is based on Durkheim’s theory of homicide. Homicide according to Durkheim is the act of unpremeditated murder. This theory implies that the level of social development including collective sentiments and individual sentiments can influence the number of homicides. Collective sentiments include collective states of conscience,
family spirit, religious faith, and political faith. Individual sentiments include religion of humanity and public conscience that entails greater respect for human life. Decristina (2004) has explained Durkheim’s propositions as follows, “As societies develop, the decline of collective sentiments related to collective things and the rise of the religion of humanity reduce homicidal dispositions” (p. 75). This statement can be used to explain the negative relationship between tourist arrivals and the rate of homicide. In a modern society, when tourists visit a certain area, they often appreciate the achievements of the local people. As a result, the local people respect tourists’ behaviors and their sentiments for human life increases. Although an increase of the individual level of sentiments decreases the number of homicides, it increases the number of crimes against property. (Decristina, 2004). Foreign tourist arrivals in a country might influence the local, regional, or national social and cultural values, traditions, and customs (Tran et al., 2008) and make local people pay attention to their self interests. Konty (2005) posits that “self interest becomes criminogenic only in the absence of social interests that prevent the pursuit of self-interested goals ‘by any means necessary’.” (p. 111).

When the number of tourist arrivals increases, the local government is obligated to create new laws and requirements to accommodate the guests. The number of social regulations thus increases to regulate the order of the society for tourists visit a country. If these rules are not applied, the tourists will avoid visiting the country due to its lack in safety. From this, one can assume that when the number of tourist arrivals is high, the social regulations are also high. Lester (1992) reported that the number of regulations is negatively associated with homicide rates based on his study of the relationship between tourists and homicide within 53 different countries. In addition, more social regulations
but not social integrations imply that there are less foreigner cultural impacts on the destination. According to the theory of social disorganization, when there is less influence of foreign culture on a destination, the number of homicides decreases in the destination. Nielsen and his colleagues (2005) reported that Latino group in San Diego are less prevalent than the group in Miami so that the number of homicides in San Diego is less than the ones in Miami. Therefore, the previous assumption leads to the conclusion that increasing tourist population will decrease the number of crimes against persons.

METHOD

Forty-six European nations² were chosen as the sample. Tourism in Europe has existed for centuries and the nations of Europe are associated with considerable cultural diversity. Rates of crimes against persons (rates of homicides committed by males and females), rates of foreign tourist arrivals, rates of unemployment, and degrees of urbanization were selected for the years 2000 to 2004 and their average values are illustrated in table 1. The missing data were replaced by the average of the available data within the five years (Table 1).

<table>
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<th>Country</th>
<th>Tourist Arrivals</th>
<th>Unemployment</th>
<th>Five-year Average Rate</th>
<th>Male Homicide</th>
<th>Female Homicide</th>
<th>Urbanization</th>
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<td>1.95</td>
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<td>47.18</td>
<td>12.67</td>
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<td>63.76</td>
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<td>Slovenia</td>
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<td>0.91</td>
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<td>0.57</td>
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<td>1.49</td>
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<td>4.62</td>
<td>1.32</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>90.33</td>
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<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>981.09</td>
<td>2.72</td>
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<td>0.89</td>
<td>67.6</td>
<td>0.89</td>
</tr>
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<td>Tajikistan</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>57.28</td>
<td>7.63</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>57.28</td>
<td>7.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The FYR of Macedonia</td>
<td>76.12</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>6.69</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>49.82</td>
<td>6.69</td>
</tr>
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<td>Turkey</td>
<td>180.04</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>3.83</td>
<td>3.83</td>
<td>77.28</td>
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<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>200.67</td>
<td>8.96</td>
<td>17.28</td>
<td>6.19</td>
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<td>United Kingdom</td>
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<td>4.96</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>69.06</td>
<td>0.72</td>
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</table>

Regions of European nations including border and non-border nations in Europe were coded from 1 to 4 as follows: North = 1, West = 2, Central/East = 3, Southern/Mediterranean = 4. The rate of unemployment is calculated as the number of unemployed persons in the host country divided by the population size for the years 2000 to 2004. The degree of urbanization is measured by fractions of persons living in cities for the years 2000 to 2004. Both the rate of unemployment and the degree of urbanization were selected from the United Nations Statistics Division (2008). The rate
of crime against persons is the number of homicides per 100,000 population of residents. The rate of male crimes is the number of homicides per 100,000 resident population committed by males and the rate of female crimes is the number of homicides per 100,000 resident population committed by females. The present study selected the rates of male and female crimes against persons from European health for all database, World Health Organization Regional Office for Europe, Copenhagen, Denmark (2008)\(^1\). For the purposes of the present study, the term ‘crimes against persons’ or homicide is defined as murder, “Any act performed with the purpose of taking human life in whatever circumstances. This definition excludes abortion but includes infanticide.” (Rushton, 1995, p. 308). The rate of foreign tourist arrivals including a number of international tourist arrivals per 1000 resident population were selected from the United Nations World Tourism Organization (2008)\(^3\). Hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted to examine the causal relationship between rates of tourist arrivals and rates of crime against persons when controlling for degrees of urbanization, regions of nations, and rates of unemployment. In order to normalize the distributions for these variables, the natural logarithmic was used to transform the skewed values of the dependent variable and independent variables (Nunnally and Bernstein, 1994). The five skewed variables to be transformed into natural logarithm are the rates of male and female crimes against persons, the rate of tourist arrivals, the rate of unemployment, and the code of nation regions.

**RESULTS**

The significant difference of gender in crimes has long been recognized (Sporer and Salfari, 2006); thus, analyses were conducted for combined rates as well as rates
Rates of crimes against persons committed by males and females over a five-year period from 2000 to 2004 in 46 European nations were significantly negatively associated with rates of tourist arrivals ($r_s = -.58$ and $-44$, respectively, $p < .01$ and .01, respectively) when controlling for degrees of urbanization, regions, and rates of unemployment. For the model with crimes against persons committed by males as the dependent variable, the degree of urbanization was added in the first step of multiple regression analyses. This model was not statistically significant, $F (1, 41) = .09, p > .05$, and $R^2$ change = .02. The rate of unemployment was entered in the second step. Addition of this predictor did not increase the fit of the model to the data, $F (1, 40) = .48, p > .05$, and $R^2$ change = .01. The region code was entered in the third step. Addition of this predictor significantly increased the fit of the model to the data, $F (1, 39) = 6.06, p < .05$, and $R^2$ change = .13. The last predictor added to the model was the rate of tourist arrivals. Addition of this predictor significantly increased the fit of the model to the data, $F (1, 38) = 19.98, p < .01$, and $R^2$ change = .29. As shown in table 2, the rate of foreign tourist arrivals had significant effects on the rate of male crime ($\beta = -.57, p < .001$).

**TABLE 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step and source</th>
<th>$R^2$</th>
<th>$\Delta R^2$</th>
<th>$\beta$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Urbanization</td>
<td>.002</td>
<td>.002</td>
<td>.034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Unemployment</td>
<td>.014</td>
<td>.012</td>
<td>.115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Region</td>
<td>.147*</td>
<td>.133*</td>
<td>.225*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As a result, rates of crimes against persons committed by males were associated with rates of foreign tourist arrivals. The analysis was similar to the model with crimes against persons committed by females as the dependent variable. In the first step of hierarchical multiple regression analyses for the model with female crime as the dependent variable, the degree of urbanization was added. This model was not statistically significant, $F(1, 41) = 0.01, p > .05$, and $R^2$ change $= .00$. The rate of unemployment was entered in the second step. Addition of this predictor did not increase the fit of the model to the data, $F(1, 40) = 0.95, p > .05$, and $R^2$ change $= .00$. The region code was entered in the third step. Addition of this predictor significantly increased the fit of the model to the data, $F(1, 39) = 5.85, p < .05$, and $R^2$ change $= .13$. The last predictor added to the model was the rate of tourist arrivals. Addition of this predictor significantly increased the fit of the model to the data, $F(1, 38) = 9.53, p < .01$, and $R^2$ change $= .17$. As shown in table 3, the rate of foreign tourist arrivals had significant effects on the rate of female crime ($\beta = -4.39, p < .001$). As a result, rates of female crime against persons were associated with rates of foreign tourist arrivals. The findings suggest that increasing tourist arrivals that increases the rate of crimes against property is associated with a decrease in the rate of crimes against persons.

**TABLE 3**
Regression Analysis Investigating Hierarchy Effects: Female Crime Rates as Dependent Variable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step and source</th>
<th>Cumulative $R^2$</th>
<th>$\Delta R^2$</th>
<th>$\beta$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Urbanization</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.056</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Unemployment</td>
<td>.003</td>
<td>.002</td>
<td>-.074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Region</td>
<td>.133*</td>
<td>.130*</td>
<td>.262*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Tourist arrivals</td>
<td>.307**</td>
<td>.174**</td>
<td>-.439**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05

**p < .01

CONCLUSION

The assumption is that as the number of tourist arrivals increases in a particular country, certain crimes against persons are expected to decrease. As Messner and Rosenfield (2001) have pointed out, the more opportunities for tourists there are in a host country, the more security and the less opportunities for the criminal offenses against persons are committed. From a policy standpoint, government officials, who support economic growth from tourism development that attracts increasing numbers of foreign tourists to the country, should understand that such development usually decreases opportunities for illegal activity such as crimes against persons or homicides. Thus, increased taxes to strengthen police protection in communities supporting economic development through tourism should not be imposed from tourism sources. In general,
lesser crime rates against persons as well as higher security might be the product of tourism and economic development.

Since tourism contributes to a decrease in crime against persons it is not reasonable that tourists should contribute to the costs of policing increased criminal activity against persons. If the policing costs imposed on tourists through ‘tourist taxation’ result in a significant drop in tourism revenues and a negative impact on the tourist industry, it might be better to finance increased police protection by a tax on profits contributed by the owners and stockholders of any other business in the community. This viewpoint is consistent with principles of Messner and Rosenfield’s (2001) studies. In addition, the present study supports a tax expenditure policy for tourism development in which tourists are not responsible for local taxation in order to enjoy ‘duty free’ products and services at the tourist destinations. The present study has, however, four major limitations: 1) it is based on only four years of data, 2) it employs only European nations in the sample, 3) it is based upon the assumption that European nations are similar in social organizational structures, and 4) it reveals an association between tourism and crimes against persons when controlling for degrees of urbanization, regions of nations, and rates of unemployment, but it does not control for other factors such as political and social organizations. Future research should expand cross-cultural comparisons between social norms, education, ethnicity, religion, and family status among other countries in a longitudinal study.

REFERENCES


Footnote


2 Albania, Armenia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta. Netherland, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Russian, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Tajikistan, The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Turkey, Ukraine, and United Kingdom.


Peril on the High Seas:  
A Comparison of 18th Century and 21st Century Pirates

by

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and

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Introduction

“Some the Sea swallowes, but that which most grieves,
Some turn Sea-monsters, Pirates, roaving theeves.”
Taylor, An Apologie for Sea-men

The Captain sniffed a sour gritty wind that blew in from the Horn of Africa. He smiled as he listened to the reassuring slap of the waves against the hull. Then . . . a metallic clank, muffled screams, the thud of bare feet. The door to the bridge crashed open. Wild-eyed pirates dressed in scruffy rags brandished their weapons. They scream “Surrender or die!”

Since piracy existed in ancient times, this scenario could have occurred in any age. This paper’s purpose is to compare piracy during the 18th and 21st centuries in order to find answers to a serious modern problem. The authors identify four topics of comparison: literature, purpose and general considerations, modus operandi, and solutions. They make general and specific comparisons and determine if ideas are similar, different, related or contradictory. This process challenged the authors to search for buried treasure in previously unexplored areas.

I. Review of Literature

“ Anything can be made to look good or bad by being redescribed”
Rortry, Contingency, Irony and Solidarity, 74.

Few reliable printed accounts of 18th century pirates exist, with the exception of court records and newspaper articles. Alexander Exquemelin, a ship’s surgeon under buccaneer Henry Morgan, wrote one of the first books about pirates, *The Buccaneers of America* (1678). Captain Charles Johnson wrote the most widely accepted historical book about piracy, *A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the Most Notorious Pirates* (1724).

sixteen essays in *Bandits at Sea* (2001) by thirteen prominent academic historians. These essays cover a variety of topics including, homosexuality, racial diversity, and women pirates. Marcus Rediker’s *Villains of All Nations* (2004) and *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea* (1987) recount the social and cultural world of a pirate crew. Peter Leeson analyzes the economic principles that drove these gentlemen of fortune in the *Invisible Hook* (2009).

Pirates earned the names “vermin,” “devils,” and “wild beasts,” in the Golden Age of Piracy (1690-1730). As such, their executioners treated them like animals, hung them in chains, and displayed their rotting bodies as a reminder of their cruel deeds. However, a new image of piracy soon emerged, the image of the dashing rogue. Rediker believes that, “We love pirates most of all because they were rebels” (*Villains* 176). In 1814, Lord Byron published the epic poem, *The Corsair*. His London publisher sold 10,000 copies within hours of its release and printed seven more editions within a month (Cordingly xx).

Robert Louis Stevenson’s *Treasure Island* instilled the romantic version of piracy in popular culture. The characters created by Stevenson and J.M. Barrie in *Peter Pan*, though bearing little resemblance to actual pirates, have consumed popular imagination and their influence is felt today. “Long John Silver is better known than any of the real pirates of history and, together with Captain Hook, has come to represent many people’s image of a pirate” (Cordingly 5).

The literature on contemporary pirates primarily consists of reports and statistics from the International Maritime Bureau and the International Piracy Center. Jack Gottschak and Brian Flanagan’s *Jolly Roger with and Uzi* (2000) is informative, but out of date. John Burnett’s *Dangerous Waters* (2002) tells his story and those of others captured by pirates. Martin Murphy’s *Contemporary Piracy and Maritime Terrorism* (2007) gives a concise explanation of
piracy in Somalia. Peter Lehr’s collection of essays, *Violence at Sea (2009)* analyzes the causes and methods of modern piracy. In “Somalia – Pirate’s New Paradise.” Lehr and Lehmann conclude that Somali piracy is “simply not sexy enough to merit an international naval enforcement effort.”(19) They did not foresee that the rescue of Captain Richard Phillips from Somali pirates would prompt the United States and other involved countries to establish an international anti-piracy task force.

Literature on pirates falls into two categories: works in which the authors realistically portray piracy and those in which the authors glorify or excuse the actions of these buccaneers. Christopher Caldwell in a *Time* article entitled “No Surrender to Thugs” is a realist. He argues that President Obama “should continue to treat Somali pirates as military foes rather than as quaint Captain Hooks” (18). He demands that the press describe Somali towns as enemy naval bases rather than “Peter Pan–ish pirate dens” (18).

Defenders of Somali pirates paint a different picture. Somalis describe pirates as “noble heroes” and “saviors of the sea.” (Pitman). A lawyer for Abdulwali Abdukhadir Muse, the teenager who led the attack on the *Maersk Alabama*, described his client as a confused and terrified “boy who fishes” who, after his capture, wanted to talk to his mother (“Somali Pirate”).

Abdulkadir Khalif, a Kenyan reporter, detailed the origins of Somali piracy. Warlords sold licenses and offered protection for foreigners to dump toxic waste and over-fish coastal waters. Local fishing communities tried to defend the coastline, but turned to piracy when they realized they could make enormous sums of money hijacking commercial vessels (Khalif 2). Somalis argue that the country has not had a functioning government for twenty years and that they have a war economy. If people are pushed into piracy to survive, “well, why wouldn’t they?” (Phillips 2).
A survey of the literature shows that East African writers tread in the footsteps of Stevenson, Byron, and Barrie. Primary source materials in both periods are sparse. Most pirates can’t read or write; those who can are loath to incriminate themselves. There is a plenitude of secondary sources on 18th century pirates of varying quality, and all of it sells well. There was a paucity of secondary sources on 21st century pirates, until Phillips’ rescue, opened the floodgates of media attention to recurrent maritime crime.

II. Purpose and General Considerations

There is nothing so desperately monotonous as the sea,
and I no longer wonder at the cruelty of pirates
Lowell, Fireside Travels, At Sea

Piracy is armed robbery at sea. This definition facilitates a comparison of pirates in the 18th century and 21st centuries. Not only is the purpose of the crime the same, but methods, modus operandi, and solutions have similarities. Governments in both periods labeled pirates “hostis humani generis,” the enemy of mankind, and gave jurisdiction to any nation that took action against them.

Pirates of both ages seized merchant vessels and looted them of everything of value. Buccaneers of the 18th century rarely ransomed captured individuals. Pirates of the 21st century improved upon this business model. They use satellite communications to extort money directly from shipping companies, who readily comply with their demands because insurance companies pay the bill. Modern pirates receive what they call “money from heaven,” dropped by a helicopter or low-flying airplane (Bengali 2).

The lure of piracy is strong for impoverished seafarers. An 18th century merchant seaman earned 15 to 33 British Pounds per year for dangerous, exhausting labor. This equals $4,000 to $8,800 in 21st century US currency (Leeson 12). In the 18th century, Henry Avery’s crew captured a ship laden with jewels and precious metals worth 600,000 British Pounds. Each
Pirate’s share equaled 1000 British Pounds or the modern equivalent of $266,000 (Leeson 13). In 1721, pirate captains Oliver La Bouche and John Taylor sailed in consort. One attack was so successful that these brigands allocated 4000 British Pounds ($1,067,000 in 21st century dollars) to every pirate crewman (Leeson 14).

Pirates of the 21st century enjoy lucrative rewards. The average income in Somalia is $650 a year, but a low level pirate can earn up to $10,000 in one raid. Jama, a 28 year-old pirate, claimed he earned $375,000 from piracy. His share of the $1.3 million ransom of a Greek ship amounted to $92,000. The Saudis paid $3 million to release an oil tanker. Several pirates drowned while collecting the ransom when a rival pirate gang overturned their small boat.

Leeson states that 18th pirates tortured to get information from their captives, punish cruel merchant captains and penalize those who tried to conceal valuables (108). One French buccaneer made an example of a prisoner who threw valuables into the sea to prevent them from falling into the pirate’s hands. He cut the captain’s heart out and consumed it in front of the rest of the captured crew. (Konstam 75).

Edward Low amused himself by slicing off the ears of uncooperative captains of captured ships and making the victims eat them. Low was generous enough to offer them salt and pepper (Pennell 10). Pirates used torture selectively. As a result, they acquired a reputation for brutality that served them well in intimidating captives.

In 2006, the British Parliament called the growth in piracy over the last decade an “appalling amount of violence against the maritime community” (Krasha and Wilson 2). Kidnapping, detaining, and threatening to kill crewmembers are violent acts. Authorities reported some mistreatment during the more than sixty hijackings by Somali pirates recorded since the start of 2009. The Somalis currently hold 472 sailors for ransom. They order food from local
restaurants and operate a canteen where captured seamen can buy candy and cigarettes. Somali pirates warned that U.S. nationals could expect much harsher treatment after U. S. Navy SEALs killed three of their number. (“Somali Pirates Attack”).

Pirates need some form of social organization to maintain order and maximize profits. During the Golden Age of Piracy, each member of the crew agreed to the terms of a Pirate Code that regulated activities aboard ship. This code, spoofed in the third Pirates of the Caribbean film with Johnny Depp and the Rolling Stones’ Keith Richards, was a unique, egalitarian approach to personnel management (Pirates).

Bartholomew Roberts’ code included equal voting rights for every member of the crew and equitable sharing in prizes, with a small additional share for officers. The code forbad women or boys on board as well as gambling, fighting, desertion, or stealing while in service to the ship. It required the careful maintenance of weapons, lights out at eight o’clock in the evening and offered compensation for anyone crippled in battle (Konstam 186-7).

The crew of the 18th century pirate ship elected the captain and the quartermaster. The captain was the sole authority in all matters relating to fighting, chasing or retreating. The quartermaster meted out punishment for infractions of the code, inventoried supplies and provisions, maintained the seaworthiness of the ship, and doled out the prizes (Cordingly 18).

Leeson believes that when it comes to social organization, “modern pirates share little in common with their predecessors” (203). He does admit that the sophisticated methods of contemporary pirates would cause “their burgeoning society to grow and become more polity-like, inching closer yet to that of their forefathers” (Dubner).

Five years ago Somali pirates were impulsive “snatch and grab” thieves. On at least two occasions they mistook military vessels for merchant ships and boarded them only to find
themselves the captives of well-trained commandos. In another incident, they failed to gain access to a merchant ship because their boarding ladder was too short.

Now, piracy is an industry. Merchant ships sail further away from the coastline to avoid attacks. The pirates responded by organizing mother ships that tow smaller skiffs to sea. In April 2009, French forces captured pirates who boarded a merchant ship 560 miles off the Somali coast. The International Maritime Bureau advised merchant ships to sail at least 600 nautical miles off Somalia.

New tactics demanded a higher level of social organization and intelligence. Hundreds of small pirate cells communicate with each other using satellite phones. One Somali pirate noted, “We talk to each other every morning, exchange information on what is happening at sea and if there has been a hijacking, we make onshore preparations to send out reinforcement and escort the captured ship closer to the coast” (Abdinur). Every coastal village in Somalia supports piracy. UN General Secretary Ban Ki-Moo charged that the head of the regional government of Puntland “Pirate President Farole” used ransom money to buy his office (UN General Secretary).

Like the pirates of the 18th century, 21st century pirates developed a written code. A Somali pirate explained, “If anyone shoots and kills another, he will automatically be executed and his body thrown to the sharks” (Abdinur 1). The code forbids robbing or abusing prisoners and stipulates the shares of booty allotted to each pirate. It sets aside twenty percent of the ransom for bribes and twenty percent for weapons and ammunition. A pirate court in the Somali town of Bedey punishes transgressions of the code (Abdinur 2).

The cost of piracy is immense. The insurance premium for crossing the Gulf of Aden increased from $500 to $20,000. BGN Risk, a London based firm of corporate risk consultants, estimated piracy could increase shipping insurance and transportation costs by $400 million
Shipping companies buy ransom and kidnapping insurance in addition to traditional coverage for ships. Additional costs are accrued in delays, onboard security, and the cost of suppressing pirates.

Thieves are violent and adaptable. Pirates of the 18th century turned to small shallow draft vessels to escape from British Naval warships. Modern day pirates use mother ships to chase their prey at increasing distances from the Somali coastline. Pirates use enough force to intimidate, but try not to damage cargo or harm people they can ransom. Brigands of both ages established social networks with specialized roles. One Somali pirate noted, “We have leaders, investors, young people who go to sea for hunting ships and also negotiators in many areas” (Powell A6). These general considerations, as well as, the techniques of how sea bandits seize ships have always captured the public’s imagination.

III. Modus Operandi

It was the lure of plunder and riches which was the principal attraction of piracy, just as it has been for every bandit, brigand, and thief throughout history.

Cordingly, 193.

The methods used to capture ships are similar in any age. However, technology introduces innovations. Ships used by 18th century pirates were relatively the same size, but better armed and more maneuverable than the merchant ships they sought to capture. In contrast, Somali pirates used three 16-foot speedboats to seize a 784-foot oil tanker. The pirates call their boats, “Volvos” from the brand of outboard motor they favor (“Somali Pirates”).

Cordingly recounts that pirates of the 18th century occasionally employed small open boats (112). These boats were either small dugouts that carried five to six crewmen or large Spanish pirogues that carried twenty-five pirates (112). Buccaneers in the West Indies preferred open boats that were difficult to detect and allowed them to get close enough to use their muskets, hurl primitive grenades aboard the merchant ships, and toss grappling hooks (113, 119).
Leeson explains that 200-ton pirate ships approached slowly, in a windward direction, hoping that their prey would mistake them for a merchant ship. As they neared their quarry, the pirates raised the skull and bones. The captain of the merchant ship could easily see two hundred well-armed pirates and twenty or more cannon pointed directly at him. He could flee, fight, or surrender without resistance. The latter generally provided the best hope of survival (83).

Cordingly describes the 18th century ships in *Under the Black Flag*. A 100-ton merchant ship with ten guns carried a crew of twelve men (91). In contrast, usually eighty to a hundred pirates crewed a heavily armed, twelve to twenty-gun pirate ship (165). Some large pirate ships carried two hundred men.

The total number of Somali pirates is approximately 1000 as opposed to 5000 pirates during the Golden Age of Piracy. Somali clans deploy two or more mother ships, small freighters or large motorized Arab dhows. Each mother ship supports twenty to thirty-five bandits, operating out of four or five fiberglass skiffs. The pirates’ first concern is the speed and freeboard of the merchant ships. Multiple fast-moving boats weave in front of their target to distract the bridge while their accomplices attack the side and stern.

Somali pirates fire automatic weapons and rocket propelled grenades (RPG) to force vessels to lower a ladder. Other times, they maneuver their small boats alongside. Boarders may encounter blasts from high-pressure fire hoses, electric shocks, razor wire, or armed resistance. The Somali pirate code rewards the first to board with a new car, a house, or a wife. Success in any era depends on surprise, the creditable use of violence, and knowledge of the ship’s layout. The primary goal of pirates is to seize the captain. The rest of the crew usually capitulates once he is neutralized (Smead 6).
The protocol of piracy is simple. Given a choice between their lives and dying for the owners of their ship, merchant seamen will choose to live. Somalis do not fly the Jolly Roger, but do use flags of convenience to hide among the fishing vessels of different nations. Pirates in pursuit of plunder do not discriminate as to the intended recipients of the cargo. Somali pirates seize ships laden with humanitarian aid for their own country. The world community must, like the British in the 18th century, muster the resolve to end these heinous crimes.

**IV. Solutions**

*We have to recognize that pirates are rational economic actors and that piracy is an economic choice.*


Rediker notes that 18th century pirates contributed to their own demise. Their social world was unstable and there was no reliable way to consistently replace their number or join forces to create a formidable foe. They produced only havoc. “They had no nation, no home; they were widely dispersed; their community had virtually no geographic boundaries” (285).

The British government issued a proclamation for the suppression of pirates in September of 1717 that offered these criminals a general pardon if they reformed their lives (Rediker, *Villains*, 136). Though some buccaneers took advantage of the offer, most of the pirates continued attacks even though the amnesty lasted well into 1719 (Rediker *Villains* 136). During this time the United Kingdom increased maritime surveillance.

Merchants requested a second proclamation for repression of pirates in 1721. In response the British government licensed private ships to attack pirate vessels and promised rewards for the capture of these brigands. All who cooperated with pirates would share their gruesome fate (Cordingly 203). The justice system was a strong deterrent. Public hanging was the consequence of piracy or cooperation with pirates. Between 1716 and 1726, government authorities hung at least 400 and perhaps as many as 600 Anglo American pirates (Rediker 283).
Solutions for Somali piracy must take into account the fact that pirates will seize ships for ransom as long as it is profitable and there are few deterrents. The Somali government asked for international help to set up their own coast guard so that they could take care of the problem themselves. The shipping industry could do more to solve the problem. Many shippers would rather pay the ransom since its cost is miniscule in terms of the value of goods shipped. (Gottschalk and Flannigan 90). The ship’s captains continue to ignore warnings not to sail close to Somalia. They insist passive measures like razor wire, high-pressure houses, and electric fences are not effective. They assert that arming crewmembers or hiring security guards will escalate the violence.

International cooperation shifts the cost of suppression to the taxpayers of the nineteen nations that deploy naval forces in the Gulf of Aden and Indian Ocean. Maritime muggers attacked more than 100 ships in 2008 with a success rate of 50 percent. With the addition of warships in the area their success rate has fallen to 30 percent (Njuguna).

U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton issued a comprehensive anti-piracy plan in April 2009. She argued that the solution to the problem lay in improved Somali capacity to police their own territory. She tasked a diplomatic team to discuss with Somali leaders ways to take action against pirates operating from bases within their territories. She called for meetings with other countries to develop an expanded international response and directed her team to work with shippers to address gaps in their self-defense measures.

Many advocate a tougher response to piracy. They are appalled that different nations have conflicting laws against piracy and, as a result, have released Somali pirates. They recall that the British Navy ended piracy in the 18th century by granting an amnesty and then hanging those who persisted in their villainous pursuits. Others look to the UN and other international
organizations to establish law and order in Somalia. They argue that until economic conditions improve in Somalia, young men will continue to engage in lawless pursuits. Whatever the solution, piracy is a problem that the world cannot continue to ignore.

**Conclusions**

*Ships are but boards, sailors but men: there be land-rats and water-rats, land thieves and water-thieves*

Shakespeare, The Merchant of Venice I, ii, 22.

Realists point to the success of the British Navy during the 18th century in hunting down pirates as a solution to the problem of modern piracy. They emphasize that piracy is a violent criminal act. Idealists dwell on the contributions the brigands of the 18th century made to democracy. They look to the political and economic reasons that motivate young men of all ages to take up the life of piracy. Both sides use stories and metaphors to express their point of view.

Marty Kaplan, a University of Southern California professor, who studies the impact of entertainment on our society, noted that if we thought of today’s pirates in terms of what they are: thugs, thieves, and kidnapers, “They wouldn’t stir our blood or promise a good yarn” (Novek A8). It is difficult for anyone steeped in western culture to escape the images of pirates created by novelists and filmmakers.

Stories of treasure maps, walking the plank, and swashbuckling pirate adventure are the stuff of fiction. The biggest obstacle to an accurate comparison of pirates is that some writers compare romanticized pirates of the 18th century with realistic pirates of the 21st century. As a result, one sees titles such as Todd Pitman’s article “Somali Pirates a Far Cry From Buccaneers of Old.”

There are amazing similarities between pirates then and now, if one adopts a realistic view of piracy. Pirates depend on speed, audacity and cunning. They seize control of merchant ships, subjugate the crew, and intimidate the captain. They control violence through the use of
behavioral codes. They are engaged in a business that can make them fabulously wealthy. The solution to today’s problem lies in national resolve, international cooperation, maritime law enforcement, and economic development of impoverished maritime communities.

Works Cited


A Survey of the Knowledge about Influenza A (H1N1) and Compliance with precautions Among Nurses in Taiwan

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Objectives. This paper is to investigate the knowledge about new influenza A (H1N1) and compliance with precautions among nurses in Taiwan.

Methods. A cross-sectional study was conducted with 446 nurses as subjects at a regional teaching hospital in central Taiwan. A total of 262 questionnaires were retrieved with effective response rate at 58.7%.

Results. Most subjects (98%) were female in the 21–30 age range and
the majority of the subjects possess either college or university degree with an average of 10 years seniority. With descriptive statistics, the studies have shown that both nurses’ knowledge about influenza A (H1N1) and compliance with preventive and protective measures are regarded as low with 78.6 points and 78.5 points respectively. On average, nurses’ awareness about vaccination is insufficient in terms of knowledge. The results from the study indicate that the source of knowledge and work unit significantly correlate with the total score of knowledge (P<0.05); age, job description, seniority and work unit are significantly different from compliance with precautions (P<0.05); a weak correlation is shown between knowledge about influenza A (H1N1) and compliance with precautions (r=−0.18), however no significant difference exists between both items.

Conclusion. The results suggest that the subjects’ knowledge about influenza A (H1N1) and compliance with precautions are insufficient. It is advisable for healthcare units to enhance nursing staff’s knowledge about the epidemic disease and compliance with relevant precautions by education and training in order to increase their knowledge about infection control and compliance with precautions, to spread the word about the pandemic (H1N1) and produce the desired effect by means of the mass media and Internet networking, to create a safer healthcare working environment and to reduce wastes of human resources in health care.

Key words: Knowledge about infection control; Compliance with precautions; Nursing staff

Acknowledgement: Thanks to all participants for their contribution to the survey.
Being Modest? Exploring the Effect of Modesty on today’s Fashion Consumers

(Full paper)

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Introduction

Modesty, one of the important motivations for dress, plays an important role in consumers’ apparel consumption (Solomon & Rabolt, 2009). In the past years our society has seen, and largely accepted, an increase in fashions that bare more of the body (Thompson, 2000). Girls of younger age are dressing revealingly to be attractive, as though their self-worth was closely tied to the baring of their bodies. At the same time, the female body is continually and dangerously objectified (Thompson, 2000). With the rate of assaults on women seemingly rising as the society accepts a more provocative manner of dress, it is wise to delve deeper into the factors that influence modesty, or immodesty, in dress. So, the purpose of this study was to explore consumers’ attitude toward modesty dress and factors affecting modesty in women’s clothing purchases.

Background Research

Dress is defined as, “the total arrangement of all outwardly detectible modifications of the body itself and all material objects added to it” (Workman & Freeburg, 2000, p. 47). Many theories and terms associated with this discipline solidify the fact that one’s choice of certain dress is the result of a number of intertwining factors. Unwritten rules and guidelines, also called normative orders exist in the society to mark the boundaries concerning, among other behaviors, the way one dresses oneself (Workman& Freeburg, 2000). These dress norms are complex and consist of numerous elements that work together before the final result of one’s appearance, or the artistic mosaic of one’s choices about dress, is presented in a social setting. Norms can be either proscribed, as when we are told we shouldn’t wear spaghetti straps to school, or prescribed, when we are led to believe we should wear shorts that go down to the knee (Workman & Freeburg, 2000). Such norms for dress can be traditional or charismatic (Workman
& Freeburg, 2000), though the two are often morally contrasting as the more traditional styles of
dress are often characterized by modest, conservative fashions (Arthur, 1999) while the
charismatic is often very sexual and “fleshy” in comparison. The extent and degree in which
dress norms are accepted also plays a part. Not wearing one’s undergarments where they can be
seen is one such norm that has been marked with some deviance over the last several years.
Such deviation in normative dress is likely mirrored by deviations in other areas of social life
(Workman & Freeburg, 2000).

Provocative dress is one such deviation that has become synonymous with today’s media
and the resulting dress norms. Provocative dress is defined as, “all female appearance styles that
deviate from the acceptable norm of a specific situation toward the direction of sexual
suggestiveness and/or body exposure” (Lynch, 2007, p.185). Concerning such provocative
dress, a “Raunch Culture” has emerged due to, “a breaking down of the traditional barriers
between pornography and mainstream ideals of female sexuality” (Lynch, 2007, p.184). Studies
have proven such dress to be linked to female sexual agency and the sexual objectification of
women, comparing (Lynch, 2007). Due to inconsistency concerning a shared definition of
“provocative dress”, researchers used attribution theory as they presented participants with
various items of clothing and styles, asking them to label them provocative or conservative,
based on a constant that had previously been determined by the panel. This exercise illustrated
that what is considered conservative or provocative is often a relative concept among individuals.

The meaning of modesty is relative because it does not share a common definition in
society. History has shown that religions play a significant role in defining norms regarding
morality and defined proper dress and behavior as important component of modesty (Workman
& Freeburg, 2000). According to laws of Orthodox Judaism, women should wear shirts with
sleeves that extend past the elbow and cover the collarbone and skirts that cover the knees. Married women are supposed to cover their hair. Other forms of Judaism vary in their requirements, and dress when in a synagogue can be different from everyday life (“Tzniut”, n.d.). Women in the Islamic religion are required to conceal their entire bodies, with the exception of their face and hands, though some choose even to cover those. For them, being modesty means wearing loose clothing or clothing not constructed of sheer fabric to avoid showing the shape of the body (“Islamic Clothing”, n.d.). The Catholic religion includes four concepts concerning modesty: humility, studiousness, dress, and behavior. In The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, also known as the Mormon religion, women are encouraged to dress modestly to show respect for themselves as well as the Lord, as the body is a sacred gift from God. Thus, tattooing, and body piercing (of more than one hole in each ear) is highly discouraged, as are tank tops, two-piece swimming suits, shorts above the knee, showing the mid-riff, baring of the back, and tight, revealing clothing. A pattern of “covering up” emerges from all of these religious definitions; however, some are more rigid and specific than others. Those that are not devout to any particular religion may have their own definition and use of the term, and guidelines versus laws may be followed quite differently.

With the sexual objectification of women, women sadly learn that to “be desired” is of more importance than “feeling desire”, and thus identify themselves, “as someone whose sexuality exists for someone else” (Lynch, 2007, p. 187). Objectification is contrasted against modesty, just as nudity would be to clothing (Lynch, 2007). What women today seem to be unaware of, however, is that sexiness is attributed to both kinds of dress as, “modesty describes sexuality by concealing it; objectification describes sexuality by exposing it” (Lynch, 2007, p.188). Some women may relate provocative dress and showing their bodies to the feeling of
being a woman, whereas others relate femininity to modesty (Dickson & Pollack, 2000), a more traditional approach. We all form some kind of identity for ourselves, and that identity is enhanced by the clothing, modest or immodest, we choose to wear. Our clothing is a form of non verbal communication, and one should be aware that what we wear represent our values (Workman & Freeburg, 2000). Individuals have numerous social labels but, “identities that are most salient to an individual are acted out more frequently than those less important” (Dickson & Pollack, 2000, p.66). Therefore, a person who has deep beliefs about modesty will more often dress modestly, and an individual who has a deeper commitment to dress according to the latest fashion trends will place greater importance on dressing fashionably. Because our identity is heavily based upon our values, and values that guide our hearts will also fill our wardrobe.

Societal control by way of normative order constructs a symbol of that society’s identity, thereby reflecting the values of that society (Workman & Freeburg, 2000). The sexual revolution and today’s sexy dress subculture illustrate the change in society’s identity as the role of dress and appearance have become more aggressively intended to grab the attention of a male audience (Lynch, 2007). Simply put, our society’s identity has changed through the years as our values have changed. A new set of values, or one might say a lack thereof, has evolved. Idealized images have become visual norms (Arthur, 1999), especially influential on the modesty and morality of the rising generations. To many young women, such idealized images represent our “culture’s notion of idealized womanhood” (Arthur, 1999, p.85). The concept of self is the product of many things and is predicated by interactions with our environment. One’s dress is a vital element in the presentation of this “self” to others. We often exhibit the theory of symbolic self-completion in this presentation of self, as we use clothing to fill in the gaps when we do not have a complete definition of who we are, or do not feel like we measure up to the idealized
images we see all around us (Arthur, 1999). Symbols in dress show one’s commitment to something or someone. This is displayed in a group of sorority sisters who always wore their Greek letters when going out to let everyone know what group they had committed themselves to, as well as what they stood for which, “focused on modesty, conservatism, and high socioeconomic status” (Arthur, 1999, p. 89). However, symbols used in dress can be misleading and/or superficial. This could be exemplified by someone who dresses provocatively during the week, only to present themselves modestly dressed and pressed for the Sunday meeting. Such contradictions in symbol and values serve only to confuse and undermine any institution.

From theories and norms, to exposure and fashion, modesty is a thread that can be found woven among the tapestry. Whether it is discussed as to its presence, as often equated with morality (Arthur 1999), or brought into discussion due to its absence, as illustrated in provocative dress (Lynch, 2007), modesty is an important element in the fashion world. Therefore, in light of the various studies and findings concerning modesty, this research focused on consumers’ attitude of modesty and the role this value plays in decisions pertaining to dress.

**Development of Hypotheses**

From the research studied, the results are hypothesized to illustrate modesty as being a value and motivating factor of much larger importance and scale to those who are active in their religion, according to identity salience (Dickson & Pollack, 2000). Thus it is hypothesized that:

H1: Modest dress is more important for consumers regarding religion as an important part of their lives.

Because clothing can act like a, ”rite of passage” from one stage of life to another (Workman & Freeburg, 2000, p. 47), those who have yet to pass many stages and have greater consciousness of social expectations, and thus pay more attention to idealized images, are expected to rate modesty to be of lesser importance. Thus it is hypothesized that:
H2: Modest dress is less important for younger consumers.

Traditionalists with conservative values will most likely rate modesty to be of higher importance as a value and motivating factor as compared to the more liberal fashion enthusiasts of today, regardless of religion or age. Those who show modesty to be a high motivator are expected to be distinguished as consumers who have sought out clothing items, and or stores, specifically for their attribute of modesty. Thus it is hypothesized that:

H3: Modest dress is more important for traditional consumers with conservative values.

Methodology

A survey questionnaire was developed to test proposed hypotheses. The survey was conducted during the October 2008 in the Central Valley of California. A convenient sample of female consumers was used. The majority of participants were college students from a major CSU campus, and the rest were residence from a rural neighborhood. Seventy five usable questionnaires were collected. Participants came from different ethnic background, with Caucasian White (37%), Hispanic (25%), Asian (26%), and African American (12%) as the majority. Age groups were not equally represented due to the location of the surveys. As it is shown in Table 1, the majority of the participants were within the 18 to 24 age group (72%).

Table 1: Demographics of Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian White</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>17 or younger</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>18-24 years</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>25-34 years</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>35-44 years</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Eastern</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>45-64 years</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>65 +</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For the purpose of the study, nine questions were created to explore consumers’ attitudes towards modesty and the role of modesty in the apparel consumption. Five-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree) was used to measure each item. Participants were self identified as being “Liberal” or “Conservative” consumers. Among the participants, 41% considered themselves to be more liberally minded and 37% considered themselves to be more conservative. To measure the importance of religion, participants were asked if religion was a big part of their life. According to the survey, 47% of the participants believed that religion was a big part of their life. For the purpose of the discussion, those participants are defined as religious participants.

Results

As an important value, modesty affects people’s choice of dress (Solomon & Rabolt, 2009). Because many people learn their values from religion, religion often defines the modesty for its followers (Workman & Freeburg, 2000). According to the theory of identity salience, one’s religion and the extent to which it plays a role in one’s life, is reflected in dress and standards of modesty (Dickson & Pollack, 2000). Consistent with exist literature, over half (53%) of religious participants claim that the clothing decisions they made were mostly affected by modesty, compared to just 25% of those who were not deeply involved in religion. It is not surprising, while 66% of religious participants claimed modesty to be important to them, only 36% of those non-religious participants believed modesty important to them. Furthermore, 84% of the religious participants had not purchased a garment because it was perceived to be immodest, compared to 50% of other participants. 59% of religious participants viewed immodesty as degrading to women, while only 14% of other participants held the same view (see Table 2). So H1 is supported.
Table 2: Effects of Religion on Attitude towards Modesty and Apparel Consumption

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measurement Items</th>
<th>Percentage of Agreement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Actively Religious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Modest dress shows respect for one’s body.</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Modesty is important at any age.</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Immodesty in dress is degrading to women.</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. I think dressing modestly attracts men.</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. My clothing decisions are most affected by modesty.</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Dressing modestly is important to me.</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. My perception of an item being immodest has prevented me from making a purchase.</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. I try to always display modesty in the way I dress.</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. I like to show a little more skin to feel sexy.</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Percentages are of those who, among those claiming religion to be a big part of their lives, marked a 1 or 2 on the scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being strongly agree and 5 being strongly disagree.

The findings also confirmed the effect of age or rites of passage on consumers’ attitude towards modesty and their consumption of modesty dress. Modesty is clearly more influential in the clothing decisions of the older participants (Table 3). 61% of participants older than 25 years of age claimed that their choice of clothing was mostly affected by modesty, while only 30% of those younger than 25 years of age agreed with the same statement. At the same time, higher percentage (63%) of participants from the younger age group claimed they liked to show some skin to feel sexy. Following that, a significantly higher percentage of participants older than 25 years of age (56%) believed immodest dress to be degrading to women, though the majority of both age groups think modesty is important at any age. So, based on the data it is safe to say that modesty is more important for older consumers. Thus H2 is supported.

Table 3: Effects of Age on Attitude towards Modesty and Apparel Consumption

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measurement Items</th>
<th>Percentage of Agreement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24 years and under</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Modest dress shows respect for one’s body.</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Modesty is important at any age.</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Immodesty in dress is degrading to women.</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. I think dressing modestly attracts men.</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. My clothing decisions are most affected by modesty.</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6. Dressing modestly is important to me.  
   [49\%  67\%]

7. My perception of an item being immodest has prevented me from making a purchase.  
   [63\%  78\%]

8. I try to always display modesty in the way I dress.  
   [35\%  72\%]

9. I like to show a little more skin to feel sexy.  
   [63\%  33\%]

Note: The percentages are based on those who agreed with the statements with a 1 or 2, based on a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 representing strongly agree and 5 representing strongly disagree.

To test the H3, the data of those identified themselves as conservative consumers (37\%) was compared with that from those regarding themselves as liberal consumers (41\%). As the results show in Table 4, 61\% of those who believed in conservative values claimed that modesty significantly affected their clothing choices compared with only 16\% of those that defined themselves as liberal mined. At the same time, conservative participants are more likely to regard immodesty in dress is degrading to women (46\%) and believe that dressing modest was important to them (81\%). Thus, H3 was supported.

Table 4: Effects of Conservative Value on Attitude towards Modesty and Apparel Consumption

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measurement Items</th>
<th>Percentage of Agreement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Liberal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Modest dress shows respect for one’s body.</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Modesty is important at any age.</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Immodesty in dress is degrading to women.</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. I think dressing modestly attracts men.</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. My clothing decisions are most affected by modesty.</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Dressing modestly is important to me.</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. My perception of an item being immodest has prevented me from making a purchase.</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. I try to always display modesty in the way I dress.</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. I like to show a little more skin to feel sexy.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The percentages are based on those who agreed with the statements with a 1 or 2, based on a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 representing strongly agree and 5 representing strongly disagree.

Conclusions and Implications

As an important value, modesty affects how people dress themselves. However, with the change of social environment and the popularity of idealized body image in media, the role of
modesty has changed in the modern society. Whether it is brought to popular attention by its absence, as in provocative dress or unrealistic idealized images of the female (Thompson, 2000), or by its presence, as seen in the rising number of retailers trying to market this value in the modest clothing (Israelsen, 2005), modesty remains to be a topic that influences consumers, both as a value and a motivator (Solomon & Rabolt, 2009). The findings of the study suggest religion does affect consumers’ choice of a more conservative definition of modesty. Participants with a more active religious life and those with conservative mindset were more likely to choose more traditional norms when it comes to clothing and fashion goods. Furthermore, younger people may be more likely to focus on trendy fashion. For them, being modest may not be that important.

The findings suggest that although we live in a society where, “skin sells best” (Thompson, 2000, p. 178), there are some consumers really treasure the value of modesty when they shop for clothing. Especially with the current economic downturn, more people turn to sustainable lifestyle. At the same time, the fashion industry has been focusing more on green fashion and sustainability. So, the value of modesty may become more important for today’s consumers. The fashion industry as a whole should learn more the role of their consumers’ decision making process. After all, good fashion, not skin, should be what sells best.
References


Abstract

Background:
C.V.P. (Central venous pressure) implies the maximum hold of blood pressure in thoracic vena cava of the right atrium. The accurate measurement of C.V.P. is essential for diagnosis of patients. Nursing school students learn how to master measuring skill while learning experiences from a simulating model.

Purpose: By applying Technology Acceptance Model (TAM) to evaluate the accepting of CVP simulating model and learn effect among nursing student.

Method:
The study subject was chosen from the grade four students of department of nursing at Chung Jen College in central Taiwan a total 340. The CVP simulator was done by applying hydrostatic leveling and pressure principle, setting up with soft saline fluid bags; cuff and CVP monitor together, that for general medical and surgical nursing students to learn CVP measurement skill. In order
to evaluate the accepting of CVP simulating model and learn effect, the researcher conduct TAM model design questionnaire to collect data and analysis by SPSS statistics package

**Result:**
The study result as follow: the questionnaire return rate approximately 94%, the average time of using simulator is 16.73 times per person, Perceived satisfaction rate from students using simulator is 4.3 out of 5 point scales. As result, the nursing students are quite accepting the CVP simulator. It helps maturing the skill. By showing 89% of students who passed from the practical exam, the CVP simulator results as a helpful teaching equipment.

**Conclusion:**
The CVP simulator was a cheapness and effectiveness teaching equipment not only for teacher teaching nursing skill but also for students learn and practice it helps maturing the CVP measurement. It may be promote for further teaching.

Key words: Teaching equipment, Teaching CVP Simulator, TAM, Nursing
A Comparison of Singapore and Hong Kong on Their Strategies for Developing Regional Education Hubs

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Abstract

In trying to become more competitive in this globalized environment, stratification of higher education has appeared in many parts of the world, and this trend is also becoming more and more so in the Asian context. This article tries to examine the approaches that have been adopted by both Singapore and Hong Kong in trying to develop themselves as ‘regional hubs of higher education’, by the employment of different strategies in developing their higher education systems, as well as through their developments of transnational higher education.

The article starts off with a delineation of how the process of globalization has structurally alters the landscape of the global higher education market, upon which these changes drive both Singapore and Hong Kong to become more competitive in the global education marketplace. By examining and evaluating the recent education reforms in the two Asian city-states, and in spite of the fact that there are certain similarities in their vision and policy instruments, the author argues that the two places have significant differences and are using rather different strategies in developing their higher education sectors, which can thus reflect upon their fundamental differences in terms of the basic mindsets, underlying philosophies and style of governance of higher education by the two governments.

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Emerging New Governance Models and Educational Restructuring Under the Impact of Globalization

Despite the diverse interpretations of globalization impacts on state capacity in governance, the growing impact of globalization has caused many nation states to rethink about their governance strategies in order to cope with the rapid social and economic changes. In recent years, new philosophies and forms of governance in nation states have evolved in order to maintain their global competitiveness. There has been a massive proliferation of diversified policy tools and instruments, while employing the market principles, systems and mechanisms to address various public issues, all of which may render the conventional governance model inappropriate.

Similar to their western counterparts, the nation states of Asia have launched public policy and management reforms along the line of the ideas and practices of marketization and managerialism. For instance, privatization has pretty much been a common theme in the evolving patterns of government-business relations in such countries as Malaysia and South Korea (Gouri et. al., 1991; World Bank, 1995). Pressures for broad governance changes have been strong, due to the presence of influential international institutions, such as the World Bank, IMF and WTO, particularly after the Asian Financial Crisis since 1997.

Overall speaking, their preferred models of governance reflect the tendency of a less interventionist and arbitrary state; a strengthening of ‘juridical’ forms of regulation, often associated with fundamental legal reforms; more decentralized forms of government, with a stronger partnership and ‘co-production’ role for civil society groups; as well as a preference for market-like mechanisms over bureaucratic methods of service delivery (World Bank 1995). In this way, the strategies, measures and policy instruments that are being used in these Asian nation states are basically in line with the global neo-liberal orthodoxy of pro-competition, and has thus transformed the way the public sector is being managed in this part of the region (Cheung and Lee, 2001; Cheung and Scott, 2003; Mok and Welch, 2003).

In this regard, education policy, management and governance are not immune from the growing pressures for improving service delivery, with better governance and overall performance. In order to make individual nation states to be more competitive, schools and universities across the globe have been under tremendous pressures from both governments and the general public to restructure their education systems so as to adapt to the rapidly-changing socio-economic and socio-political environments.

While governments across the world try to further expand their higher
education sector, they are also facing increasing financial constraints in meeting people’s pressing demands for it. In order to create more higher education opportunities, modern universities have started to change their governance paradigm by adopting the doctrines of ‘managerialism’ and ‘monetarism’, which is featured by a freedom of choice with market mechanisms, to replace Keynesianism (Apple, 2000).

Through revitalizing the role of the family and individuals within the private sector, the market and other non-state sectors are becoming more popular educational service providers in East Asia (Mok, 2005a). This happens within the context of globalization, in which recent education reforms in East Asia are mostly finance-driven, to be characterized by decentralization, privatization and better performance (Mok, 2003; Mok and Chan, 2001; Mok and Welch, 2003; Mok, 2005a; Chan and Lo, 2008). Such changes are accelerated when more governments are exploring additional resources from the civil society in general (Coleman, 1990; Meyer and Boyd, 2001).

In short, the diversification of educational service and funding providers, coupled with the revitalization of the civil society’s involvement in education, opens up new avenues for nation states to re-invent the ways in which education is to be governed. Not surprisingly, the non-state sectors now share more power of control and influence in governing education policy and educational development. This new kind of ‘co-management’ relationship between the state and the non-state sectors have altered the public-private partnership in the delivery of social services in general, and that of educational services in particular in terms of the changing state-education relationship.

Hence, new coordinating efforts and modes of governance are now in urgent need (Klijn and Teisman, 2003; Reeves, 2003; Broadbent, Gray and Jackson, 2003). This has further suggested that the relationship between the state and other non-state actors, in terms of educational delivery and financing, has changed from a ‘hierarchical’ type to a ‘network’ type, such that a more critical and reflective analysis on their inter-relationship can help us to throw lights on the changing roles and relationships between the state and other non-state sectors in terms of educational governance.

Internationalization of Higher Education as A Major Strategy

Against an increasingly competitive global context, schools and universities across the world have been under tremendous pressures from both governments and the general public to restructure the ways they are managed, in order to adapt to the
ever-changing socio-economic and socio-political environments, and to maintain individual nation states’ global competitiveness. As rightly mentioned: “globalization enters the education sector on an ideological horse, and its effects in education are largely a product of that financially driven, free-market ideology, not a clear conception for improving education” (Carnoy, 2000: 50). This is particularly true when modern states have to encounter reduced financial capacity in financing growing demands on higher education (Mok and Welch, 2003).

It is against this kind of socio-economic context that the processes of academic capitalization in general (Slaughter and Leslie, 1997; Slaughter and Rhoades, 2004), and the pursuit of academic entrepreneurship in particular, have become increasingly popular in shaping the relationships among the different sectors of government, university, business and industry. Thus, in the context of reduced financial support from the nation states, higher education systems across the world have attempted to generate incomes through various entrepreneurial activities (see, for example, de Zilwa, 2006; Marginson and Considine, 2000). In this regard, marketization, managerialism and internationalization strategies and policy initiatives are becoming increasingly popular in shaping higher education governance.

Marketization basically means that the public service sectors, in terms of their service provision and delivery, operate themselves in such a way as to cater for the market demands in a more effective and efficient manner, basing upon the market system, its principle of free competition and rules of supply and demand. Hence, the ‘marketization of education’ refers to the running of educational goods and services within a market-oriented system based on the ‘free market’ principle. Education reforms across the world have now been, basically, shifting towards marketization as the new fundamental governance paradigm, in order to expand the incomes of the states (Brunner and Tillett, 2005).

It is in this way that an increasing number of state-run universities in East Asia are now being transformed into independent legal entities to be run in a corporate manner. University presidents or vice-chancellors act like chief executive officers (CEOs), with senior administrators acting as managers of corporations and enterprises, who are more concerned about maximizing returns for invested resources. By incorporating universities, market ideas, principles and mechanisms, as well as corporate management strategies and practices of the private sector have now been adopted in improving higher education governance (Oba, 2004; Mok, 2005b).

In the past, academia was mainly locally-based. Prestigious universities were satisfied with their predominant positions from either a local or a regional perspective. The lack of competition has caused an elitist, but often isolated, atmosphere in the
academic circle of East Asia (Postiglione, 2007; Yonezawa, 2006). Nevertheless, globalization has broken down national borders and has blurred many differences among societies (Urry, 1998). This has led to a systemization of world knowledge, upon which ideas, people and resources have been fused in different ways (Denman, 2000). In response to this global trend, the local academia now needs to establish linkages with the international academic communities in terms of networking. This trend of the “internationalization” of higher education is interpreted and implemented as the part of the strategies for building “world-class universities”, in achieving and surpassing international benchmarking in terms of global standards of teaching and research.

This movement provides an explanation of why world league tables of universities are now taken as a symbolic and powerful indicator to prove and advertise the standard of various universities in the marketized global education marketplace. Indeed, many of these ranking exercises are taken seriously by many governments and universities, and particularly so in East Asia, and their influences are expanding rapidly in the academic field of the region (Mok, 2007a). In the meanwhile, university systems and related sectors in the region are attempting to produce their own global ranking systems.

Climbing up the world university league and reaching the status of ‘world-class’ are seen as an important step towards the “internationalization” of higher education. However, as Knight and de Wit (1995) have pointed out, the “internationalization” of higher education is “the process of integrating an international dimension into the teaching, research and service functions of an institution of higher education”, with the international dimension to be introduced into higher education as “a perspective, activity or programme which introduces or integrates an international / intercultural / global outlook into the major functions of a university or college” (p.15).

Knight (2006) has further indicated that “internationalization” of higher education involves both campus-based activities and cross-border initiatives with a wide diversity of activities, including “international cooperation and development projects; institutional agreements and networks; the international/ intercultural dimension of the teaching/learning process, curriculum and research; campus-based extracurricular clubs and activities; mobility of academics through exchange, field work, sabbaticals and consultancy work; recruitment of international students; student exchange programs and semesters abroad; joint/double degree programs; twinning partnerships; and branch campuses” (p.18). This statement reiterates that “internationalization” should not be limited into a dimension that only focuses on climbing up the world university league, but should target at the building of an international platform for the higher education sector.
One of the important aspects of the “internationalization” of higher education has to do with the erosions of boundaries among different educational systems across the world. This is reflected by the rapid growth of transnational / cross-border higher education which is “the movement of people, knowledge, programs, providers and curriculum across national or regional jurisdictional borders” (Knight, 2006: 18). This emergence of cross-border education is based on the situation that higher education has now treated as part of the tertiary industries under the framework of the “General Agreement on Trade in Service” (GATS) (Knight, 2002). As a consequence, many countries in the East Asian region, such as Singapore and Hong Kong, have actively opened their education markets to foreign education providers in the forms of establishing off-shore campuses, running twinning programmes and so on.

Given a shared vision of promoting the two city-states as “regional hubs of higher education”, the above interpretation on the “internationalization” of higher education provides a strong rationale for the recent reforms and developments in higher education in both Singapore and Hong Kong. As advanced areas in the region, the two places have basically achieved a mission of catching up (that is, the massification of higher education), and are ready to move further ahead (that is, towards achieving “world-class status”). Therefore, the “internationalization” of higher education, in this sense, is an opportunity that provides them the ways in which to attract top personnel and institutions from across the globe.

Yet, it is noteworthy that the two city-states have adopted very different strategies in developing transnational higher education in their own territories. For the case of Singapore, the establishment of off-shore campuses of foreign universities is a tactic used by the country in building “world-class universities” (WCUs). Hence, those foreign education providers entering the market are usually top-notch universities in the world, and have been proactively and initially invited by the Singapore government (Lee and Gopinathan, 2007). As for the case of Hong Kong, transnational higher education is taken as a sort of “supplement” to the local higher education sector under the tide of the massification of higher education. While both the quality of institutions and the forms of delivery of the transnational education are rather diverse in these two places (Chan and Lo, 2007; Chan and Ng, 2008a, 2008b; Huang, 2006), yet both governments have concentrated their main efforts in trying to establish and promote their higher education sectors with a brand name of ‘world-class’ status.

This paper primarily aims to examine how the two city-states try to move along the direction of becoming the “regional hubs of education” within East Asia, in light of this “internationalization” of higher education. It briefly looks at the recent related higher education reforms in Singapore, and then describes some parallel
developments in Hong Kong. It then moves on to compare their similarities and differences in terms of their policy approaches and their fundamental mindsets, thereby reflecting what a “regional hub of higher education” really means to the two governments of these two places.

**Education Reforms and Policy Changes in East Asia**

Before the World Trade Organization’s (WTO) Uruguay Round negotiations began in 1986, public services such as healthcare, postal services, education, and so on, were not included in international trade agreements. It was only in January 1995, as a result of the Uruguay Round negotiations, that the “General Agreement on Trade in Services” (GATS) became a treaty in itself, and for which all member nations of the WTO are its signatories.

On that basis, the advent of transnational education is a phenomenon that is part and parcel of the globalization of trade in goods and services (McBurnie & Ziguras, 2001), and its emergence is fuelled by the inclusion of higher education as an industry under this framework of the GATS (Knight, 2002). Although a number of reasons may be provided for the internationalisation of higher education, including social, political and academic ones (Knight, 2004), the fundamental reason is mainly economic in nature, and it all boils down to “the competitive rush for international students and their money” (De Vita & Case, 2003: 384). A scholar quite explicitly expresses this view by arguing that such education is driven by national economic objectives and “the dollar signs stamped on the foreheads of full fee-paying overseas students” (Matthews, 2002: 377, as cited in Chan, 2008).

In this way, because of its immense revenue-generating capacity as a commodity, higher education is now seen as an important knowledge industry, and also a prime instrument, for fuelling national economic competitiveness. In this regard, higher education provision has become a battleground in the international education market (Gamage and Suwarnabroma, 2006). In order to capture a piece of this pie, some countries are now trying to transform their own local and national higher education institutions into international higher education institutions, so as to actively compete with other global players in terms of international branding through the international university league tables. This tidal wave of globalization, and its concomitant processes of marketization and managerialism have now been sweeping across the East Asian region, and is affecting most of the countries within the region (Chan and Mok, 2001; Mok and Chan, 2002; Lo and Tai, 2003; Mok and Tan, 2004; Oba, 2004; Chan, 2007b; Chan and Lo, 2007, 2008).
Conventionally, the education systems of both Singapore and Hong Kong can be characterized by a relatively centralized model, in which the nation state plays a dominant role vis-à-vis the private sector (Mok and Tan, 2004). While the Singapore government still continues to play a relatively heavy interventionist role over the past four decades, the Hong Kong government seems to have been moving towards a more neo-liberal approach in trying to let the market to run its own course, with as less governmental intervention as possible, under the slogan of ‘small government, big market’.

The higher education reforms that took place in the two cities, since the 1980s, have clearly demonstrated that the governments of the two cities have subsequently introduced and promoted more private and managerial elements of competition in their higher education sectors, so as to eventually achieve their important objective of developing into ‘regional hubs of higher education’. Among the different strategies that they have employed, the incorporation of universities is one of those strategies that both of them have in common.

Within this kind of a policy context, many unprecedented changes in terms of the growing entrepreneurial culture in the higher education sectors of both Singapore and Hong Kong had been introduced. Competition has become a normal and widely accepted phenomenon among universities in the two cities, while “quality” and “accountability” are the themes commonly used in tandem with the new managerial culture. In trying to become more competitive in this globalized environment, some kind of a stratification of higher education sectors has already appeared in many countries across the world. For example, many universities of lesser status are now trying hard to rise up in the world league tables, while institutions of long-standing with distinction are also trying to further demonstrate their overall competitiveness by exhibiting their so-called “world-class” attributes in order to win out in this game of global competition.

Quality assurance mechanisms and international benchmarking, with emphases on the monitoring of research outputs and the auditing systems of performance indicators and accountability, have become the main trend in higher education systems across the globe (Marginson, 2007). This further rationalizes and justifies the importance of the international university league tables, which have now been taken as symbolic yet powerful indicators and instruments to show the standards of universities to various stakeholders in today’s competitive global education marketplace (Lynch, 2006, as cited in Chan, 2008).

By putting into perspective of the bigger picture that the two city-states of Singapore and Hong Kong are striving to become ‘regional hubs of higher education’, the present study focuses on the discussion concerning the process of marketization of
their higher education sectors. In examining and evaluating the recent education reforms in these two Asian city-states, the author tries to delineate the implications for the two governments in generating the marketized environments for their higher education sectors, and argues that the two places are using the similar process of marketization but in a rather diverse way, upon which this can reflect their fundamental differences in terms of the basic mindsets and underlying philosophies of the two governments.

Policy Backgrounds of Singapore and Hong Kong

**Singapore**

Before the 1990s, Singapore used a ‘state control model’ to regulate its higher education sector. Under this model, basically, all matters of the universities were directly controlled and micro-managed by the Ministry of Education (MOE). By the mid-1990s, the Singapore government started to decentralize, and let the universities to have more autonomy in the running of their own affairs (Mok & Tan, 2004: 78-79).

There have been three major stages of higher education reforms in Singapore in recent years. The setting up of an International Academic Advisory Panel (IAAP) started the first stage, with changes in university admissions policy after its review by the Ministry of Education (MOE, 1999). The second stage of higher education reforms in August 2000, which saw the establishment of Singapore’s third university, the privately-owned Singapore Management University (SMU), in collaboration with the Wharton School of Business at the University of Pennsylvania. This founding of the SMU was a landmark in the history of Singapore’s higher education by the introduction of a different mode of governance and funding. It was subsidized by the government through providing land, campus building, regulating the tuition fees, and so on. Therefore, it can actually be called as a ‘privately-run, publicly-funded’ university (Mok & Tan, 2004: 75). Intending to inject a certain degree of ‘internal competition’ to the university sector, the Singapore government intends to make its higher education sector to become more vibrant and dynamic, by encouraging its three universities to develop their own unique characteristics and niches (Lee and Gopinathan 2001).

The third stage of higher education reforms is closely related to the University Governance and Funding Review, which was embarked by the MOE with a press release entitled *Greater Autonomy for NUS and NTU, Along with Greater*
Accountability (MOE, 2000a). Under this review, both public universities, namely: the National University of Singapore (NUS) and the Nanyang Technological University (NTU) were given some operational autonomy, especially in terms of staff remuneration and a block budget for recurrent expenditure. The internal governance structures of the two universities were also strengthened, with their university Councils being encouraged to play a bigger role in giving inputs for strategic planning, and so on, to ensure that the universities are progressing according to their strategic plans and stipulated objectives, as well as in the overseeing of their internal quality assurance systems (Mok and Tan 2004).

According to its further press release later on by the Ministry of Education, entitled Government Accepts Recommendations on University Governance and Funding (MOE, 2000b), more autonomous power in terms of fiscal and personnel matters would be granted to the two public universities of NUS and NTU. The autonomization is aimed at ensuring that public funds can be used in an efficient and effective, but accountable, way. Meanwhile, through restructuring schemes and the introduction of quality audit and control, universities in Singapore have since been governed by a more-or-less ‘business-like’ model.

At the same time in 2002, another report by the Ministry of Trade and Industry (MTI) has spelt out the government’s new vision for Singapore in becoming a “global schoolhouse” (Yeo, 2003), one which offers “a diverse and distinctive mix of quality educational services to the world” (MTI, 2002), so as to be a reminiscent of the ‘Boston of Asia’ (Duhamel, 2004). This is done by offering “a cluster of mutually reinforcing, complementary education institutions which vary in terms of student enrolment numbers, country of origin, cultural environment, nature of activity, academic level, academic discipline/subjects, research interests and price” (MTI, 2002).

The economic slant is clearly articulated by Mr. George Yeo, who was the then Minister for Trade and Industry:

> Education today constitutes 3.6% of our economy. Much of this is presently generated by government subvention in the public sector. We hope that with the development of the private education market, the total education sector can grow to about 5% of the economy in the next decade or so. Our objective is to make Singapore a "Global Schoolhouse" providing educational programmes of all types and at all levels from pre-schools to post-graduate institutions, and that attracts an interesting mix of students from all over the world. (Yeo, 2003)

Having reflected upon the changing university governance models, evaluated the recent new experiences from SMU, and coupled with the recommendations from
the Steering Committee on the University Governance and Funding Review, the Singapore government has thus decided to introduce the ‘corporatization’ project in changing the governance structures of public universities by the year 2005 (MOE, 2005).

With this background, the promulgation of the University Corporatization Act in 2005 has incorporated both public universities of NUS and NTU. This action fundamentally changed the landscape of the university sector in the city-state. From then onwards, universities have become university companies (as in the cases of the NUS and NTU), or a private company (as in the case of SMU), all of which are now legal entities with full autonomy. Yet, the government remains to have its full control over the higher education sector through its national policy framework of higher education (Lee and Gopinathan, 2007).

**Hong Kong**

The higher education system in Hong Kong has basically transformed itself into a mass higher education system during the early 1990s and has been moving from quantity to quality, and from increasing resource inputs to enhancing effectiveness by the mid-1990s (Cheng, 2001). Managerial elements were brought in to reform Hong Kong’s education sector with the publication of the Education Commission (EC) Report No. 7. Efficiency and cost-effectiveness, together with accountability to the public, were introduced as an integrated strategy for building a quality culture in the field of education (EC, 1997).

Recent reforms and transformations in Hong Kong’s higher education are closely related to the wider context of public sector reform that had started back in 1989 (Cheung and Lee, 2001). In the Review of Education System Reform Proposal published in 2000, the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) government pointed out that there was an urgent need to provide opportunities and an environment for Hong Kong people to develop their global skills and competencies, and to build a culturally diverse, democratic and civilized society with a global outlook to strengthen Hong Kong’s competitive edge in the knowledge-based economy when facing the new challenges ahead (Education Commission, 2000). This policy proposal brought about a new wave of massification in Hong Kong’s higher education. The government then decided to expand the higher education sector by doubling sub-degree places by the year 2010 (Tung, 2000).

The changes to the higher education sector were spelt out quite clearly by the University Grants Committee (UGC), the executive arm of the HKSAR government
in planning and implementing higher education policies. Other managerial approaches were proposed and implemented, such as the de-coupling of the salary pay scale of academic staff from that of the civil service in order to enhance the freedom and flexibility of institutional management; and the increasing of the proportion of public funding based on how well they fulfill their distinctive roles and missions of the various institutions (UGC, 2002). Beyond this, the UGC sought to develop a differentiated yet interlocking system, in which the different institutions are expected to operate in distinctive roles, yet work together in deep collaboration (UGC, 2004a, 2004b). These policy initiatives reflect that the UGC has played a strong role in steering the degree-awarding sector of higher education in the process of reviewing the whole system.

In response to the EC’s recommendations, the then Chief Executive directly addressed the issue raised by the EC in his 2000 policy address, asserting that ‘Hong Kong is ready for the global economic competition’ and that a ‘holistic reform of education for the challenge is needed’ (Tung 2000). In 2004, the then Chief Executive further articulated the ambition of promoting Hong Kong to be “Asia’s world city, on par with the role that New York plays in North America and London in Europe” (Tung, 2004; Time, 2008).

Furthermore, the HKSAR government also aims to develop Hong Kong as a “regional hub of higher education” (UGC, 2002, 2004; Li, 2006; EDB, 2007; HKIEd, 2008). Herein lies the challenges and opportunities that Hong Kong will have to face in the 21st Century in order to have it developed to become “Asia’s World City”, as well as a regional centre which could attract talents from all over the world to study, work and live there.

The Review Report of UGC in 2002 has thus pointed out that:

*The ambition to be Asia’s world city is a worthy one, but there is no doubt that realization of that vision is only possible if it is based upon the platform of a very strong education and higher education sector. There are very good reasons for that which have to do with what universities are and what makes them excellent.*  (UGC, 2002, p.1)

Nonetheless, with limited resources, the government has to reply more on other non-state financial sources. Therefore, the government has adopted indirect public policy instruments to make all publicly-funded universities to be more proactive in searching for additional funding elsewhere. Universities in Hong Kong are under pressures to perform, and to become more innovative and entrepreneurial in nature (Mok 2005b).

The above descriptions thus provide a snapshot of the recent higher education
reforms and developments in both city-states of Singapore and Hong Kong. In light of the global trends of marketization and managerialism, the following sections will further describe some of the main features in both Singapore’s and Hong Kong’s higher education sectors in order to show how they have been transforming themselves along the direction, principles and practices of marketization and internationalization.

Recent Higher Education Reforms in the Two Cities

Singapore

Quality Assurance Mechanism

Business management ideas and practices were introduced into the university sector in Singapore since the mid-1990s, in response to the quest for accountability and efficiency. Such a concept is upheld by introducing the strategies of role differentiation and quality audit and control to ensure the quality of teaching and research with a rational distribution of resources (Lee and Gopinathan, 2007).

At the strategic level, the Singapore government attempts to differentiate the role of each higher education institution in order to distribute the public resources rationally. In order to capture a bigger piece of the pie for an estimated US$2.2 trillion of the world education market (MTI, 2002), Singapore has creatively designed a three-tiered higher education system, in which the first-tier would be the elite universities, which primarily aims to carry out ‘world-class’ research and development, while the second- and third-tiers would be the bedrock of the university segment.

According to the policy paper entitled Developing Singapore’s Education Industry (MTI, 2002), it recommended to further develop Singapore’s economic potential into a “global schoolhouse” (that is, an international, and not only a regional, education hub). The first-tier of the university system would comprise top ‘world-class universities’ across the world. The government thus invited nine top ‘world-class universities’ to establish their off-shore campuses in Singapore, and encouraged the further development of transnational higher education in the city-state (Chan and Ng, 2008b). The second-tier of the university system would mainly consist of the existing local universities (namely: NUS, NTU and SMU), while the third-tier would constitute additional private universities focusing on teaching and applied research. Up till now, the three local universities still continue to play a predominant
role in Singapore’s local tertiary education.

To achieve a rational distribution of resources in the higher education sector for its strategic planning, the Singapore government designs a three-tiered university system, in which the first-tier comprises the elite world-class universities that primarily carry out cutting-edge research and development, while the second- and third-tiers form the bedrock of university education (MTI, 2002). The second-tier of the university system consists of the existing local universities (namely: NUS, NTU and SMU), while the third-tier consists of private universities focusing on teaching and applied research. With the expansion of the higher education sector as a whole, the government targeted to raise the university cohort participation rate from the current 21% to 25% by 2010 (MOE, 2003), to be further expanded to 30% by 2015 (MOE, 2008). Therefore, the polytechnics are also brought into the scene as part of the third-tier structure in the present system by collaborating with overseas universities to offer tertiary programmes (MOE, 2007).

![Diagram of the Envisaged Three-tier Structure of Higher Education in Singapore]

The Envisaged Three-tier Structure of Higher Education in Singapore


Among them, NUS and NTU are developed as comprehensive universities, which “initiated a number of innovative programmes, including the broadening of undergraduate education, the introduction of a core curriculum, collaborations with top foreign universities, and the establishment of inter-disciplinary centres” (MOE, 2007), while SMU is positioned to be a business and management university which mainly offers business curriculum. These three are seen as the top-tier universities within the city-state itself, while one private comprehensive university (that is, the SIM University) and six private specialized universities/institutions, including local
branches of foreign universities, comprise the second-tier. The polytechnics then are responsible for professional education and are regarded as the third-tier within the local system (MOE, 2007).

Apart from role differentiation, the Singapore government has strengthened its accountability framework of introducing its three important components, namely: (i) a policy agreement between each university and the MOE; (ii) a performance agreement embedded within each of the policy agreement between each university and the MOE; and (iii) a quality assurance mechanism of the Quality Assurance Framework for Universities (QAFU) by the MOE. Furthermore, to execute the auditing process, MOE sets up an external panel called Higher Education Quality Assurance Unit (HEQAU) to evaluate and validate the universities’ self assessments against their institutional goals and performance targets. Accordingly, the universities would develop their own performance indicators used in QAFU.

This would then be followed by external challenge and validation. An external Review Panel would visit the university and conduct wide-ranging consultations with management, internal quality assurance managers, academic staff, student, and external stakeholders. Finally, as for a feedback and development stage, the university would report about what it has learnt from the auditing exercise (Lee and Gopinathan, 2007: 117-122, citing MOE, 2001). Along with a Research Quality Review Panel (RQRP) to audit each university’s research quality once every five years, the whole quality assurance mechanism was introduced, and became embedded in Singapore’s higher education through the restructuring of the sector’s landscape by implementing regular auditing exercises.

**Corporatizing Public Universities**

The Singapore government has comprehensively reviewed the university sector’s landscape in 2003. In a report entitled *Restructuring the University Sector: More Opportunities, Better Quality*, the government indicated its will to restructure the developmental landscape of the university sector by developing NUS and NTU into comprehensive universities, while maintaining SMU’s niche for focusing on business management. This restructuring exercise basically follows the logic of assigning stratified missions to individual institutions so as to maximize the effectiveness on the utilization of public resources. Nevertheless, the government is also aware of the need to retain limited scale of inter-university competition, because “managed” competition is seen as a conducive way to improve the quality of Singapore’s higher education (Lee and Gopinathan, 2007: 130). The government therefore decided to further autonomize the university sector in terms of finance and
governance through the policy of corporatization.

NUS and NTU, the two publicly-funded comprehensive universities, have been transformed from statutory boards to university companies since the promulgation of the University Corporatization Act in 2005, while SMU was founded as a private company right at the beginning in 2000. By being incorporated, universities were made further autonomous as “not-for-profit” companies, in order that the governing Councils and the senior management might take on greater responsibilities for key decisions. After their becoming ‘autonomous universities’, the MOE expects that NUS, NTU, and SMU would have greater flexibilities in deciding their internal affairs, such as their governance, budget utilization, tuition fees and admission requirements, such that these flexibilities will enable them to differentiate among themselves, and to pursue their own strategies in bringing about the most optimal outcomes for their stakeholders (MOE, 2005).

The government hopes that incorporation would cultivate “a greater sense of ownership among the larger university community, … (which) … will help to engender a mindset change and instill a greater sense of pride among the key university’s stakeholders” so that consequently, “they will be encouraged to play a more active role in charting the future, and shaping the unique culture and identity of their universities” (MOE, 2005: 46).

Previously, universities are regarded as an extended arm of the government. But, when it first planned to build the third university (i.e. SMU) in following the US model, the government recognized that what it really wants is a more flexible model, which can cope with the highly dynamic global environment. Thus, the Singapore government started to have the idea of incorporating the public universities. Thus, the MOE has been watching over the development and operation of SMU’s corporatized model very closely since its establishment. When such a model is seen to be successful, it is further promoted to the other two public comprehensive universities (Fieldwork Notes at SMU, 2007, 2008). This is the rationale behind the recent corporatization of public universities in Singapore.

Attention here is drawn to the balance between the role differentiation, on the one hand, and competition, on the other hand, among the different institutions. Although each institution is assigned a role in the university system, this project of corporatization encourages institutions to brand themselves differently. This has brought on a much higher intensity for marketing strategies while competing with each other in the newly-emerging higher education market. SMU, for example, is pursuing an advantageous position among the business schools in Singapore, given the fact that it is being positioned as a business management institution right from the start (Fieldwork Notes at SMU, 2007, 2008). In fact, such a positioning is reflected by
its hardware settings. The campus of SMU is located right in the Central Business District (CBD), while its buildings look very much like commercial ones. It can thus be said that SMU has successfully builds its own image of a very “business-like” university.

The story of SMU rationalizes the recent actions of corporatization within the context of the policy on role differentiation and associated missions. It is a way to prevent higher education institutions from becoming static in their developments, despite the fact that they are required to follow an agreed role in the sector. In fact, the relationship between the government and university has been clearly stated in the UGF Review Report, which says:

Even as we seek to devolve greater autonomy to NUS, NTU and SMU, we remain mindful that our universities are vital national institutions and they have a public obligation to fulfill… Hence, we need to ensure that our universities’ missions remain firmly aligned with our national strategic objectives. At the same time, our Steering Committee proposes that the Minister for Education appoint the university Council members. In addition, the Steering Committee recommends that an enhanced accountability framework for universities be introduced, comprising the existing Quality Assurance Framework for Universities (QAFU), and the proposed Policy and Performance Agreements between MOE and each university (MOE, 2005, as quoted in Mok, 2007: 10).

Overall speaking, the relationship between the universities and the MOE has become more of a contractual one under the above-mentioned circumstances.

Diversification of Tertiary Education Providers

As the Singapore government aims to develop itself in becoming a “regional higher education hub”, it has tactically and strategically invited ‘world-class’ and ‘reputable’ universities from abroad to set up their own Asian off-shore campuses in the city since the mid-1990s. Later, two foreign business schools, namely: INSEAD and the Graduate School of Business-University of Chicago, came to Singapore to set up their branches in Asia.

INSEAD is an international business school offering postgraduate programmes in management, including MBA, Executive MBA and PhD. It has campuses in Singapore and France, and one school’s centre in Abu Dhabi. The Asian campus in Singapore shares the equivalent status with the European campus in France; and they are “fully connected”. Accordingly, there are 34 permanent faculty members
and around 81 administrative and research staff working in the Singapore campus (INSEAD, 2007).

The Graduate School of Business - University of Chicago provides postgraduate courses in business management, and its campus in Singapore offers programmes that are the same as compared to those of its own campus in Chicago. In addition, the Asian programme allows students to study in the Chicago and Barcelona campuses with an objective of providing the students with a wider global network across the world. In 2005, there are around 84 students enrolled in the Asian campus, including top executives from 15 countries throughout Asia, like Japan, China, India and Australia; while some of them are from the US and Europe (Shanmugaratnam, 2005, as cited in Mok, 2007; Chan and Ng, 2008a:496-7).

The development of transnational higher education in Singapore is tactically and strategically taken as a way to “internationalize” its higher education sector and to pursue the status of a ‘world-class’ brand-name eventually. However, these actions themselves have also diversified the provisions of higher education, thereby bringing in a combination of public and private, as well as foreign and domestic mixtures, in the higher education sector of the city-state. In this regard, the new governance model as promulgated by the Singapore government seems to be better suited to the new circumstances of the global competitive environment (Chan and Ng, 2008b).

**Hong Kong**

In the case of Hong Kong, each of the government-funded public universities has its own Ordinance when it was first enacted in the legislature, which allows its status to be established as an independent legal entity. Under the Ordinance, each of the universities can set up its own University Council (just like the Board of Governors or Directors of a corporation), its Senate, Management Board, and other administrative departments, such that each of the institutions is running as an independent and autonomous legal entity for enhancing its own academic freedom and flexibility of institutional management, under the general guiding principles and parameters as set out by the UGC. It is in this sense that the universities in Hong Kong have pretty much been incorporated right at the very beginning of their formal establishments.

**Quality Assurance Mechanism**

Developing the entrepreneurial culture of higher education involves a shift
towards a more bureaucratic and managerial accountability in universities, to replace
the traditional type of professional accountability, with regulation on assessing
‘input-process-output’ to be widely adopted by bureaucrats to uphold accountability
(Chan, 2002; Burke, 2005). In Hong Kong, the imposition of a quality assurance
system with an emphasis on role differentiation is seen as a means of regulation in the
higher education sector.

A funding methodology, in which resource allocation was linked to the
performance of each individual university, has started back in 1991. The application
of three methods to inform funding has been used to achieve this major objective
(Chan, 2007a), namely:

(i) Research Assessment Exercise (RAEs) – four rounds of RAEs were carried
out in 1993, 1996, 1999 and 2006 respectively. In the assessment, the number
of active researchers and the quality of research outputs in each “cost centre”
were used as indicators for resource allocation. Active researchers referred to
the faculty members in a “cost centre” with research output above the
threshold set by the UGC, and the quality of research outputs was based only
on the quantity of articles published in international peer-reviewed journals.

(ii) Teaching and Learning Quality Process Reviews (TLQPRs) – two rounds of
TLQPRs were carried out in 1997 and 2003 respectively, both of which
mainly focused on the teaching and learning processes in the individual higher
educational institutions (HEIs). To carry out the reviews, special Review
Panels visited each of the HEIs in order to meet with academic staff,
students, and senior administrators, so as to get a comprehensive and
all-rounded picture of the institutions. After evaluating the institutions with
specific sets of criteria, feedback in the forms of comments and suggestions
were given, with areas of improvement to be recommended, by the Review
Panels.

(iii) Management Reviews (MRs) – the first and only MR was carried out
in-between 1998-2000. Similar to TLQPRs, special Review Panels of MRs
visited the HEIs and interviewed the academic and administrative staff,
-together with student ambassadors. The interviews are qualitatively-based, and
focused on such areas as academic and research administration, strategic
planning, resource allocation, implementation of various plans, students
support services, the usage of information technology, etc. The MR focuses on
the management affairs of universities and was perceived as a
'value-for-money’ audit.

The UGC is mainly responsible for funding local universities, in terms of both
recurrent grants and capital grants. As a major part of the government funding, the recurrent grants are to be determined basing upon a funding methodology that has been developed by the UGC (UGC, 2005), which comprises the four main components of:

- Teaching (about 68%);
- Research (about 20%);
- Performance- and Role-Related (about 10%); and
- Professional Activity (about 2%)

As a whole, the quality assurance mechanism, while helping the government to inform funding, also serves as the carrot-and-stick to set up benchmarks for all universities to measure up to their standards, in order to improve their overall public accountability.

Moreover, the UGC released a report entitled *Hong Kong Higher Education: To Make a Difference, To Move with the Times*, in 2004. The report made a clear distinction on the role differentiations among the various universities by providing them with different role statements and missions. Through this process of role differentiation, only two universities, namely: the University of Hong Kong (HKU) and the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK), were to be considered as comprehensive universities by the government, while the other six public universities (that is, the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, the Hong Kong Polytechnic University, the City University of Hong Kong, the Hong Kong Baptist University, the Lingnan University of Hong Kong, and the Hong Kong Institute of Education) all have their own specific roles and missions to play and perform (UGC, 2004a). In this regard, one may well argue here that the Hong Kong government seems to have set some kind of a two-tiered structure for its UGC-funded institutions.

Beyond this, the UGC also seeks for developing a role-driven, yet deeply collaborative system (or a differentiated, yet interlocking system) of higher education in which each institution has its own role and mission, while at the same time being committed to extensive and deep collaboration with the other institutions in order that the system as a whole can sustain a greater variety of programme-offerings at a higher level of quality with improved efficiency (UGC, 2004b).

In addition, education as a public service is required to be accountable to the public. Accountability thus becomes a general value in legitimatizing the empowerment of the government through the various processes of marketization, corporatization and privatization. This argument can be supported by the increased role of the UGC in steering the different matters of role differentiations among
institutions, institutional integration, and performance- and role- related funding.

Hence, under such kind of performance- and role- related funding mechanisms, all public universities need to gain public funding by achieving good performance, as well as in accomplishing the specific roles and missions assigned to them. This pitching in for funding means that there is a keen inter-institutional competition for public resources, with the emergence and formation of an ‘internal market’ within the higher education sector.

In these many quality assurance initiatives, the UGC has reiterated the fulfilment of unique roles by the various institutions. The role differentiation, indeed, functions as a continuous sanction in upholding bureaucratic and managerial accountability. This shows that although the UGC is not involved in the day-to-day operations of universities, it still plays a strong role in reinventing the landscape of tertiary education through quality assurance and resource allocation. This will imply that, while more managerial control and autonomy would be devolved from the government to the universities, on the one hand, it will also emphasize the trend for increasing public accountability and responsibility from the universities, on the other hand. This is, indeed, a clear reflection of the managerial and entrepreneurial approach towards the new relationship between the government and the higher education sector.

A Diversified Funding Base

In response to budget cuts, especially after the Asian Financial Crisis in 1997, the local higher educational institutions (HEIs) are obliged to raise additional funding through different channels. Meanwhile, HEIs experience pressures from the government to demonstrate maximum outputs from the resources and inputs given to them. Thus, both the public and government demands have heightened the request for accountability and cost-effectiveness of these institutions.

Therefore, the ideas of cost-effectiveness and ‘value for money’ have become an integral part of the new managerial doctrines, which help to generate a corporate and entrepreneurial competitive culture in the higher education sector. These has been implemented in terms of new financial strategies, by which Hong Kong’s universities have attempted to diversify their financial sources in three main, among other, areas, namely: the adoption of the user-pays principle, the commercialisation of research outputs, and the mobilisation of the community’s resources.

In line with the fee-charging principle, local universities and their commercial extensions have started to run various kinds of distance-learning courses, conversion courses, commissioned courses and continuing education programmes at different
levels on a commercial basis, either by themselves, or in collaboration with overseas universities, or with the private sector. In this way, these actions helped to further facilitate the emergence and growth of the new education market, and will lead towards the commercialization of courses in order to cater for the new market demands.

In addition, universities in Hong Kong are also engaging in the commercialisation of their research outputs in order to generate new sources of revenue. Universities are eager to commercialize and commodify their research outputs, as well as to expand on their commercial and business arms and activities. These dynamics of ‘academic capitalization’ promote an ideological transformation in which knowledge and education is now being seen more as a commodity, the schools and universities as ‘value-adding’ production units, while the parents and employers are to be seen as both consumers and customers respectively in the education marketplace (Chan, 2000, 2002).

Fund raising has become a widely accepted way of gaining new financial resources by local universities through their active engagements in seeking social donations from private enterprises, social organisations and individual philanthropists. In fact, the Matching Grant Scheme, introduced in 2003, was a move by the government to encourage the universities to generate revenues from alternative sources and sectors outside of government funding. For instance, the University of Hong Kong has received HK$1 billion of donation from the Li Ka Shing Foundation in order to fund the university’s Faculty of Medicine (Ming Pao, 26 May, 2005).

Diversification of Tertiary Education Providers

After an overall review of the education system in Hong Kong was completed by the Education Commission in the year 2000, Mr. Tung Chee Hwa, the then Chief Executive of the Hong Kong SAR government, had called for the doubling of available places at the tertiary level in his annual Policy Address, such that a 60 per cent of secondary school leavers would be able to receive tertiary education by the year 2010. ‘In achieving this target, the government will facilitate tertiary institutions, private enterprises and other organizations to provide options other than the traditional sixth form education, such as professional diploma courses and sub-degree courses’ (Tung, 2000:23).

The above quotation implies that privatization, as an efficient way to diversify the higher education sector in allowing students more freedom of choice, would be a possible trend with the expected rapid growth of associate degree programmes by community colleges that are not funded by the government (Lo and Tai, 2003). In fact,
there have been quite a few community colleges that have been newly-established for the past few years in offering associate degree and pre-associate degree programmes in the newly-emerging higher education marketplace.

It was not until last year that educational services have been finally put into the agenda of the 2009 Policy Address by the Chief Executive to be one of the six focused industries, instead of the four traditional pillar industries of financial services, tourism, trading and logistics, and professional services (Tsang, 2009:11-12). It was back in 2007 that the Chief Executive has begun to recognize the significance of developing “a vibrant international school sector to underpin our aspiration to be a global metropolis and fortify our status as a regional education hub” (Tsang, 2007:15), and that several measures were proposed, including the increase of land supply for international schools and the relaxation of immigration policy, like the loosening of employment restrictions before and after graduation, and so on, in order to start building up the “soft and hard base” for an education hub.

In terms of the “internationalization” of local higher education, the government believes that the existing 8 publicly-funded institutions can be the prime engines for this goal. Five out of the local 8 publicly-funded institutions have been listed as the top 200 world universities, with three of them to be among the top within the East Asian region (as according to The Thames Higher Education Supplement, 2009). This kind of achievement becomes a strong impetus for the HKSAR government to allow the local institutions to freely develop themselves, with the insistence on its basic philosophy of governance.

Due to the fact that the world university league tables have certain powers and authorities in judging the quality and ranking of the institutions, and their levels of internationalization, and so the local institutions have now been internationally recognized for their efforts and achievements. Hence, in the eyes of the government, the current development of the local higher education should be well preserved, and that the government should only act as a supporting role, instead of a leading one.

Most recently, there are signs that more newly-established private universities would soon be established in order to cater for the great demands for higher education from the young population within the Pearl River Delta region of the nearby Guangdong province of the Mainland, including Shenzhen, and not just for the local Hong Kong population. The recent example is that HKU will become the first university in Hong Kong to set up an off-shore branch-campus just across the border, in cooperation with the Shenzhen Municipal Government. Professor Tsui Lap-chee, the President of the University of Hong Kong, claims that the whole project will be privately-run and will not be supported by public funds. At the same time, the Chinese University of Hong Kong and the Polytechnic University of Hong Kong have also
shown their intentions to set up off-shore branch-campuses in Shenzhen and Tongguan respectively \((\textit{Oriental Daily}, 22 \text{ Feb.}, 2010; \textit{Sing Tao Daily}, 24 \text{ Feb.}, 2010; \textit{Apple Daily}, 8 \text{ Mar.}, 2010)\).

By now, universities are required to compete with each other and thus tend to reform their curricula in accordance to the market needs, with vocational subjects to become more popular in demands. To increase their competitiveness, universities are starting to revise their programme structures to cater for more international student exchange programmes, internship programmes and double degree programmes, among other ways. These curriculum changes have given students more choices, and can thus attract more students with diverse needs and expectations. All these changes are considered as some sort of marketization, which represents a move from the traditional teacher-oriented paradigm to a learner-oriented one \((\text{Mok, 2005a})\).

At the same time, the government stopped funding all taught postgraduate programmes, and so local universities will have to run these programmes on a self-financing basis. Furthermore, in order to generate more incomes and resources from the wider public, the universities are also starting to offer more self-financing top-up degree programmes, in order to cater for the newly-expanding demands of those associate degree graduates coming from the new sector of community colleges. All these new current developments are changing the overall landscape of the higher education sector in Hong Kong.

The higher education sector in Hong Kong used to be characterized by a strong state dominance with a tiny private sector. However, the recent higher education reforms have provided some rooms for the emergence of the private sector in higher education. The newly-approved Shue Yan University, the first private university in Hong Kong, in 2007 was such a case in point. Clearly, the government has indicated its interest in exploring the private, or non-state, sectors as alternative sources in running higher education \((\text{Tung, 2000})\). But, since there is a long history of public dominance in education, the Hong Kong society has yet to develop a culture that will allow the private sector to become an important part of the higher educational service provider in the marketplace. Hence, this initial stage in the process of privatization of higher education in Hong Kong is still characterized by some kind of a ‘public-aided’ approach.

In view of its current development, the higher education sector in Hong Kong seems to be splitting up into two parts by the government: the first part is the “conventional sector”, which is basically the UGC-funded institutions which are mainly responsible for developing research and development areas in “Centres of Excellence”, as well as for the training of both undergraduate and research postgraduate students; while the second part is the newly-emerging sector, which
mainly offers sub-degree programmes and continuing education. While the Hong Kong government takes the former part as “the core” of its higher education sector and retains a strong steering role in it, the latter part is being regarded as a “supplementary part” and thus feels much more liberal and relaxed towards it.

Thus, with the rapid expansion of self-financing top-up degree programmes, as well as other sub-degree and continuing education programmes in recent years, this has further diversified the provisions of higher education in Hong Kong. Consequently, a newly-emerging higher education market has slowly formed. Basically, any institutions, whether local or overseas, may enter the Hong Kong market if they want to, and the government provides a free market in this part without much interference, neither does it support any of the foreign higher educational providers entering into the territory (Chan and Ng, 2008a: 490-4). Such an attitude is supported by the government leaders’ mindset and underlying philosophy in the effectiveness of the market mechanism, believing in the notion that ‘the market knows the best’.

If seen in this light, one can then further suggest and argue that some kind of a three-tiered structure in Hong Kong’s higher education sector, similar to but not the same as that of Singapore, may be slowly evolving, such that within the UGC-funded institutions (that is, “the core” part), the five universities that were ranked among the top 200 in the world (as according to The Thames Higher Education Supplement, 2009), together with the remaining ones, will probably form the first-tier, with the other newly-established private universities and community colleges to be formed as the second-tier; while the newly-emerging “supplementary part” will probably evolve to become the third-tier of this new structural formation in the making.

The Possible Future Scenario of a Three-tier Structure of Higher Education in Hong Kong
However, considering the government’s retreat in its financial commitments in taught postgraduate and sub-degree levels of higher education after the Asian Financial Crisis, together with the local institutions’ eagerness in building further collaborations with foreign partners, it is further believed that the introduction of transnational higher education in Hong Kong, which is a further addition to the newly-emerging “supplementary part” of the higher education sector as a strategic move for Hong Kong to develop itself as a ‘regional hub of higher education’, is basically seen as instrumentally “profit-seeking” investments (Yang, 2006; Chan and Ng, 2008b).

Discussion: In Comparing the Incorporated Practices in Higher Education of Hong Kong and Singapore

In the case of Singapore, the government has also been developing a public-private mix, but in a rather different way. SMU, as a private company, is funded by the government in the forms of supporting its campus buildings and various facilities, as well as in parts of its operating budget. The university, however, is required to raise its own endowment fund, while tuition fee is another main source of its financial arrangements (Fieldwork Notes at SMU, 2007, 2008.). Indeed, Singapore has launched the university endowment fund as early as in 1991 to diversify the sources of university funding. NUS and NTU had to raise an additional S$250 million on their own, to add on to an initial S$250 million, in order to match up with another S$500 million of start-up endowment funds from the government, thus making a total of S$1 billion within a five-year period (Gopinathan and Morriss, 1997).

Meanwhile, universities also set up spin-off companies to earn extra financial resources. NUS, for example, established its enterprise in 2001 as a university-level cluster to provide an entrepreneurial and innovative dimension to education and research. Its mission is “to be an agent of change, to promote the spirit of innovation and enterprise within the NUS community, and to generate value from university resources through experiential education, industry engagement and partnerships and entrepreneurship support” (NUS, 2007).

Yet, the corporatization of higher education in Singapore, with a different rationale as compared to that of Hong Kong, is not primarily taken as a way to generate additional funding, though the NUS and NTU as university companies are required to achieve their missions and objectives within the limits of financial resources available to them. Indeed, reading from the speeches of the Singapore government officials, financial constraints has never been a key consideration when
planning for the future development of their higher education. Instead, they repeatedly stress the importance of imposing innovation and diversity in higher education so as to nurture students to become creative and innovative talents (Shanmugarantnam, 2003; Goh, 2005; as cited in Ng, 2007).

Yet it is to be realized that incorporation, together with decentralization and marketization, do not necessarily lead to a decline of the role of the state in the higher education sector. In contrast, the adoption of ‘business-like’ model may provide new and rational means to strengthen state’s control in university governance. Both the two governments, for example, have strengthened their quality assurance mechanisms in order to make universities more accountable and efficient. Hence, the RAE, TLQPR and MR exercises as implemented by the UGC in Hong Kong, as well as the QAFU as exercised by the HEQAU and the RQRP in Singapore, basically serve the same purpose of assuring the quality of teaching and research of the universities. But, more importantly, they are taken as efficient instruments of the carrot-and-stick to drive the universities in developing towards the roles and missions that both governments want to see happened.

In this sense, these strengthened quality assurance mechanisms enable both governments to ‘govern at a distance’ in a more decentralized governance setting (Jayasuriya, 2005: 24). While the two governments do share a similar role in terms of the stratification of their higher education sectors, it also reflects upon their different views and perspectives of their own roles as the ‘funder’ of higher education.

In the case of Hong Kong, the government has clearly indicated its interest in exploring the private or non-state sectors as alternative sources in the running of higher education. But, since there is a long history of public dominance in higher education, Hong Kong society has yet to develop a culture that would allow the private sector to become an important part of the higher educational service provider in the higher education marketplace. Hence, the Hong Kong government has adopted a “public-aided approach” to transform the higher education landscape from a public dominance to a public-private mix. The adoption of the fee-charging and user-pays principles, as well as the development of universities’ partnerships with business/industry and their commercial arms, can all be regarded as the ways for the university sector to generate new financial sources.

In contrast, the generation of non-state sector inputs is set as a major goal, when the then Chief Executive of Hong Kong called for the further expansion and reform of the higher education sector back in 2000 (Tung, 2000). Such an argument has been empirically supported with evidence as shown by the two governments’ reactions towards the problems of financial stringency and resource shortage after the Asian Financial Crisis. While the Hong Kong government has continuously reduced
the recurrent grants for its tertiary education sector since the late 1990s to mid-2000s, the Singapore government has, instead, subsequently increased its recurrent expenditures on its higher education sector (Singapore Department of Statistics, 2001).

In view of these divided standpoints, it can be seen that these very much reflect the different mindsets of the government leaders of both Singapore and Hong Kong. On the one hand, for the leaders of Singapore, the incorporation reforms would merely mean a rational instrument to streamline the higher education sector under the strong competitive tide of globalization. Quality control would be the primary consideration in the progress of granting autonomous power. Hence, in keeping the higher education sector regulated through a more ‘business-like’ model, it helps to achieve the dual goals of ‘autonomy and accountability’ through the process of re-regulation. Furthermore, this strategic move by the government, in introducing a competitive culture and environment into Singapore’s higher education sector is to set the scene for its future development as a “regional higher education hub”. Seen in this light, the ‘corporatization project’ is only one of the strategic moves that the Singapore government is engaging itself to empower its internal stakeholders to get ready for a very competitive external global environment in the years ahead.

On the other hand, within the mentality of the Hong Kong leaders, the corporatization of higher education would mean the maximisation of “value for money” and cost-effectiveness in the higher education sector. “Academic entrepreneurship” (Leydsdorrff and Etzkowitz, 2001), therefore, has been upheld by its leaders in order to transform the governance framework of the higher education sector into that of the business sector, which has been underpinned by the ‘neo-liberal’ ideology and philosophy.

The argument that different local agendas have been implemented by employing similar global reform approaches can further be supported by looking at the underlying differences behind the attitudes and mindsets of the leaders of the two places during the process of introducing overseas higher educational providers into their higher education sectors.

In Singapore, the government proactively involves in this newly-emerging part of higher education by linking up this ‘corporatization project’ with the other strategic plans on the ‘internationalization of higher education’ and the building of ‘world-class universities’, in order to achieve its ultimate goal of becoming a “regional higher education hub”. Therefore, the number and the kind of institutions entering into Singapore’s higher education market has been extremely limited, selective, and tightly controlled under strict government scrutiny. Only those regarded as world-renowned universities would be invited to set up their branches in the city-state, while the
government would close down those campuses seen to be ‘under-performed’. The closure of the Division of Biomedical Sciences of Johns Hopkins University in Singapore in 2006 was such a case in point to demonstrate the strong government position on this matter (Lee and Gopinathan, 2007: 128).

The Hong Kong government, however, tends to see this newly-emerging transnational higher education as only a “supplementary part” of its holistic picture on the higher education landscape, and thus leave it pretty much to the market to decide on its future existence and modes of delivery; while the major universities that have been funded by the UGC still continue to remain as the “core” part of its higher education sector, and upon which the government will continue to take a much closer look with stringent scrutiny.

After all, “the emergence of cross-border education is fuelled by the inclusion of higher education as an industry under the framework of the “General Agreement on Trade in Service” (GATS) (Knight, 2002). As a consequence, many countries in the region, such as Hong Kong and Singapore, have actively opened their education markets to foreign education providers for them to establish off-shore campuses, implement twinning programmes and so on.” (Chan and Ng, 2008a: 489; see also Chan and Ng, 2008b) It is in this sense that the introduction of transnational higher education in the Hong Kong scene only serves as an incentive that the government uses to fuel its economic competitiveness within the region.

In sum, both governments in the two places push universities to move towards a more business-like model through corporatization. The Hong Kong government has generated a corporatized environment for education by introducing quality control through market and private elements, while the Singapore government adopted a more thorough approach by corporatizing the public universities through legislation. Nevertheless, despite their similar agendas, these incorporated practices of the two cities do not necessarily reflect that they have the same governing visions and missions. Indeed, present discussions have strongly and empirically reflected that different models of local dimensions and interpretations have been used in adopting the global practices, thus projecting different values into their governance systems and behaviours as a consequence.

Turning to the government’s role in its relationship with university, it is believed that the university governance in the two Asian cities is influenced by the emergent trend of ‘managerialism’, by which the newly-granted institutional ‘autonomy’ is offset by the requirements of upholding public ‘accountability’. Thus, the fostering of ‘autonomy’ does not necessarily mean an empowerment of the academics, but instead it can be the establishment of a more ‘de-centred’ site of governance allowing the government to ‘govern at a distance’ (Jayasuriya, 2005: 24).
In this sense, the term “centralized decentralization” would adequately describe the constitutional changes in the state-university relationship. In distinguishing the divided governing visions in the two places, it can be said that the Singapore government adopts a much more “thoroughly-regulating approach” to drive the development of its higher education sector, while the Hong Kong government has adopted a “public-aided approach” to transform its higher education landscape from a public dominance mode to one of a public-private mix.

In the case of Singapore, innovation and diversity are suppressed within some assigned areas, though ‘autonomy’ is highlighted and stressed, and it is realized that each part of the higher education sector is well directed by the government. As a professor from NUS said, “the government will change what it does not like. It can change things informally, though there is a formal system. At the same time, university leaders are close friends of government, and they would work within the parameters as set out” (Fieldwork Notes at NUS, 2007, 2008).

The cases in point have thus reflected the fundamental differences in the mindsets and underlying philosophies that were held by the two governments of the two cities concerning their governance of the higher education sector. By putting the above-mentioned discussions together, it is quite clear that both higher education systems of Singapore and Hong Kong have been affected, in one way or another, by the various policies and strategies of marketization and managerialism.

Conclusion

In conclusion, four major observations can be revealed from the present study:

Firstly, the processes of marketization and managerialism of higher education in the two city-states took on rather different approaches, due to the fact that their overall developmental strategies of aspiring to be “regional hubs of higher education” are based upon very different mindsets of the two governments in terms of their governance of the higher education sector. On the one hand, the HKSAR government officials took on a more “neo-liberal” policy approach in managing the higher education sector (in the name of “small government, big market”), by allowing the market forces to play a greater role in terms of provision and financing, while the government mainly plays the roles of “facilitator and moderator”. On the other hand, the Singapore government officials saw themselves to be playing a major role in terms of provision, regulation and financing of the higher education sector, within a much more managed and regulated market, by the state so as to boost up its overall
competitiveness in becoming a “regional hub of higher education”.

Secondly, in providing the necessary policy frameworks for their further developments of the two city-states as “regional hubs of higher education”, the two governments need to strategize and diversify their higher education sectors in order to bring about further economic development in the long-run, in the name of the “knowledge-based economy”. The “internationalization” of the higher education sector, together with cross-border higher education, have all zeroed in for this game of global competition, such that all will have to be compared and matched with quantifiable performance indicators, and to be finally epitomized in the league tables of universities across the whole world, in the name of international benchmarking.

Thirdly, under this strong tide of marketization and managerialism in higher education, the universities in these two places have slowly started to perceive themselves as some kind of “business enterprises”, and have to adopt business ideas, principles and mechanisms in their management, marketing and other ways of doing their businesses. Thus, their administrators will have to be more sensitive to the changing market needs, and try to differentiate themselves from others through various mission statements, appraisal and auditing mechanisms, strategic plans, marketing strategies, public relations and so on; while academics in the universities do feel the pressures to become more accountable and transparent, both professionally and managerially, in terms of their research and publication outputs, consultancies, evaluations of their teaching performances, involvements in various community and voluntary services, and so on. Characteristics such as performance-based merit system, marketization and managerialism are important indications of this new paradigm of governance model.

Finally, the higher education sectors in these two places are now facing much more pressures and competitions from their counterparts in the global marketplace of higher education. Hence, different higher education stakeholders, including governments, higher educational institutions, academic professionals, student bodies, and so on, all are now expected to respond to these changing demands and circumstances proactively and strategically, in order to increase one’s own competitiveness and to be at the cutting-edge. In this way, some kind of a stratification of the higher education sector has slowly evolved, such that institutions of lesser status are trying hard to rise up in the international league tables, while institutions of long-standing are now also trying hard to further demonstrate their overall competitiveness by exhibiting the so-called “world-class” attributes in order to win out in this game of global competition.

Marketization, in association with quality assurance, market principles and practices, and managerial elements, has become an important theme for reforming the
higher education sectors in both Singapore and Hong Kong. It is obvious that ideologies, like neo-liberalism and managerialism, do function tremendously in shaping and directing the implementation of higher education reforms, and they will most probably continue to be the key governing philosophies in the years to come.

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Fieldwork Notes at NUS (2008) – Interview with Professor Tan Thiam Soon, Vice-Provost (Education), and Mr. Chew Kheng Chuan, Vice President (Endowment and Institutional Development), Development Office, National University of Singapore, from 20-22 May, 2008.

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1. Title of the submission: (ID : 152)
A Study on the Correlation of BMI and Physical Activity among Middle-age People

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6. Abstract and/or full paper.

Abstract

Background:
In recent years considerable concern has arisen over the correlation of BMI and physical activity for create healthy lifestyle.

Aims:
The purpose of this study was to understand the correlation of BMI and physical activity among middle-age people.
Methods:
The main subject was recruiting from junior and senior high school institute’s staff in central Taiwan, male 31 and female 29 a total 60 people. The physical check-up was done included: age, body height, weight, BMI, body fat percentage, waist-hip ratio, and frequency of physical activity in daily living, the data analysis by SPSS statistics package.

Result:
The results as follow: the average of age is 45.73; for BMI the 34.4% of the subjects are over the normal range; for the body fat percentage the mean is 26.61±5.86; 51% and 49% of the subjects are over the normal range; for the normal waist-hip ratio about 51% are over the normal range; it show that the subjects are overweigh, for the frequency of physical activity in daily living, the average is 1.61 times per week. it show that subjects are more sedentary.

Conclusion:
The study indicates the frequency of physical activity in daily living was lower then 3 times per week as Department of Health suggested. Nearly half of the subjects are overweigh, it may have importance to explaining the relationship between BMI and Physical Activity in daily living, as well as in providing health educator with a better understanding of how to promote physical activity in junior and senior high school institute.

Key words: BMI, Physical Activity, Middle-age People
Travel Confirmation

Thank you for booking your trip with Expedia.co.uk. View this itinerary online for the most up-to-date information.

This email is your ATOL confirmation invoice and should be retained until your travel has been completed. It is your evidence of your contract with us and you will not receive a paper copy.

Expedia Inc, c/o 42 Earlham Street, London WC2H 9LA

Booked items

Your holiday: London to Honolulu

E-Ticket purchase has been confirmed by the airline. No tickets will be mailed. Airline check-in locations require government issued photo ID and may request proof of current date travel (such as a printed copy of this itinerary or a printed receipt) to issue a boarding pass. Airport security checkpoints may require you to display both your boarding pass and photo ID before proceeding to the gate, so we recommend that you obtain your boarding pass before proceeding to the security checkpoint. Your hotel reservation is confirmed. Your attractions & services reservation is confirmed.

Expedia.co.uk itinerary number: 12209185105

Main contact: Alberto Testa
E-mail: testa.alberto@gmail.com
Home phone: (0) 1895 442345

Traveller and cost summary

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<tr>
<td>Franco Testa</td>
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Flight taxes/fees, Taxes & Fees £584.08

Total amount charged £2,190.72

Note: The flight portion of your holiday is charged directly by the airline. This will result in you receiving a separate credit card charge for the flight, but the total charges on your credit card will be equal to the holiday price.

View payment history.

Flight summary

All passengers travelling to the USA must provide country of residence and details of the address they will be staying upon arrival (street name and number, city, zip code and...
state), during check-in. Failure to provide this may result in flight boarding being denied by the airline.

Notice: Change of aircraft required

Traveling to Honolulu
Sun 30-May-10

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<th>London (LHR)</th>
<th>Los Angeles (LAX)</th>
<th>CO Continental</th>
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<td>Arrive 13:14 Terminal 6</td>
<td>Operated by: UNITED</td>
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<tr>
<td>to</td>
<td>Total distance: 5,449 mi (8,769 km) Duration: 11hr 9mn</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

3Economy/Coach Class (Seat assignments upon check-in), Lunch, Boeing 777
Please check in with . If checking in at a kiosk, use your name rather than confirmation number.

Los Angeles (LAX) | Honolulu (HNL) | Total distance: 2,553 mi (4,109 km) Duration: 5hr 50mn |
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<tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>Arrive 19:35 Terminal M</td>
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</tbody>
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3Economy/Coach Class (Seat assignments upon check-in), Dinner, Boeing 767-300

Traveling to London
Mon 7-Jun-10

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<th>Houston (IAH)</th>
<th>CO Continental</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Depart 20:45 Terminal M</td>
<td>Arrive 09:30 +1 day Terminal C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to</td>
<td>Total distance: 3,902 mi (6,280 km) Duration: 7hr 45mn</td>
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3Economy/Coach Class (Seat assignments upon check-in), Brunch, Boeing 767

Tue 8-Jun-10

<table>
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<th>London (LHR)</th>
<th>CO Continental</th>
<th>Flight: 34</th>
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<tr>
<td>Depart 15:45 Terminal E</td>
<td>Arrive 06:55 +1 day Terminal 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to</td>
<td>Total distance: 4,841 mi (7,791 km) Duration: 9hr 10mn</td>
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3Economy/Coach Class (Seat assignments upon check-in), Dinner, Boeing 777

Total distance: 8,743 mi (14,070 km) Total duration: 16hr 55mn (23hr 10mn with connections)
Hotel summary

Sun 30-May-2010 (8 nights)

Hilton Waikiki Prince Kuhio Hotel
2500 Kuhio Ave
Honolulu, HI 96815
United States of America

Check in: Sun 30-May-2010
Check out: Mon 7-Jun-2010

Reservation questions: 0871 226 0808 (Call cost from 10p/min)
For other information contact the hotel: Tel: 1 (808) 922-0811  Fax: 1 (808) 923-0330

Hotel Class: More lodging info

Contact:
Alberto Testa
2 adults / seniors

Room description: Standard room
Breakfast not included
Nonsmoking/Smoking: Non-Smoking
Room type: 2 DOUBLE BEDS

Unless specified otherwise, rates are quoted in British pounds sterling.
The price you selected DOES NOT include any applicable service fees, charges for optional incidentals (such as minibar snacks or telephone calls) or regulatory surcharges. The lodging facility will assess these fees, charges and surcharges upon check-out.

Attractions & Services summary

IMPORTANT: Be sure to bring all vouchers with you on your trip. We cannot guarantee access to your booked Attractions & Services without your voucher(s). View and print all vouchers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Welcome Breakfast Orientation</td>
<td>Sun 30-May-10 -- Mon 7-Jun-10</td>
<td>2 Travellers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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View and print all vouchers. Then bring them with you when you go.

Rules and restrictions

1. Before you book and pay for your Expedia Holiday

1.1 Your use of Expedia Holiday

The following terms and conditions are our commitments to you as you book a holiday with us. Taken with all other information on this web site, Expedia.co.uk, the terms and conditions form a contract between you and Expedia. The information on Expedia.co.uk is directed solely at those who access Expedia.co.uk from the United Kingdom and it is a condition of booking with Expedia that you are domiciled in the UK. English Law governs the holiday services we offer. The laws of any other country do not apply to the information shown on Expedia.co.uk, the services offered by or on behalf of Expedia or any information relating to our holiday services. Access to Expedia.co.uk is conditional on your agreement that English Law will govern your contract and any disputes will be
1.2 Expedia hotel and holiday information

We try to ensure that the information contained on Expedia.co.uk is accurate and up-to-date. However, we recommend that you verify the information before acting on it, checking the relevant hotel information page on Expedia. There is no charge for the information presented on Expedia.co.uk, however, in return for allowing you to access this material, we require your acceptance that Expedia.com Limited makes no warranties and/or representations of any kind as to the compliance of the information shown on Expedia.co.uk or the holiday services offered by us, or on our behalf with any laws of any other country and we will not be liable for any actions you may take as a result of using this information.

1.3 Hotel ratings

We categorise all hotels on our own star rating system to give a general guide. However, these are not the official local rating and you should be aware that standards can vary between hotels of the same class in different countries, and even in the same country. Different countries have different standards, a 3-star hotel in one country is not necessarily equivalent to a 3-star hotel in another. It is important to read carefully the individual hotel descriptions. Accommodation in all hotels, whatever the rating, is in standard rooms unless otherwise stated.

1.4 Passports and Visas

From 12 January 2009 all travellers wishing to enter or transit through the USA under the Visa Waiver Program (VWP) must apply for authorisation to travel using the Electronic System for Travel Authorisation (ESTA). Please allow sufficient time when making an ESTA application. It is recommended that such an application is made at least 72 hours before departure. For further information please click here. Register through ESTA here.

Passports. The information in this section is valid for British Citizens only. Non-British Citizens (including: citizens of British Dependent Territories; those who hold their citizenship by virtue of a connection with Gibraltar; British subjects who have a right of abode in the United Kingdom; and EC and other nationals) should consult the Embassy of their destination country and the Home Office Immigration Department regarding any special documentation for the countries they are visiting or for return to the UK. A valid 10-year passport is necessary for all our holidays. Some overseas countries have an immigration requirement that your passport is valid for a minimum period after you enter that country, typically 6 months. If your passport is in its final year of validity, we advise you confirm the requirements of the destination before making final travel plans. You should apply for a passport or to renew an expired passport at least four weeks before travelling. The UK Passport Agency can provide further information at:

Telephone: 0870 521 0410 (Charged at national rate).
Faxback information line: 0901 4700 130
Web site: www.ukpa.gov.uk
Application forms can be requested by phone or fax (Charged at national rate)
Telephone: 0901 4700 110
Fax: 0901 4700 120.

Passports for children and young people: Children not already included on a valid British passport will need to hold their own passport if they are to travel abroad. Children who were included on a passport before 5 October 1998 may continue to travel with the passport holder until:
* The child reaches the age of 16; or
* The passport on which the child is included expires; or
* The passport on which the child is included is replaced or an amendment results in the issue of a new passport.
Names: The name on the passport must match the name on the ticket, otherwise you may not be able to travel and insurance may be invalid. If, after booking a holiday but before travelling, any member of your party changes their name, e.g. as a result of getting married, we must be notified immediately so that we can make the necessary changes to your holiday documentation.

Travellers to the United States:
It is important that all travellers to the United States take note of the following:
* All passengers intending to enter the USA on the Visa Waiver Programme (VWP) will be required to present a machine readable passport (MRP).
* Passengers travelling to the USA with a non-machine readable passport will require a valid US entry visa, even if they are citizens of a country within the Visa Waiver Programme (VWP).
* Children travelling on a parent's passport (be it machine readable or non-machine readable) cannot benefit from the Visa Waiver Programme.

Applying for a US visa is a lengthy process which can take several weeks. Therefore, it is strongly recommended that:
* All Visa Waiver nationals who hold a non-machine readable passport should obtain a machine readable passport before their next visit to the USA.
* Children travelling on their parent's passport should obtain their own machine readable passport prior to travelling to the USA.

Visas:

Visitors to Turkey: are required to pay for a visa on entry into the country.
Egypt: require a visa and this should be arranged prior to departure via the Egyptian Embassy.
USA: The Visa Waiver Scheme allows holders of full British Citizens Passports who have the right of abode in the UK to complete a Visa Waiver Form and submit this on arrival. You must ensure that you comply with all US Government requirements as per the Visa Waiver Form before confirming your booking. The American Visa Automated Information Line on 0891 200 290 can provide more information. (Calls are charged at 60p/minute).

If you are not a British citizen, you should contact your Embassy for information and advice on the visa requirements of the countries you propose to visit. Non-British
Citizen passport holders may require visas to enter countries, which are signatories to the Schengen agreement.

Please note: Passport and visa regulations can change and you should therefore check with the relevant embassy well in advance of travel. It is your responsibility to be in possession of a valid passport and, if appropriate, a visa. It can often take some time to obtain a visa, so you are advised to apply in plenty of time. We accept no responsibility for customers who do not possess the correct documents.

The Foreign and Commonwealth Travel Advice Unit may have issued information about your destination. You are advised to check this information, which is available from the following sources.

a) BBC2 (Ceefax) page 470 onwards.
b) On the Internet at http://www.fco.gov.uk/.
c) From the ABTA Information Department on 0901 201 5050 (calls charged at 50p/minute).
d) The Foreign and Commonwealth Office Travel Advice Unit on 0207 238 4503.

1.5 Public Holidays

Virtually all countries have public holidays, religious or otherwise. The festivities may temporarily disrupt your holiday and some religious holidays such as Ramadan, which affects many Muslim countries, may result in a reduction of facilities and entertainment. Others may result in traffic congestion, closure of shops, restaurants and facilities. We suggest that you take this into consideration when selecting your departure date. The appropriate Tourist Offices are happy to supply more detailed information or check Expedia.co.uk for more details of planned fiestas or holidays.

1.6 Other hotel guests

Many hotels, especially in cities and major resorts, accommodate conventions and conferences. Also, at certain times of the year, some destinations have an influx of groups such as students, associations or clubs. We do not have exclusive use of all properties featured on Expedia.co.uk. The hotels we feature are shared with guests from many countries with different cultures and customs and of mixed age groups. We have no control over the acceptance of bookings at the hotels we feature. We are therefore unable to accept responsibility for any limitation of facilities due to such groups or inconvenience that their activities may cause you.

1.7 Meals

We include the most up-to-date information we have about meal service in our descriptions, but occasionally arrangements will change and we have no control over this. Meals if included are based on standard menus and will be clearly stated on the hotel information page if they are included in the price. Holidays which include main meals generally commence with dinner on the day of arrival at your hotel and terminate with breakfast (on half board) or lunch (on full board) on the day of departure. No refunds on meals not taken can be given. Special diets of any kind (including
vegetarian) can seldom be catered for adequately within the constraints of a standard menu and cannot be guaranteed. We would therefore strongly recommend that anyone with special requirements take a holiday where no meals (or only breakfast) are included.

1.8 Flight seat requests

We strongly recommend (particularly if you are flying economy class), that you check in early if you have particular seat requests. Expedia has no control over the allocation of seats, even if pre-booked with the airline, and can make no guarantee that specific seats will be available on departure.

1.9 Direct/Non Direct flights

The flight routes used to make up your holiday may be used on special fares which offer the best price, which do not necessarily take the most direct route. Some itineraries require a change of aircraft en-route. A flight that is described as direct is one where there is no need to change aircraft during the journey. However, stops may be made en-route for re-fuelling or to let passengers on and/or off. Details of any stops will be given during your booking process and are clearly identified both on Expedia.co.uk and on your itinerary which will be sent to you when you confirm your booking.

1.10 Flying times

The times given are given on the 24 hour clock system, approximate and based on outbound flights. They may vary depending on flight schedules, type of aircraft, weather conditions etc., and are indications of the hours spent actually flying (excluding time on the ground during stops en-route or when changing aircraft) and are therefore given for guidance only and are subject to alteration and confirmation.

1.11 Disabled customers

Because of the nature of destinations, many lack even the simplest facilities such as ramps for wheelchairs, lifts etc. We provide basic information on the facilities of each property featured but we strongly suggest that you check out individual hotels facilities for the disabled before booking. Please note that if special arrangements need to be made for you an extra charge may be levied.

1.12 Pregnancy and infants

Regulations vary with each airline, but some will refuse to carry women who will be 28 weeks or more pregnant on the date of return travel. If in doubt, please check with the airline concerned and consult your doctor. Infants must be 6 weeks old or more to travel by air and must either sit on an adult's lap or occupy an infant seat. Please contact the airline you are travelling with for details of appropriate seats. Generally children aged 2 years or more must occupy a seat.

1.13 Weather
As the weather is so unpredictable we cannot be held responsible for disruption to your holiday due to bad or unusual weather conditions. For more details on the temperature and rainfall in our destinations, please see the weather section of the relevant country on Expedia.co.uk.

2. Booking and paying for your holiday

2.1 Expedia Holiday Bookings

You can book the holidays and take up the offers advertised on Expedia.co.uk if they are still available. There may be other restrictions on some offers, but these are explained in the details of those offers. Once your holiday booking has been confirmed we will set aside your chosen holiday for you. By doing this, you are accepting the booking on the terms of this Agreement and any other terms and conditions made available to you, which are stated to apply to your holiday. You will be sent a confirmation e-mail clearly defining the details of the holiday you have booked and this will also be added to “My Itineraries”. If any detail on it is not correct, you need to tell Expedia immediately by calling 0871 226 0808 (Calls charged at 10 pence per minute BT rate. Charges may vary from other networks.).

2.2 Your commitment to Expedia

When you confirm a holiday booking you must tick the box accepting this Agreement and by doing this you are confirming that you understand and have accepted our booking conditions. You are also accepting that the terms of our booking conditions form the basis of any contract between Expedia and yourself, which is subject to the English law and the exclusive jurisdiction of the English Courts. When booking your holiday, if you wish to make a modification to a holiday shown we will try to assist. Should you wish to change to an alternative featured hotel, this will be charged at the difference in published price, as long as Expedia has the availability required. If we have to make a special request for alternative or extra space, an administration fee will be charged per booking and you will be informed of the scale of this fee on making your request. Additional services will be quoted for upon request.

2.3 Holiday prices

The price of each individual holiday is constantly reviewed and may go up or down. This enables Expedia to offer the most competitive price for your holiday. The actual holiday price will depend upon a number of factors including: 1) the date when you make your booking; 2) the accommodation you choose; 3) your departure date; 4) the length of your stay; 5) whether a Saturday night is included. Expedia allows you to check availability and the gives you up-to-the-minute pricing of your chosen holiday before making a booking. We guarantee that once you have paid for a booking we will not increase your holiday price. Visa fees, overseas airport taxes, any government taxes or compulsory charges are not included in holiday prices but will be disclosed.

2.4 Paying for your holiday

When you use Expedia.co.uk to book your holiday, we will ask you to provide Expedia
with credit card details in order to cover the full cost of the holiday. Depending on the holiday you choose and how far in advance you book, you may be offered the choice to pay a deposit at the time of booking and then and pay the balance at a later date. Should you be offered this possibility, you may also take advantage of our auto-payment feature, which enables us to automatically process payment of the balance on the due date. If you choose this option, we will retain details of the credit card that you use to pay the deposit and process payment of the balance using the same details. You will be sent a reminder email prior to the final payment being taken.

If you choose to pay in full immediately and there are problems with your credit card which mean that we cannot collect the payment, we will not allow you to complete the booking and will not collect any money from you. In the event that we have problems processing your card after the booking is made we will notify you to enable you to provide alternative payment details.

If you choose to pay a deposit and there are problems with your credit card which mean we cannot collect the deposit payment, we will not allow you to complete the booking and will not collect any money from you.

Your final payment is typically due not later than six weeks before your date of travel, although we will advise you at the time of booking of the exact date that your final payment is due. If you utilise the auto-payment feature, you should ensure that the credit card being used for final payment will be valid on the scheduled due date. The billing contact that you specify on this page will be the primary person contacted for any payment issues.

In the event of non-payment of the balance, Expedia has the right to retain your deposit and to cancel the booking. No changes can be made to a booking prior to final payment being received.

2.5 Insurance

It is essential you have insurance cover that is adequate for your needs. You should ensure that any policy you purchase provides a level of cover sufficient for your holiday needs.

2.6 Travel information and documents

Before departure you will receive your flight tickets together with an itinerary. However, in the case of late payment and/or late bookings, tickets may be e-ticket or handed to you at the airport on departure. Please ensure that you check the flight timings on your tickets carefully.

2.7 Changes to your holiday

On occasions we may have to make changes to your holiday, for example, if a hotel advises Expedia it is closing for a specific period or an airline cancels a flight or a route. We reserve the right to do this at any time. We will let you know about any important changes when you book. If you have already booked, we will let you know as soon as we can, if there is time before your departure.

Your holiday invoice will show the latest planned timings. Please Note - your actual flight timings will be shown on your tickets, and you should check these carefully as soon as you get them. If the flight timings on your ticket have changed from those on
your holiday invoice, you may receive compensation as shown in the compensation table.

Occasionally we have to make major changes to your flight or accommodation. These are defined in the table below. If we tell you about any of these major changes after we have confirmed your booking, you can either accept these new arrangements or buy another available holiday from us. Either way, we will pay you compensation as shown in the compensation table, unless the change is for reasons beyond our control - see the Important Note in the Compensation Guide and in the section regarding Events beyond our control. If you prefer, you may also cancel your holiday and receive a full refund of any money you have paid.

2.8 Major changes to your holiday

We consider the following to be major changes to your holiday and we will pay compensation detailed below dependant on the time before your departure that we notify you about the change.

Major changes
If we change your accommodation to a hotel in the same area. If we change the time of your departure or return flight by more than 12 hours. If we change the UK airport you fly from or to (except between London airports). If we change the length of your holiday. If we change the day you leave the UK
We will only make one payment for each.

Compensation Guide

More than 60 days: NIL
60 – 42 days: £10
41 – 28 days: £20
27 – 15 days: £30
14 – 0 days: £50

Each amount is for each full-fare-paying adult.

2.9 Changes beyond our control

We will not be liable to pay any compensation if we are forced to cancel or in any way change your holiday as a result of situations outside our control which neither we nor our suppliers could foresee or forestall even with all due care. If, after your departure, a significant part of your pre-booked holiday arrangements cannot be provided, you will be offered a suitable alternative if possible. If it is not possible to offer you a suitable alternative or, for good reasons, you do not accept the alternative arrangements, we will return you to the place of your departure. If appropriate, we will also pay you compensation. The amount of compensation will be reasonable, taking account of all the circumstances.

2.10 Cancelled holidays
Our aim is to provide your holiday as booked. Should, for example, an airline cancel a flight or drop a specific destination, we may, however, have to cancel the holiday. We reserve the right to cancel your holiday in any circumstances. If we cancel your holiday, you can either have a refund or buy another available holiday from us. In either case, we will pay you compensation as shown above; unless we cancel your holiday because of one of the events listed in the section entitled “Events beyond our control”.

2.11 Events beyond our control

Include: war, threat of war, riots, civil disturbances, terrorist activity, industrial disputes, natural and nuclear disasters, fire, epidemics, health risks, technical problems with transport including airlines, closed or congested airports or ports, hurricanes and other actual or potential severe weather conditions, and any other similar events.

2.12 Changing your booking

If you want to change any details of your booking (such as changing to a different hotel or changing your departure date or airport), we will do our best to help but cannot guarantee that changes can be made. You should call our Service Centre on 0871 226 0808 (Calls charged at 10 pence per minute BT rate. Charges may vary from other networks.). We charge an 'amendment fee' for each person named on the booking and for each detail of the booking which you change. The amendment fee will be £25. These cancellation charges are in addition to any charges passed on to Expedia by our suppliers such as airlines and hotels. Scheduled airlines normally regard name changes as a cancellation and rebooking, and any alteration may incur a 100% cancellation charge. The price of your new holiday arrangements will be based on the prices that apply on the day you ask for the change. These prices may not be the same as when you booked your holiday.

If the change means we must send you new tickets, we cannot give you any refund until we have received all your old travel documents, including tickets. Some types of accommodation (such as apartments, or hotel rooms with reductions for three adults) are priced according to the number of people staying there. If your booking changes because someone in your party cancels, we will recalculate your holiday cost based on the new number of people going. If fewer people share the accommodation, then the cost for them may go up.

No changes can be made to any bookings until full payment has been received. If you make a deposit on your holiday when booking, you will need to make your final payment prior to making any changes.

2.13 Cancelling your Holiday

As all Expedia Holidays are booked using schedule flights it will not be possible to cancel your holiday without losing 100% of the cost of the holiday. We therefore strongly recommend you take out Expedia Insurance that covers you for most eventualities that would require you to cancel your holiday.

2.14 Complaints
We will try and settle any complaints quickly and fairly and all correspondence should be sent to Expedia Customer Relations Desk, PO Box 725, Belfast, BT1 3YL. However should this prove not to be the case you may refer any dispute relating to this contract to an Arbitrator appointed by the Chartered Institute of Arbitrators. The scheme provides a simple and inexpensive method of arbitration on documents alone with restricted liability of the client in respect of costs. The scheme does not apply to claims for an amount greater than £1500 per person or £7500 per booking form, or to claims which are solely or mainly in respect of physical injury or illness, or the consequences of such injury or illness. An application for arbitration must be made within nine months of the date of return from the holiday, but in special circumstances it may still be offered outside the period.

3. Expedia Holidays terms and conditions for packages including Car Hire

3.1 Driver age

Drivers must usually be aged between 25 and 65 although this can vary from country to country.

3.2 Local laws apply

Cars hired may be subject to applicable local laws, regulations and other terms and conditions applicable locally.

3.3 Licence on collection

All drivers must display produce a full valid driving licence when taking delivery of the hire car.

3.4 Minimum age of licence

The driving licence must be held for at least one year although this may vary from country to country, (for example 3 years in Cyprus).

3.5 Excesses applicable for damage

An excess amount may be applicable in the event of theft or damage to the Avis hire car. This will vary depending on the car group and country of rental. Purchase of an optional insurance locally (called super CDW or super TP) will remove/reduce the excess applicable. You acknowledge that in no event shall Expedia be liable for such excess or provision of additional insurance as detailed or otherwise.

3.6 Credit card as deposit

A credit card swipe will be taken as a deposit on collection of the hire car.

3.7 Additional charges
Additional charges may be payable locally such as refuelling, additional driver charges, young driver surcharge and delivery and collection fees. You acknowledge that in no event shall Expedia be liable for such additional charges as detailed or otherwise.

3.8 Child seats

Child seats are available on request and are payable locally.

3.9 Petrol

Petrol is usually not included in the hire tariff. This will vary depending on the car group and country of rental and you should check this.

3.10 Refunds

No refunds apply on un-utilised rental days. You acknowledge that in no event shall Expedia be liable for such car hire refunds as detailed or otherwise.

4. Expedia’s responsibility for your holiday

We will arrange for you to have the services that make up the holiday that you choose and these will be detailed in the Holiday Itinerary we send to you. These services will be provided either directly by Expedia or by independent suppliers contracted by us. We are responsible for making sure that each part of the holiday you book with Expedia is provided to a reasonable standard and as described on the [Expedia.co.uk](http://Expedia.co.uk). If any part of your holiday is not provided as described and this spoils your holiday, we ask that you inform our Expedia Customer Services team as set out in section 2.9 above and we will investigate your complaint in full.

We take all reasonable care to make sure that all the services which make up the holiday advertised on [Expedia.co.uk](http://Expedia.co.uk) are provided by efficient and reputable businesses, who follow the local and national laws and regulations of the country where they are established. It is worth noting that safety standards outwith the European Community are generally much lower than the UK, for example, few hotels yet meet EC fire safety recommendations in Europe.

Expedia is licensed by the Civil Aviation Authority, ATOL No. [5788] and therefore bonded with major banks/insurance companies to protect customer holiday payment and repatriation. We will accept liability for matters which arise as a direct result of our negligence and/or breach of our contractual duty to exercise care in making arrangements for you, including any acts or omissions by our employees or agents. Further we will accept liability for any negligent act or omission of our suppliers whilst they are acting within the scope or in the course of their employment to provide any service or arrangement forming part of the holiday that you have booked with us, including any claim involving death, personal injury or illness. Expedia does not accept responsibility for death, personal injury or problems with your holiday arrangements not caused by any fault of ours, or our agents or suppliers, and is caused by you or someone not connected with your holiday arrangements. We do not accept responsibility if the
death, personal injury or failure of your holiday arrangements is due to unforeseen circumstances which, even with all due care, we, or our agents or suppliers, could not have anticipated or avoided.

In respect of carriage by air, sea and rail and the provision of accommodation, our liability in all cases will be limited in accordance with the relevant international conventions: Warsaw Convention (applies to transport by air), the Athens Convention (applies to transport by ship), the Berne Convention (applies to transport by rail) and the Geneva Convention (applies to transport by road). [Expedia can provide copies of the relevant conventions if you ask]. It is important to note that travel with a particular carrier will be subject to both the Conventions and the conditions of carriage of that carrier, some of which may limit or exclude liability. Operational decisions may be taken by Air Carriers and airports resulting in delays, diversions or rescheduling. Expedia has no control over such decisions, and is therefore unable to accept responsibility for them. If Expedia makes any payment to you or any member of your party for death, personal injury or illness, you must give Expedia or our insurers the rights you may have to take action against the person or organisation responsible for causing the death, personal injury or illness. Our suppliers (such as accommodation or transport providers) have their own booking conditions or conditions of carriage, and these conditions are binding between you and the supplier. Some of these conditions may limit or remove the relevant transport provider's or other supplier's liability to you.

Should you or any member of your party suffer illness, personal injury or death through any misadventure during your holiday arising out of an activity which does not form part of your holiday arrangements provided by Expedia, we will, in our reasonable discretion, offer you advice, guidance and assistance. This may include a contribution towards your initial legal costs of making a claim against the offending party. Any contribution made by Expedia will be limited to £5000 per booking form. Any request for assistance must be made within 90 days from the date of the incident in question. If you are able to make recovery of these costs whether from the third party or from a policy of insurance you may be asked to refund Expedia’s outlay.

For claims which do not involve personal injury, illness or death, the most Expedia will have to pay if we are liable to you is twice the price the person affected paid for their holiday (not including insurance premiums and amendment charges). We will only have to pay this maximum amount if that person received no benefit at all from such holiday.

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- You must read the passport and visa information
What else can we help you with?

**Buy Travel Insurance with Mondial**

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**View your itinerary** for complete and up-to-date trip details, or to make changes online.

### Customer Support

**Itinerary number: 12209185105**

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In the event of a major emergency, you should first contact the local emergency services. We recommend that you obtain the local emergency services number prior to your departure or request the number from the accommodation in which you are staying.

Thank you for choosing [Expedia.co.uk](http://expedia.co.uk).

What's your perfect trip [http://expedia.co.uk](http://expedia.co.uk)
Effects of Social Interaction and Loneliness on Teenagers’ Mall Shopping Experiences: An Exploratory Study

(Full Paper)

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Shopping is important for modern consumers. It not only satisfies consumers’ needs for goods and services but also for social interaction and entertainment (Aronld & Reynolds, 2003; Buttle & Coates, 1984; Tauber, 1972; Westbrook & Black, 1985). Socializing and bonding with others while shopping are all identified as social shopping (Aronld & Reynolds, 2003). For many consumers, retail stores provide a safe environment to gain social contacts (Forman & Sriram, 1991). As one of the key retail outlets, shopping malls are important for modern shoppers. However, since the early 1990s, mall patronage has been declining (Pacelle, 1997), which led to some debate about the utility of having malls. But during the same period of time the mall patronage among teenagers increased (Haytko & Baker, 2004). Adolescents make significantly more trips to the mall, about 40% than shoppers from other age groups (Munk, 1997).

Teenagers are important consumers because they not only spend over $175 billion per year but also influence their parents’ expenditures (Solomon & Rabolt, 2008). Because of the increased mall patronage among teenagers, it is critical to understand their mall shopping experiences to help mall developers and retailers better cater to teenagers’ needs and wants and build brand loyalty. With the economy downturn and the suffering of the retail industry, it becomes more important than ever to understand consumers’ shopping behavior. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to explore teenagers’ mall shopping behavior, more specifically how social interaction and feeling of loneliness affect teens’ shopping experiences.
Literature Review

Why do people shop?

Broadly speaking, consumers go shopping for either utilitarian or hedonic reasons (Babin et al., 1994). Utilitarian shopping focuses on purchasing of goods and services, which treats shopping as a task or chore, while hedonic shopping refers to seeking entertainment and fun through pleasant shopping experiences (Babin et al., 1994). Hedonic shopping is not about purchasing goods and/or services, and it is about enjoying the experience of shopping. So, some consumers go shopping for: diversion from daily routine, physical activity, learning about new trends and products, relaxing, killing time, being pampered, and gaining sensory stimulation (Arnold & Reynolds, 2003; Buttle & Coates, 1984; Cox, Cox and Anderson, 2004; Tauber, 1972). Recognizing the importance of hedonic shopping, Arnold and Reynolds (2003) identified six hedonic shopping motivations, including adventure, gratification, role, value, social, and idea shopping. Adventure shopping seeks stimulation, adventure, “and the feeling of being in another world;” gratification shopping is about releasing stress, lifting up mood, and treating oneself; value shopping refers to shopping for sales, discounts, and bargains; social shopping focuses on the enjoyment of shopping with others, socialization and bonding experiences; role shopping reflects the enjoyment from shopping for others; and idea shopping refers to checking out trends and fashions, as well as new products and innovations (Arnold & Reynolds, 2003, p.80).

Loneliness and shopping

The sense of community has been diminishing in the modern society. With the increasing lack of social connection and interaction, more people are feeling lonely
Loneliness can impact an individual in a significantly negative way, including decreased immune functioning (Cacioppo & Patrick, 2008), depression and suicide (Perlman & Landolt, 1999). However, loneliness can be situational or trait-like, meaning that we can feel lonely because of the temporary environment and circumstances (situational/state), or we can be lonely regardless of the environment or circumstances (de Jong-Gierveld and Raadschelders, 1982; Forman and Sriram, 1991). Hence there is a significant difference between “state” and “trait.”

Some people use active strategies such as shopping to alleviate their feelings of loneliness (Rubenstein & Shaver, 1980). Modern shopping malls not only provide abundant stores and services but also serve as socialization spots, especially for young and elderly consumers (Graham, 1988; Frenberg, Meoli, & Sheffler, 1989). Kim, Kang, and Kim (2005) found that malls can serve to alleviate older consumers’ (those 55 years and older) feelings of loneliness. Their research found that lonely older consumers are motivated to spend time in the mall as a social activity. Shopping malls provide consumers who are alone with social contact (Forman & Sriram, 1991), and going shopping becomes a social activity for some consumers (Conaway, 1994; Kang & Ridgway, 1996).

Teenagers and shopping at the mall

Typical teenagers love to shop (Taylor and Cosenza, 2002). Most teenagers mainly shop with friends and cited shopping with friends as most important source of shopping enjoyment (Tootelian and Gaedeke, 1992). According to a recent study, the mall is still a favored shopping place for today’s teens (Hall, 2009). Shopping at malls is socially important for teenagers (Hall, 2009). They hang out with their friends at the mall, and
shopping at the mall is a social activity and experience (Hall, 2009; Matthews et al., 2000; Young, 1999). At the same time, being attractive and keeping up with the trend are socially important for teenagers (Hall, 2009). So, they shop at the mall to find the correct items and brands to be socially acceptable by their friends.

**Purpose of the Study**

Today’s teens spend more time online than the previous generation did (Solomon & Rabolt, 2008). For some “online shopping and entertainment” have replaced other “fun” things such as hanging out at the mall (Solomon & Rabolt, 2008, p.204). The empirical evidence shows that 18-25 year olds report the highest levels of loneliness (Perlman & Peplau, 1984). The depersonalization of online shopping can impact lonely consumers greatly (Forman & Sriram, 1991). However, we do not know if the role of shopping at malls has somewhat changed in today’s teenagers’ social life. Nor do we know how loneliness affect teenagers’ mall shopping experiences. So the purpose of this study is to explore teenagers’ mall shopping patronage behavior. Specifically the study will focus on the relationship between loneliness, using shopping as a loneliness coping method, and different shopping motivations.

**Methodology**

A survey study was conducted in early 2009. The questionnaire assessed various mall shopping motivations including: social shopping, idea shopping, adventure shopping, gratification (Arnold & Reynolds, 2003) and specific shopping. The survey adopted scales from Arnold and Reynolds (2003) to measure different hedonic shopping motivations. Loneliness was assessed using the UCLA Loneliness Scale (Russell, Peplau, & Cutrona, 1980). Five-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) was used
to measure each item. Reliabilities were calculated for each scale. All scales demonstrated acceptable Cronbach alpha values (Peter, 1976; Peterson, 1994) with the social shopping having the lowest value ($\alpha = 0.61$) (see Table 1).

Table 1: Reliability of measurement scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measurement Scale</th>
<th>Cronbach’s Alpha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social shopping</td>
<td>0.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idea shopping</td>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adventure shopping</td>
<td>0.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gratification</td>
<td>0.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specific shopping</td>
<td>0.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopping to cope with loneliness</td>
<td>0.70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A convenience sample was used for the research. All together 140 high school students from the Central Valley of California participated in the study. The majority of participants were teenager girls (67%). At the same time, 67% of participants were Hispanic, following by Asian (16%), African American (9%), Caucasian (6%), and others (2%). Only 7% of participants have some kind of part time work.

**Findings**

*Mall patronage behavior*

The data reveal that participants shop at malls pretty frequently with 42% of them shopping there at least once every month. Most participants usually shop at the mall during weekends (82%). They usually spend relatively long hours in the mall. On average, 34% of them spend one to two hours, 28% shop there for two to three hours, and 39% stay there for more than three hours. Majority of them visited more than three stores when they shop at malls: 37% visit four to six stores, 54% visit more than 7 stores. In the past three months, 40% of them spent $50 to $100, and the other 40% spent over $100.
**Mall shopping motivations**

To explore the importance of different shopping motives, the mean of each item was calculated (see Table 2). The findings suggest social shopping (mean = 2.68) and specific shopping (mean = 2.51) are more important than other shopping motivations. Gratification seems to be the least important hedonic shopping motivation for those participants (mean = 1.99).

### Table 2: The importance of hedonic shopping motivations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hedonic Motivation</th>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. dev.</th>
<th>Average Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social shopping</td>
<td>I go shopping at the mall with my friends or family to socialize (hang out).</td>
<td>2.78</td>
<td>1.092</td>
<td>2.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To me, shopping with friends or family at malls is a social occasion.</td>
<td>2.75</td>
<td>.860</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shopping with others at the mall is a bonding experience.</td>
<td>2.80</td>
<td>.863</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shopping at the mall is an opportunity to meet new friends.</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>1.115</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specific shopping</td>
<td>I go to the mall to find a specific item</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>.970</td>
<td>2.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I go to the mall to make a specific purchase</td>
<td>2.42</td>
<td>1.113</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idea shopping</td>
<td>I go shopping at the mall to keep up with the trends.</td>
<td>1.98</td>
<td>1.145</td>
<td>2.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I go to keep up with the new fashions.</td>
<td>2.13</td>
<td>1.198</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I go shopping to see what new products are available.</td>
<td>2.89</td>
<td>1.039</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adventure shopping</td>
<td>To me, shopping is an adventure.</td>
<td>2.42</td>
<td>1.067</td>
<td>2.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I find shopping stimulating.</td>
<td>2.27</td>
<td>1.010</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shopping is a thrill to me.</td>
<td>2.08</td>
<td>1.167</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gratification shopping</td>
<td>When I feel sad, I go shopping.</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td>1.253</td>
<td>1.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To me, shopping is a way to relieve stress.</td>
<td>2.01</td>
<td>1.260</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I go shopping when I want to treat myself to something special.</td>
<td>2.58</td>
<td>1.112</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Furthermore, only 25% of the participants go to mall to hunt for bargain, 38% go there to watch a movie, and 40% go to mall to eat at food court.

**Loneliness and shopping motivations**

Correlation and regression analyses were used to explore the effects of loneliness and using shopping as coping strategy on participants’ shopping motivation. The analysis shows that loneliness and coping with loneliness by shopping at malls were not
Participants’ loneliness was not significantly correlated with any shopping motivation either. At the same time, product purchase, gratification, and social shopping are significantly related with using shopping at the mall as a coping strategy (see Table 3). The data reveal that participants who coped with loneliness by shopping were more likely go shopping at malls to purchase a specific item or alleviate the negative feelings. However, they were less likely to go to the mall for the purpose of hanging out with friends or family.

Table 3: Coefficients of regression model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Unstandardized Coefficients</th>
<th>Standardized Coefficients</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Std. Error</td>
<td>Beta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td>.272</td>
<td>.283</td>
<td>.959</td>
<td>.339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specific shopping</td>
<td>.776</td>
<td>.261</td>
<td>.626</td>
<td>2.978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gratification shopping</td>
<td>.192</td>
<td>.073</td>
<td>.224</td>
<td>2.632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social shopping</td>
<td>-.525</td>
<td>.264</td>
<td>-.429</td>
<td>-1.992</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Adjusted R Square = .121

**Conclusions and Implications**

Confirming exist literature, the findings of this study suggest that social shopping at malls is important for some teenage consumers. At the same time, they are very likely to shop at malls for a specific item. This may be explained by the fact that having the right items or brands is important for teenagers to be socially acceptable. It is interesting to note that learning the information of newest trends and fashion was not that important for the participants. This may suggest that they use other information channels, maybe Internet as major sources for fashion news and ideas. The data also show that gratification was not cited as an important mall shopping motivation. This suggests that participants may prefer other ways to release stress or lift up their mood. Furthermore, loneliness was not significantly related with any of the mall shopping motives investigated in this study. However, if participants used shopping as a way of coping
with loneliness, they were more likely to go shopping at malls for specific items and self-gratification, and they were less likely to shop at the mall for social reasons. When a teen is shopping because she/he is feeling lonely, she/he would focus more on the personal needs, rather than treating shopping as a social activity. Feelings of loneliness may have complex effects on teen’s mall shopping behavior.

This study contributes to the literature by providing some insights into today’s teen shopping behavior. However, there are several limitations to this study. First, the sample of this study is a convenient sample. The sample size is relatively small, and it is heavily skewed to teenage girls and Hispanic teens. So, the findings cannot be applied to a large teen population. Because there are lots of subculture groups among the teens and each of them may exhibit different shopping behaviors, the future study should focus on the subculture groups such as teenage girls and Hispanic teens. Second, general shopping motivations identified by literature may not applicable for teenagers. So, a quality study with focus groups or in depth personal interview may gain more insight on teenagers’ shopping motivations and behaviors.
References


INTRODUCTION

Globally, breast cancer is responsible for almost 400,000 deaths, and more than one million new cases of female breast cancer are diagnosed each year. Worldwide, breast cancer incidence and mortality are highest in the Western, industrialized countries - particularly Northern Europe and North America - and lowest in less developed counties and Asia. Moreover, very low incidence rates are found in Japan and China.
Migration provides evidence that environmental and spatial factors play a role in breast cancer incidence in that Asian populations migrating to the United States and their offspring acquire higher rates of breast cancer in the United States. This hints that environmental factors may play a more important role than genetic factors affecting breast cancer incidence.

In the United States, a woman has a one in eight chance of developing invasive breast cancer in her lifetime (up from one in 11 in 1975). It is estimated that in 2010, about quarter of a million new cases of breast cancer will be diagnosed among women in the United States, with a majority of these cases as invasive. Ethnically, the incidence rate of breast cancer is highest among white women, but the mortality rate is highest among African American, with all other ethnic groups having lower incidence and mortality rates than white or African American women. Geographically, the highest breast cancer incidence rates are found in the states of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, North Dakota, Montana, Washington, and Oregon, illustrating a clear northeast/northwest focus.

The relationship between ultraviolet (UV-B) sunlight, vitamin D deficiency, and risk of breast cancer has been documented. UV-B rays increases the production of vitamin D in the human body, and a significant body of literature has suggested that higher dosage of vitamin D may help lower the risk of certain cancers, such as breast and prostate cancer (Grant and Boucher 2009; Garland et al. 2008, 2009; Mohr et al. 2008; Demko et al. 2005; Garland et al. 1990; and Gorham et al. 1991). In this paper, we attempt to answer the following two research questions: Are there significant spatial variations in breast cancer incidence rates in the United States? If so, can we explain and predict them using some inherently geographic factors, such as sunlight availability?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview

Worldwide breast cancer is the most common form of cancer in women and second only to lung cancer. It is estimated that 1,150,000 cases and 410,000 deaths occurred globally. In the United States 215,000 cases and 41,000 deaths were reported in 2006 (Mohr et al. 2008). Factors affecting incidence rates for breast cancer include a variety of dietary, chemical, environmental, genetic, lifestyle, and reproductive influences. Many studies have focused upon the effects of a low-fat diet being a driving force reducing rates of breast cancer incidence, as well as exposure to solar UV-B. It is hypothesized that a diet consisting heavily of animal products creates a higher risk for the disease than a vegetable and fish diet (Grant 2002). In addition, the amount of exposure to sunlight, as a source of vitamin D, is important.

In the United States the highest breast cancer incidence rates are geographically oriented toward states in the northeast and northwest (Ying et al. 2007). Consequently an association with latitude and incidence of breast cancer has come under increasing scrutiny (Boscoe and Schymura 2006; Demko et al. 2005; Garland et al. 1990; Grant, 2007a; Grant, 2007b; Grant and Boucher 2009; Mohr et al. 2008; Porojnicu et al. 2007; Ying et al. 2007). Adequate sun exposure is vital for human health, yet excessive exposure can result in melanoma, non-
melanoma skin cancers, cataracts, photokeratitis, aging of the skin, and sunburn (Kimlin et al. 2006). When studying the effects of sunlight on breast cancer incidence, additional factors to consider include the age of the patients, due to the fact that aging causes the vitamin D synthetic capacity of human skin to decrease (Porojnicu et al. 2007), as well as skin color and absorption of vitamin D, season, latitude, and amount of UV-B irradiance (Moan et al. 2008).

**UV-B Radiation, Latitude, and Breast Cancer**

An early study by Garland et al. (1990) found a strong inverse correlation between total solar radiation hitting the United States and age-adjusted breast cancer mortality in eighty-seven locations in the United States. This association was found to be strong in white women residing in urban areas, with the lowest rates in Honolulu, Phoenix, Tampa, Fort Worth, Las Vegas, and Albuquerque. Highest rates were identified in urban areas of the northeastern United States. Dietary factors were also considered for regional differences in breast cancer mortality in the study. These included fat intake and the consumption of red meat, as well as fish and milk consumption as a source of vitamin D beyond sunlight exposure. It was found that although more studies are needed relating to diet, due to the fact that vitamin D is relatively uncommon in adult diets in the United States, geographic differences in breast cancer mortality was found to be related to sunlight exposure.

Concurrently, Gorham et al. (1990) investigated the relationship between sunlight and breast cancer incidence in the former USSR using simple linear regressions. Their findings supported a negative association between breast cancer incidence rates and sunlight levels in the former USSR. Among the fifteen republics, it was found that there was a threefold range of breast cancer incidence, and these correlated with geographic locations of high, intermediate, and low sunlight levels. Republics that had larger amounts of sunlight had lower breast cancer incidence rates, while the highest rates occurred in republics that experienced the lowest available sunlight. These conclusions coincide with the general worldwide geographical patterns that have been immersing. It was noted that countries within 20 degrees of the equator have extremely high levels of sunlight and low breast cancer incidence rates. The breast cancer incidence rate in these areas is from four to six times lower than rates in North America and Northern Europe. An exception to this general pattern is Japan, with a very low breast cancer mortality rate, yet it is located at relatively high latitude. One possible explanation for this variance may be the Japanese diet, which is rich in Vitamin D due to heavy fish consumption. Another factor examined in this study was the positive association between breast cancer and socioeconomic status. In this case, the variable used was the number of doctors per 1000 population, and Gorham et al. (1990) found that republics with higher numbers of doctors also reported higher numbers of breast cancer incidence.

A recent study shows this same correlation between lower UV-B irradiance and higher breast cancer risk in 107 countries (Mohr et al. 2008). The data set for this study included information for each country on “age-standardized incidence rates of breast cancer, latitude of the population centroid, UV-B irradiance, mean midwinter percentage cloud cover, total column ozone thickness, per capita intake of alcohol, energy from animal and vegetable sources, cigarette consumption, proportion of female population overweight, and total fertility rates.” (Mohr et al. 2008: 255). The authors of this study found an inverse relationship between levels
of UV-B irradiance and age-standardized breast cancer rates in these 107 countries. More importantly they also found that the results of their study were likely stronger than previous observational studies due to their use of solar irradiance as the main source of vitamin D, rather than oral intake. This is significant because direct exposure of the skin to sunlight results in the major source of circulating vitamin D (80-95%) and its metabolites in humans (Heaney et al. 2003). One major contribution of this study is that it has been the first that includes incidence rates of breast cancer for countries at widely varying latitudes, and after adjusting for several covariates it also allowed for the assessment of the independent association of UV-B irradiance.

An ecological study conducted by Grant (2002) used breast cancer mortality rates, dietary data, and latitude (identifying UV-B radiation) from 35 countries. The study’s findings showed a positive correlation between breast carcinoma mortality and consumption of animal products, while an inverse correlation with vegetable products. Additional important dietary links to breast cancer incidence is alcohol (positive correlation) and fish intake (negative correlation). The study also found an inverse correlation between latitude and breast cancer rates, relating to lower latitudes having an advantage of receiving more sunlight and therefore higher available amounts of UV-B radiation. Especially useful for observation of this phenomenon is the geographic distribution of breast cancer mortality rates in the United States. Because rates in the Northeast are approximately twice of those in the Southwest, yet the U.S. population has a similar dietary pattern, it is a strong indicator supporting the effect of UV-B radiation as a protective risk factor for breast cancer incidence.

Additionally Grant (2007a) conducted a study investigating the relationship between patients that had developed skin cancers and secondary internal cancers following a diagnosis. This was done to identify a more direct measure of an individual’s solar UV-B irradiance needed in order to link the relationship between sunlight exposure and risk of cancer. It is assumed that patients developing skin cancer have likely experienced a greater sun exposure than the general population. This study included an adjustment for smoking habits as a contributor to skin cancer risk. The author found that generally there was a reduced risk for developing secondary cancers, although this varied with different skin cancer types and secondary cancers. The findings provide strong support that solar UV-B, by production of vitamin D, is a risk reduction factor for cancer incidence and mortality, and a boosting factor for cancer survival.

Research investigating the relative yield of vitamin D photosynthesis as a function of latitude and in relation to human skin exposure has shown clear latitude gradients of all major forms of skin cancer in populations of similar skin types (Moan et al. 2008; Waltz and Chodick 2008). Using skin cancer incidence as an indicator of sun exposure the study also included observation of prostate and breast cancer to contrast the well documented inverse relationship of UV-B exposure and internal cancers (Moan et al. 2008) Large variations were found in breast and prostate cancer incidence rates in countries of the same latitude. The conclusion was that genetic, dietary, and environmental factors beyond sun exposure contribute effects and may even completely mask the effects of Vitamin D (Moan et al. 2008).

A study (Porojnicu et al. 2006) conducted in Norway examined the relationship between seasonal and geographical variations in lung cancer prognosis to determine if vitamin D that is absorbed from the sun plays a part in the ability to recover from the disease. This research
included data from all incidences of lung cancer between years 1964 and 2000, as well as 15,616 routine measurement samples of seasonal variation of 25-hydroxyvitamin D. The authors found that both the season of diagnosis (autumn rather than winter) and residence of patients (in a high UV-B region rather than a low UV-B region in Norway) resulted in lowering the risk of death for young male patients. Studies show that it is likely that humans receive optimal vitamin D levels by sun exposure and because vitamin D status varies significantly with seasons in Norway, this northern location was appropriate for such a study. The authors also note that in the winter months in Nordic countries the UV-B fluence rate is below the required level for vitamin D synthesis in skin, while the maximal level is from July to September. Research has also shown that this seasonal variation of calcidiol may have a prognostic significance for colon, breast and prostate cancer, as well as Hodgkin’s lymphoma in Norway (Porojnicu et al. 2006; Robsahm et al. 2004). It was concluded that patients diagnosed in summer or autumn with these cancers had a better survival rate after receiving standard treatment than patients diagnosed during winter months (Porojnicu et al. 2006).

Grant (2007b) conducted a study on China and correlated solar UV-B irradiation, latitude, and heat index with mortality rates for seven cancers: cervical, colorectal (females), esophageal, gastric, and lung (males), liver cancer (males), and nasopharyngeal carcinoma. This study contributes to analysis conducted on non-white populations, as most ecologic studies of solar UV-B and reduction of cancer risk has involved white populations. The author concludes that with higher production of vitamin D through sunlight exposure, patients tend to have reduced risk in certain types of cancer in China.

Boscoe and Schymura (2006) calculated relative risks of reduced solar UV-B exposure for 32 different cancer sites, including breast cancer. They found that for non-Hispanic whites in the United States ten cancer sites displayed an inverse relationship between solar UV-B exposure and cancer, these included: bladder, colon, Hodgkin’s lymphoma, myeloma, biliary, prostate, rectum, stomach, uterus, and vulva. Six additional sites showed weaker evidence of an inverse relationship, including breast, kidney, leukemia, non-Hodgkin’s lymphoma, pancreas, and small intestine. Notably some cancer sites, such as breast, colon, rectum, esophagus, other biliary, and vulva, show higher risks of mortality suggesting a possible need to maintain adequate vitamin D levels to limit tumor progression, rather than for preventing tumors.

Given the wide range of ecological studies that have emerged linking low levels of sunlight and high incidence rates of breast cancer, a dose-response relationship has not been developed. However, a study undertaken by Garland et al. (2007) investigates the relationship of breast cancer in relation to both sunlight and oral doses of vitamin D. Their study concluded that a 50 percent lower risk of breast cancer was associated with a serum level that would correspond to an intake of 4000 IU per day. The authors noted that this exceeds the current National Academy of Sciences upper limit of 2000 IU per day. To increase the serum level beyond the recommended limits a 12 minute exposure to UV-B radiation during noontime sunlight (with a clear sky) covering 50 percent of the body could be used to augment this deficiency of 2000 IU per day. This is estimated for a typical fair-skinned Caucasian in the mid-latitudes. It is likely that a 12 minute exposure would benefit persons who can tan easily as well, such as persons of African, Asian, or Eastern Indian ancestry.
Approximately 3,000 published research studies have investigated the inverse relationship between vitamin D and cancer. One of the outcomes of the depth of this research is that scientists are suggesting that recommended daily minimum year-round 25-hydroxyvitamin D levels be increased and this could include oral dosages. According to Garland et al. (2009) this would potentially prevent approximately 58,000 new cases of breast cancer and 49,000 new cases of colorectal cancer annually in the United States and Canada. Patients with higher levels of serum 25-hydroxyvitamin D at diagnosis of breast cancer had a 42 percent lower risk in 15-year death rate. This was also true for prostate cancer as well, and several other cancers are undergoing further study in their relationships to vitamin D levels. Due to the growing literature supporting these findings, recommendations to increase intakes of vitamin D to a minimum of 2,000 IU per day as a cancer preventative action are being initiated.

Literature has shown strong correlations between the inverse relationship of sunlight exposure and various cancer incidence rates. Yet, using latitude alone as an assessment of ultraviolet radiation is not sufficient according to one study (Kimlin et al. 2006), which examines available levels of vitamin D producing UV (vitamin D UV) and erythemal UV (sunburning) using seven measurement locations in the United States. Although humans need adequate sunlight exposure, too much is known to cause skin cancer. Kimlin et al. (2006) note that before healthy sun exposure recommendations can be made for specific locations it is critical to measure levels and trends of UV radiation. Their study determined that for the United States, during March to October and for all sites from 18°N to 44°N latitude, the level of vitamin D UV and erythemal UV was equal. Therefore during the majority of the year across the United States there was no measured latitude gradient of vitamin D UV, however during the cooler months of November to February latitude correlated with vitamin D UV availability. As latitude increased, it was found that the amount of vitamin D UV decreased drastically, which would likely inhibit vitamin D synthesis in humans. Their conclusions were that increased sun exposure was not important for lower latitude locations (<25°N) during any time of the year, but for higher latitude locations (>35°N) the data supports the need for increased sun exposure to maintain vitamin D sufficiency during winter months.

Summary

Because of the high rates of breast cancer incidence worldwide, research is increasingly focused upon the relationship between sun exposure and its potential influence upon the incidence of breast cancer. Vitamin D is obtained primarily from solar radiation through skin exposure, and it is believed that high vitamin D levels can reduce or inhibit tumor development and growth. It has been hypothesized that there is an inverse relationship between solar UV-B exposure and non-skin cancer mortality (Boscoe and Schymura 2006). This debate also leads to the questions on the relationship between latitude of a location and its breast cancer incidence rates. The outcomes of studies examining the effects of vitamin D point to an overall positive role of sun-induced vitamin D (Moan et al. 2008). It is increasingly suspected that potentially beneficial effects are gained from moderate sun exposures which elevate vitamin D levels in humans. The consequence of these findings is that geography may provide a vital component of research in this debate.
MODEL AND METHODS

Based on both public health and ecological studies dealing mainly with patient findings, this paper attempts an ecological study using macro level data (by state) to re-validate the hypothesis that the availability of ultra-violet B (UV-B) is associated with breast cancer incidence. Directionally, states with higher level of UV-B tend to have lower breast cancer incidence rate (BCIR). In this paper, we demonstrate the association of UV-B and BCIR in the United States using state level data and a simple regression model,

\[ Y = \alpha + \beta X_1 + \varepsilon_1 \]  

where

\[ Y \text{ (BCIR)} \text{ is invasive breast cancer age-adjusted incidence rate (per 100,000 women) by state, 2006}^1 \]
\[ X_1 \text{ (UV-B)} \text{ is estimated surface levels of UV-B radiation by state}^2 \]
\[ \alpha, \beta \text{ are parameters, and } \varepsilon_1 \text{ is the error term.} \]

Using the estimated model for Equation (1), we will be able to re-establish the significant relationship between UV-B and breast cancer incidence. Furthermore, we would like to formulate a simple path model to assess the direct and indirect effects of UV-B on BCIR. We selected an endogenous variable “percent women who gave birth in the last 12 months” based on the list of breast cancer risk factors provided by the American Cancer Society, which states that women without children have higher risk for breast cancer. Thus, the variable “percent women who gave birth in the last 12 months” is used in this paper as a surrogate for this concept of “births.” It is hypothesized that higher “births” is associated with lower BCIR. In addition, it is also hypothesized that “births” are higher in the state located in lower latitudes. Therefore, higher UV-B levels are associated with higher “births.” In sum, the path model is

\[ Y = \alpha + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \varepsilon_2 \]  
\[ X_2 = \alpha + \beta_3 X_1 + \varepsilon_3 \]

where

\[ Y \text{ is BCIR}^1, X_1 \text{ is UV-B}^2, \text{ and} \]
\[ X_2 \text{ (BIRTHS)} \text{ is percent women who gave birth in the last 12 months, by state, 2004}^3 \]
\[ \alpha_i, \beta_i, i = 1,2,3, \text{ are parameters, and } \varepsilon_2 \text{ and } \varepsilon_3 \text{ are the error terms.} \]

Based on the estimated path coefficients for Equations (2) and (3), we will be able to estimate the direct effect of UV-B on BCIR and the indirect effect of UV-B on BCIR through BIRTHS.

---

1 Data from National Cancer Institute (NCI)
2 Data from National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA). Erythemally effective UV-B Robertson-Berger Counts X10[4].
3 Data from U.S. Bureau of Census
ANALYSIS

Simple Regression and Cartographic Analysis

The estimated regression equation for Equation (1) is

\[ Y = 144.373 - 0.190 X_1 \] (4)

\[ \begin{align*}
(30.273) & \\
(5.276) &
\end{align*} \]

\[ R^2 = .388 \quad F = 27.839 \quad p = .000 \quad N = 45 \]

where

Y is BCIR, \( X_1 \) is UV-B, and t-value is in parenthesis for each coefficient.

This establishes that UV-B independently is a significant factor affecting BCIR with a sample size of 45 states. Maps 1 and 2 also cartographically support this strong association. Map 1 shows that the states with UV-B radiation levels at least 2 standard deviations higher than the mean include Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Hawaii, and New Mexico; with 1 to 2 standard deviations higher than the mean include Colorado, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, Nevada, and Texas; with 1 to 2 standard deviations lower than the mean include Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Oregon, Vermont, and Washington. All other states are within one to two standard deviations around the mean.

Map 2 shows that that the states with BCIR at least 2 standard deviations higher than the mean include Arizona, Vermont, and Wisconsin; with 1 to 2 standard deviations higher than the mean include Connecticut, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Hampshire, Oregon, and Rhode Island; with 1 to 2 standard deviations lower than the mean include Florida, Illinois, Mississippi, Nevada, New Mexico, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, and Wyoming. All other states are within one to two standard deviations around the mean.

The cartographic correlation between these two maps are moderate but significant, and coincide with the “goodness of fit” of the simple regression \( R^2 = .388 \). Among the states with higher levels of UV-B radiation (at least one standard deviations higher than the mean), five are exhibiting lower BCIR. These states include Florida, Mississippi, Nevada, New Mexico, and Texas. One exception for this correlation is the state of Arizona, which obviously is a state with very high level of UV-B radiation, yet it has very high BCIR; the explanation would involve some other factors completely remote from the availability of UV-B radiation. Among the states with lower levels of UV-B radiation (one to two standard deviations lower than the mean), three are exhibiting higher BCIR. They are Minnesota, Oregon, and Vermont.

This cartographic correlation becomes more profound if we visualize Map 3 (Average Number of Clear Days, as a surrogate of UV-B radiation levels) and Map 4 (Estimated Breast Cancer Incidence Rate, 2007) in succession. These two choropleth maps were produced with much smaller gradients to show a much larger number of categories in the two variables among the states. The result shows that these maps are clear negative images of each other.
Map 1: Estimated Surface Level of UV-B Radiation

Estimated Surface Levels of UV-B Radiation (Robertson-Berger Counts)

Data Source: National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration
Map Source: Authors
Map 2: Breast Cancer Incidence Rate, 2006

Invasive Breast Cancer Age-Adjusted Incidence Rate (per 100,000 women), 2006

Data Source: National Cancer Institute
Map Source: Authors
Map 3: Average Number of Clear Days
Map 4: Estimated Breast Cancer Incidence Rate, 2007

Estimated Breast Cancer Incidence Rate 2007

Estimated Breast Cancer Mortality Rate 2007

-2.75 Std. Dev.
-2.5 to -2.25 Std. Dev.
-2.25 to -1.75 Std. Dev.
-1.75 to -1.25 Std. Dev.
-1.25 to -0.75 Std. Dev.
-0.75 to -0.25 Std. Dev.
-0.25 to 0.25 Std. Dev.
0.25 to 0.75 Std. Dev.
0.75 to 1.25 Std. Dev.
1.25 to 1.75 Std. Dev.
1.75 to 1.85 Std. Dev.
The Simple Path Model

The estimated regression equations for Equations (2) and (3) are

\[ Y = 153.022 - 0.174 X_1 - 0.195 X_2 \]  
\[ (22.576) \quad (4.795) \quad (1.757) \]

\[ R^2 = .429 \quad F = 16.124 \quad p = .000 \quad N = 45 \]

and

\[ X_2 = 44.331 + 0.082 X_1 \]  
\[ (7.162) \quad (1.751) \]

\[ R^2 = .064 \quad F = 3.066 \quad p = .087 \quad N = 46 \]

where

Y is BCIR, X_1 is UV-B, X_2 is BIRTHS, and t-value is in parenthesis for each coefficient.

By adding the endogenous variable “percent women who gave birth in the last 12 months” (BIRTHS) into the simple regression model, the “goodness of fit” (R^2) improves from .388 to .429. Although the estimated regression equation for Equation (3) (Equation 6) is only significant at 90% level, it is judged to be significant for the purpose of hypothesis testing. The beta coefficients of Equations (5) and (6) are used to construct the simple path model (Figure 1) to illustrate the direct and indirect effects of UV-B on BCIR.

**Figure 1: A Simple Path Model among UV-B, BCIR, and BIRTHS**

![Diagram of the simple path model](image-url)
In this model, the direct effect of UV-B on BCIR is -.571. In addition, using path multiplication rule, the indirect effect of UV-B on BCIR is -.053; the sum of the direct and indirect effects represents a total effect of -.624.

CONCLUSION

The findings of this paper show that ‘estimated levels of UV-B radiation’ as an explanatory variable of breast cancer may be confounding, but it is inherently geographic and significant in explaining and predicting breast cancer incidence in the United States. In specific, based on a cartographic and regression analysis, the conclusions of this paper are as follows. In the United States, there are significant geographic variations in breast cancer incidence rates. There is a clear North-South gradient in breast cancer incidence rate, and levels of UV-B radiation is a significant explanatory variable for breast cancer incidence rate at the state level. Furthermore, the incidence rates for breast cancer are almost two times higher in the Northeast, where sunlight is relatively scarce, than in the Southwest, where UV-B radiation is abundant.

In addition, a simple path model was also generated to illustrate the direct and indirect effect of ultraviolet-B radiation (UV-B) on breast cancer incidence rate (BCIR). Although this path model enjoys only moderate success, it does lead us to broaden our interest on the causal-effect of UV-B on BCIR. Our future research agenda is a correctly identified path model that shows the comprehensive causal effect of these two seemingly unrelated geographic phenomena.

REFERENCES


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*4* Indirect effect of UV-B on BCIR through the endogenous variable “percent woman who gave birth in the last 12 months” (.253)(-.209) is -.053.

*5* -.571 -.053 = -.624. However, the total effect may be incomplete due to unanalyzed endogenous and exogenous variables.


The aim of our research is to examine the attitudes to money of different groups of people. So far we have analyzed data obtained from 741 subjects - college students and workers from the Czech Republic. The data were examined by using variables including sex, age, education, income study subject and specific factors of the questionnaire MES that we used in our research (Money Ethic Scale, Tang, 1992). The MES examines six factors. Our findings indicate that full-time students consider money more as greater evil unlike workers who consider money more as a tool of power (factors F2-Evil a F6-Power). The students of Faculty of science show more positive attitudes to money and to greater degree consider money as a measure of success and as a possibility to obtain personal freedom and power compared to social science students (factors F1-Good, F3-Achievement a F6-Freedom). Other differences and connections have been found for people of different sex, age, income. For example women regard money more positively than men, while men view money as a means how to gain respect from others (factors F1-Good, F4-Respect). The opinion that money can bring freedom and power have positively correlated with age, income.
Potential Cost Savings
From
Consolidation of Kansas Counties

Prepared for
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August 2009
Disclaimer

This study attempts to enumerate the cost savings from consolidating counties in the State of Kansas. This study was conducted by the Kansas Public Finance Center (KPFC) at Wichita State University (WSU). The KPFC is an independent research center not affiliated with the Kansas Advisory Council on Intergovernmental Relations (KACIR). The conclusions in this report solely reflect the results of the study and do not reflect the personal opinions of the KPFC or any faculty or staff at the KPFC or WSU.

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Most of the data used in this study were provided by third parties. The KPFC and WSU are not responsible if the conclusions of the study are wrong as a result of these data being erroneous or unrealistic. Additionally, because of time and budget constraints, some of the data that were estimated in this study were based on stated assumptions as is explained in the text.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Joan Wagnon, Secretary of the Kansas Department of Revenue; Lynn Robinson, Management Systems Analyst, Kansas Department of Revenue; and Steven Brunkan, Financial Analyst, Kansas Department of Revenue.
Executive Summary

• According to the 2007 Census of Governments there are 89,476 total local governments in the U.S. This includes 3,033 counties, 19,492 cities, 16,519 townships, 37,381 special districts, and 14,561 school districts. Kansas ranks fifth among the states with 3,931 total local governments. The Bureau of the Census reports that Kansas has 104 county governments (5th), 627 city governments (8th), 1,353 township governments (4th), 1,531 special districts (7th), and 316 school districts (16th).

• Based on data from the 2002 Census of Governments, it is estimated that on average Kansas counties spent $1,052.21 per capita in 2008. This includes general expenditures of $1,051.82 per capita, salary costs of $351.13 per capita, and $90.94 per capita in capital outlays.

• The purpose of this study was to compare potential cost savings from alternative county consolidation scenarios. Estimates of the potential cost savings for 2008 from consolidating Kansas counties were derived based on data obtained from the 2002 Census of Governments. Four alternative consolidation scenarios were compared.

• The alternative that produced the greatest potential cost savings was a proposal based on 25 districts based on metropolitan and micropolitan concentrations of population.

• Such a consolidation could reduce total statewide county expenditures by $826 million. General expenditures could be reduced $662 million. Salaries could be reduced by as much as $317 million. Hospital costs could be reduced by $178 million, highway costs could decrease by $130 million, sewerage costs could decrease by $79 million, natural resource costs could decrease by $66 million, police protection costs could decrease by $45 million, health costs could decrease by as much as $33 million, and interest costs could decrease by $33 million. In addition, the level of debt incurred could also be cut by as much as $437 million.

• If Senate Bill No. 198 is adopted, it would consolidate the state’s 105 counties into 13 districts. Such a consolidation could reduce total statewide county expenditures by $337 million. General expenditures could be reduced $191 million. Salaries could be reduced by as much as $161 million. Utility costs could decrease by $179 million, highway costs could decrease by $149 million, natural resource costs could decrease by $59 million, and sewerage costs could decrease by as much as $43 million. However, the level of debt incurred could rise by as much as $426 million.

• Another alternative would consolidate the state’s 105 counties into 36 districts. Such a consolidation could reduce total statewide county expenditures by $583 million. General expenditures could be reduced $418 million. Salaries could be reduced by as much as $247 million. Highway costs could decrease by $115 million, natural resource costs could decrease by $63 million, and sewerage costs could decrease by as much as $45 million. The level of debt incurred could also be cut by as much as $279 million.

• A configuration based on existing state judicial districts would consolidate the state’s 105 counties into 31 districts. Such a consolidation could reduce total statewide county expenditures by $798 million. General expenditures could be reduced $633 million. Salaries could be reduced by as much as $296 million. Hospital costs could be reduced
by $188 million, highway costs could decrease by $117 million, sewerage costs could decrease by $79 million, natural resource costs could decrease by $66 million, interest costs could decrease by $53 million, police protection costs could decrease by $45 million, and health costs could decrease by as much as $28 million. In addition, the level of debt incurred could also be cut by as much as $729 million.
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More than at any other time, many local governments in Kansas local regional communities are being requested to provide the same services with declining tax revenues, or more and/or higher quality services, with declining, flat or slowly growing tax revenues. Service expenditure requests are outstripping local tax revenues. Also, state and federal financial assistance is inadequate or even nonexistent. At the same time, these governments are grappling with many issues that have implications for the communities, such as economic development, environmental impacts, social equity, growth management and contraction management. (Lockner, 2008: 7).

The combined harsh realities of escalating government expenses, stagnant local tax revenues, and a dwindling population base can no longer be viewed just as short-term imbalances but rather as structural problems requiring fundamental changes in the way we approach local governance (Strategic Government Consolidation, 2005: Preface).

Introduction

A study of the 1933 expenditures of 38 rural Texas counties indicated that “consolidation would provide substantial savings.” Bradshaw (1937: 742) found that “[t]he chief saving is secured through a reduction in the number of county officers elected. Other costs included are the maintenance of buildings, court reporters’ salaries and expenses, and jury expenses.” Over a half century later Koven and Hadwiger (1992: 324) concluded that “[i]t is presumed that larger governments present economies of scale; and one can argue that consolidated counties with an enlarged resource base will be better able to maintain their infrastructure of office buildings, jails, hospitals, roads, and equipment.” Koven and Hadwiger (1992: 325) go on to point out that “[a]dvocates of consolidated government argue that centralization and economies of scale eliminate duplication of positions and therefore enable delivery of public services at a lower cost.” Koven and Hadwiger (1992: 326) suggest that:

County governments find themselves serving smaller population bases, yet still are obligated to maintain services and infrastructure. Consolidation had been proposed as one means of providing essential services in counties straining under the burden of declining economic bases; it is viewed as a means of promoting efficiency through government reorganization.

Furthermore, Leland and Thurmaier (2005: 475) conclude that:

The local government landscape is changing. Local governments’ role in deciding who get what from government has increased greatly since the devolution era at the turn of the century. Even so, governments are struggling in the face of cutbacks in federal and state assistance, declining revenues, and taxpayer revolt. Efficiency, effectiveness, and equity are at the forefront of discussions about local government management. In response to
this dilemma, public managers and citizens have a renewed interest in local government consolidation as a way to increasing government efficiency and effectiveness and to meet citizen demands form more services without increasing property taxes.

Bradshaw (p. 743) argued in 1937 that:

[T]he creation of a county which is larger in area, population, and assessed valuation, provides a unit which is more nearly capable of supporting all necessary and desirable services.

In fact, a consideration of the physical characteristics of a county will allow one to predict with considerable accuracy the financial support which a particular service will receive. This means that a county must meet certain minimum standards of population, and assessed valuation before particular services can be established and properly maintained. If a “weak” county does succeed in establishing one of these services, the lack of support stifles its development and sometimes causes it to be abandoned entirely.

The purpose of this study was to compare potential cost savings from alternative county consolidation scenarios. Estimates of the potential cost savings for 2008 from consolidating Kansas counties were derived based on data obtained from the 2002 Census of Governments. Four alternative consolidation scenarios were compared. The alternative that produced the greatest potential cost savings was a proposal based on 25 districts based on metropolitan and micropolitan concentrations of population.

**Background**

According to the 2007 Census of Governments there are 89,476 total local governments in the U.S. This includes 3,033 counties, 19,492 cities, 16,519 townships, 37,381 special districts, and 14,561 school districts. Kansas ranks fifth among the states with 3,931 total local governments. The Bureau of the Census reports that Kansas has 104 county governments (5th), 627 city governments (8th), 1,353 township governments (4th), 1,531 special districts (7th), and 316 school districts (16th).

According to Calabrese, Cassidy, and Epplle (2002: 1):

For much of the twentieth century, there appears to have been a relatively broad consensus reaching across disciplines that this multiplicity of local governments was undesirable—a manifestation of disorganization and a prescription for inefficiency in the provision of public services. . . . The trade-offs between the benefits of decentralized choice and the potential gains from coordination have been the subject of debate ever since.

According to Kent and Sowards (2005) the following general conclusions can be drawn about governmental consolidation:

(1) Almost all of these consolidations, reorganizations or mergers were between larger urban cities which economically and politically dominated the county or other governmental entity which was involved.
(2) There is no single model of unifications which typifies these consolidations.
(3) There have been several examples of highly successful reorganizations and consolidations over the past two decades which are useful.
(4) All unification or reorganization efforts have taken a long time to gain sufficient public support for passage.
(5) Most successful reorganizations are characterized by a process involving a few functions which expand to a much larger number as experience builds both trust and competency.
(6) Special districts and single purpose authorities may compound the problems of local service provision and are poor substitutes for unified or consolidated government.
(7) Most attempts at reorganization and consolidation have failed because they have not gained sufficient public support.

As such, there are both arguments and data in support of and against local government consolidation. On the one hand, fewer, larger jurisdictions have the potential to achieve greater economic efficiency and consistency in governmental operations. As early as 1937 Bradshaw (p. 741-742) recognized that:

In discussing the possible savings through consolidation and reorganization of counties, it is necessary to consider three distinct phases, namely: county consolidation, the county manager plan, and state administrative supervision of counties.

* * *

The only way to save money in carrying out such work is through the provision of a more efficient plan of government and this may or may not accompany consolidation. The costs which are affected by consolidation are those which are found in all counties, but are higher in the smaller counties.

According to Archibald and Sleeper (2008: 7) “[t]he theoretical case for consolidation is advanced on may fronts, including arguments that consolidation can improve efficiency in the delivery of services, eliminate fragmented governance, and improve fiscal and social balance.” Edelman (2000: 13) found that “[m]ost of the academic literature cites economies of size and management efficiency as rationale for geographical government consolidations. Savings can also be generated as arbitrary political boundaries are removed to allow more efficient service delivery.” Green, et al. (2003: 7) conclude that consolidation has the potential to offer:

- An economic development edge,
- Economies of scale,
- Less duplication,
- Government accountability, and
- Harmony.

Furthermore, Christenson and Sachs (1980: 91) note that:
The metropolitan reform tradition is based upon the assumption of efficiency and economy which imply that bigger and fewer administrative units will provide more cost-efficient, more specialized, and better services.

* * *

Metropolitan reformers believe that many urban problems result from too many administrative units with overlapping jurisdictions and limited budgets.

Kent and Sowards (2005) estimated that consolidating a city and county government could save between 10 and 40 percent of total costs. A recent study of local governments in Indiana found that economies of scale exist in both metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas, but the impact was three times larger in the smaller counties. This means that for the smaller counties, the cost savings benefits are likely to be significantly greater than for the larger counties. It was estimated that the consolidation of counties and townships in Indiana would result in about $200 million in annual savings due to economies of scale in local government services. These scale economy savings were found to be concentrated in the smallest counties, with only about 20 percent of the savings occurring in the largest counties. The estimates were based on savings due to scale economies based on changing the size of the served population to the “average” not the most efficient unit of government. In the lowest total estimate, it was also found that potential annual savings of $422 million could be realized due to consolidation and its associated reductions in X-inefficiency. X-inefficiency occurs when a government fails to produce the maximum output obtainable with a given level of inputs. The result is that costs are higher. Of this $422 million in savings more than $371 million of potential total savings occur in counties with populations greater than 50,000 residents (Faulk and Hicks, 2009: 4). Overall the study found that annual savings from consolidation in Indiana could be as much as $620 million overall or about $150 per family per year.

On the other hand, more, smaller jurisdictions have the potential to promote greater responsiveness and participation in governmental activities (Dowding and Mergroupis, 2003, 1190-1207). Public choice theorists suggest that consolidation limits competition among local governments and may actually reduce economic efficiency (Tiebout, 1956). According to Thomas and Boonyapratuang (1993: 1) “[b]ased on an economic—‘marketplace’—paradigm, public-choice theory holds that local government complexity allows individuals to select from a variety of service and tax options, resulting in more representative government as well as more cost-effective service.” Furthermore, Archibald and Sleeper (2008: 10) conclude that “[m]ost of the arguments against consolidation end up being location- and circumstance-specific, since there is such great variation in the communities and the plans for consolidation.”

Empirically, consolidation has met with mixed success in terms of improving efficiency and reducing costs of local government. In many cases the improved efficiency and cost savings were presumed as opposed to be actually documented (Leland and Thurmaier, 2005). According to Eric Persons of the Onondaga Citizens League (Strategic Government Consolidation, 2005: 26) consolidations do not generally save money or improve efficiency, and may in fact increase the cost of government and reduce efficiency because:
it is more difficult for one consolidated government to provide services to a larger, more diverse metropolitan population than it is for smaller units to provide services to smaller populations;

not all public services cost the same, thus, not all will achieve economies of scale from consolidation;

duplication of services does not necessarily create inefficiency, and in fact in some cases is demonstrated to cost government less and be more efficient; and

- economies of scale and greater efficiency are more easily achieved through consolidating specific local government services and/or through intergovernmental cooperation.

Faulk and Hicks (2009: 9) and Boyd (2008: 19) conclude that the costs of consolidation are not necessarily lower and may in fact be higher. Broder and Thompson (1985), Cook (1973), and Gustely (1977) found that consolidation does not necessarily generate savings. In these studies expenditures were found to be higher after consolidation took place. According to Edelman (2000: 13) the “[n]umber of employees was not always reduced via consolidation and wages of the entity with lower pre-consolidation pay were equalized up to the scale of the higher paid entity after consolidation. The change in the mix of service preferences . . . created unforeseen costs, such as expansion of services to residents who prior to the consolidation were not afforded a particular service.” Kent Gardner of the Rochester’s Center for Government Research found that “[c]ost savings from consolidation are illusory, leveling up salaries and services when consolidating departments almost always results in initial cost increases (Strategic Government Consolidation, 2005: 28).

Methodology

Estimates of the potential cost savings from consolidating Kansas counties were derived based on data obtained from the 2002 Census of Governments, Volume 4, Number 3, Finances of County Governments: 2002.¹ A census of governments is taken at 5-year intervals as required by law under title 13, United States Code, Section 161. This 2002 census, similar to those taken since 1957, covers three major subject fields—government organization, public employment, and government finances.

Volume 4, Government Finances, contains six parts that encompass the entire range of state and local government financial activity in fiscal year 2001-02. No. 3, Finances of County Governments, provides statistics on the revenue, expenditure, debt, and financial assets of county governments. It aggregates these data for the nation, for state areas, and for all individual county governments. Although data for the 2007 Census of Governments has been collected, no county level data have been released as of yet.

Actual 2002 county expenditures were tabulated according to four alternative consolidation configurations: One based on 13 districts proposed by 2009 Senate Bill No. 198, an alternative proposal based on 36 districts, a configuration based on the state’s 31 judicial districts, and a 25-district configuration based on population concentration. Expenditures were adjusted to 2008 levels using National Income and Product Accounts for Gross Domestic Product (GDP) for state

and local government complied by the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis. Expenditures by state and local government increased 41.3 percent from 2002 to 2008.

Subsequently hypothetical county expenditures were computed based on the 2008 population of each hypothetical county multiplied by the average per capita expenditure for a county of such size based on 2002 Census of Governments tabulations. County population estimates for 2008 were derived from Annual Estimates of the Resident Population for Counties for July 1, 2008 compiled by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. The hypothetical tabulations were then compared to the actual tabulations to derive an estimate of the potential cost savings from each of the consolidation configurations. It must be kept in mind that these estimates are based on the stated assumptions and represent best-case scenarios and do not include the significant cost of actually consolidating operations and additional travel costs incurred by citizens to conduct business with the state and because of the loss of convenience.

**Findings**

**Statewide Averages**

Based on data from the 2002 Census of Governments, it is estimated that on average Kansas counties spent $1,052.21 per capita in 2008. This includes general expenditures of $1,051.82 per capita, salary costs of $351.13 per capita, and $90.94 per capita in capital outlays. General expenditure includes all government expenditure other than the specifically enumerated kinds of expenditure classified as utility expenditure, liquor stores expenditure, and employee retirement or other insurance trust expenditure. Capital outlay includes direct expenditure for contract or force account construction of buildings, grounds, and other improvements, and purchase of equipment, land, and existing structures. Includes amounts for additions, replacements, and major alterations to fixed works and structures. However, expenditure for repairs to such works and structures is classified as current operation expenditure. Exhibit 1 presents estimated per capita county government expenditures by population-size group for Kansas in 2008.

It is noteworthy that there is significant variation in the per capita expenditures of counties based on population size. Counties with less than 10,000 residents incur costs of $1,860.81 per capita, while counties with between 50,000 and 100,000 population only incur costs of $596.12 per capita. Counties with population between 50,000 and 100,000 also exhibited the lowest per capita expenditures for general expenditures, health, police protection, and salaries. Counties in sparsely populated areas tend to incur high per capita costs because of the lack of economies of scale. On the other hand, more densely populated counties also exhibit a tendency to incur higher costs. Counties with 500,000 inhabitants or more incurs costs of $1,211.60 per capita. In part, more densely populated counties incur higher costs because of additional services demanded and provided in urban areas. It should be kept in mind that counties in Kansas are dual purpose governments. On the one hand, counties are responsible for performing certain state delegated and mandated functions. On the other hand, counties also function as a general purpose local government. Much of the variation in costs is the result of differing tastes and preferences for government services among the various counties. Exhibit 2 presents estimated per capita county government expenditures by population-size group for Kansas in 2008. Values for counties with population from 100,000 to 149,999 are estimated.
### Exhibit 1: Estimated Per Capita County Government Expenditures by Population-Size Group

**Kansas, 2008**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kansas Adjusted County Size</th>
<th>Total Expenditure</th>
<th>Capital</th>
<th>Debt</th>
<th>Salaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>500,000 or More</td>
<td>1,237.79</td>
<td>106.95</td>
<td>1,316.83</td>
<td>386.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250,000 to 499,999</td>
<td>988.38</td>
<td>92.33</td>
<td>1,334.80</td>
<td>332.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150,000 to 249,999</td>
<td>849.72</td>
<td>13.69</td>
<td>4,109.85</td>
<td>295.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000 to 149,999</td>
<td>724.12</td>
<td>28.45</td>
<td>2,376.56</td>
<td>244.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50,000 to 99,999</td>
<td>598.51</td>
<td>43.21</td>
<td>643.27</td>
<td>193.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25,000 to 49,999</td>
<td>944.84</td>
<td>79.68</td>
<td>479.75</td>
<td>324.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000 to 24,999</td>
<td>1,283.92</td>
<td>114.44</td>
<td>225.92</td>
<td>373.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less Than 10,000</td>
<td>1,860.81</td>
<td>183.91</td>
<td>279.79</td>
<td>661.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Counties</td>
<td>1,052.21</td>
<td>90.94</td>
<td>998.76</td>
<td>351.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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2 **Education.** Includes local government degree granting institutions that provide academic training above grade 12. Instructional employees include persons engaged in teaching and related academic research. Other employees includes all persons not included as instructional employees (e.g., administrative, clerical, custodial, cafeteria, health personnel, non-instructional employees engaged in organized research, law enforcement personnel, and paid student employees).

**Public welfare.** Included in this category are such activities as the administration of various public assistance programs for the needy, operation of homes for the elderly, indigent care institutions, and programs that provide payments for medical care, handicap transportation, and other services for the needy. Health care and hospital services provided directly by a government, however, are included in the “Health” and “Hospital” functions rather than here.

**Hospitals.** Includes only government operated medical care facilities that provide inpatient care. Employees and payrolls of private corporations which lease and operate government-owned hospital facilities are excluded.

**Health.** Administration of public health programs, community and visiting nurse services, immunization programs, drug abuse rehabilitation programs, health and food inspection activities, operation of outpatient clinics, and environmental pollution control activities are included in this classification.

**Highways.** Activities associated with the maintenance and operation of streets, roads, sidewalks, bridges, tunnels, toll roads, and ferries are included at this function. Snow and ice removal, street lighting, and highway and traffic engineering activities are also included here.

**Police protection.** All activities concerned, with the enforcement of law and order, including coroner’s offices, police training academies, investigation bureaus, and local jails, “lockups,” or other detention facilities not intended to serve as correctional facilities. The subcategory of police officers includes only persons with the power of arrest.

**Correction.** Activities pertaining to the confinement and correction of adults and minors convicted of criminal offenses. Pardon, probation, and parole activities are also included here.

**Natural resources.** Activities primarily concerned with the conservation and development of natural resources—forest fire prevention and control, flood control, irrigation, drainage, land and forest reclamation, fish and game preservation and control, soil conservation, forestry, agricultural aids and research, agricultural development and inspection, and mineral resources activities.

**Sewerage.** The provision, maintenance, and operation of sanitary and storm sewer systems and sewage disposal and treatment facilities.
Browne and Reid (1990: 272) conclude that “[i]ndividualism in community action is fast becoming too expensive for many rural governments to sustain, especially those in areas of declining population. Many would profit from providing services cooperatively. And some of the most imaginative and promising economic development opportunities require developing sufficient regionwide specialization to make agglomeration and size economies possible.” Furthermore, Wrigley (1973: 57) points out that “[s]ome authorities maintain that small cities with a population of ten thousand to fifty thousand, and especially those below twenty-five thousand, have such limited human and material resources that public investment in them is not justified; but others believe that improvement of selected small cities that serve rural areas with considerable population offers an opportunity for slowing rural out-migration, if not actually reversing it. Wrigley (1973: 60) suggests that:

1. the subdivision of states into planning and development districts,
2. the selection of small cities to form nodal points for rural development and a concentration of investment in these cities, and
3. the improved coordination of government efforts in the economic development field.
Wrigley (1973: 60) argues that “individual counties generally are too small and lack the resources needed to be viable planning and development units. In addition, Wrigley (1973: 60-61) asserts that multi-county districts would have “greater concentration of public funds, technical assistance, and leadership in (a) cities that appear to have the basic resources needed for growth, and (b) other places whose major role is to provide services needed by a fairly well populated rural area.” Wrigley (1973: 61) suggests that “[i]n order to build up at least one viable center in each district, much of the public investment should be concentrated in the designated center.” Wrigley (1973: 61-62) advocates that “helping selected centers, is the logical way to get at rural problems.” He goes on to conclude that:

Those small cities that have recognizable potential, in particular those designated to function as centers of districts for concentration of project development and technical assistance, will generally be the growth centers and the service centers of the future. This will be accomplished, however, only if concerted local efforts to make them attractive are an added ingredient (Wrigley, 1973: 62).

Based on these factors, a reconfiguration of counties based on metropolitan and micropolitan population concentration centers is proposed to consolidate the 105 counties in Kansas into the following 25 consolidated counties or districts:

(1) Butler County;
(2) Montgomery, Wilson and Woodson Counties;
(3) Clark, Comanche, Edwards, Ford, Grey, Hodgeman, Kiowa and Ness Counties;
(4) Douglas County;
(5) Anderson, Franklin, Linn and Miami Counties;
(6) Chase, Coffey, Greenwood, Lyon, Morris, Osage and Wabaunsee Counties;
(7) Finney, Greeley, Hamilton, Kearney, Lane, Scott, and Wichita Counties;
(8) Barton, Ellsworth, Pawnee, Rice, Rush, and Stafford Counties;
(9) Ellis, Graham, Norton, Osborne, Phillips, Rooks, Russell, Smith and Trego Counties;
(10) Barber, Harper, Kingman, Pratt and Reno Counties;
(11) Johnson County;
(12) Leavenworth County;
(13) Grant, Haskell, Meade, Morton, Seward, Stanton and Stevens Counties;
(14) Geary, Pottawatomie and Riley Counties;
(15) Harvey, McPherson and Marion Counties;
(17) Atchison, Brown, Doniphan, Jackson, Jefferson and Nemaha Counties;
(18) Cheyenne, Decatur, Gove, Logan, Rawlins, Sheridan, Sherman, Thomas and Wallace Counties;
(19) Allen, Labette and Neosho Counties;
(20) Bourbon, Cherokee and Crawford Counties;
(21) Dickinson, Lincoln, Ottawa and Saline Counties;
(22) Sedgwick County;
(23) Shawnee County;
(24) Chautauqua, Cowley, Elk and Sumner Counties; and
(25) Wyandotte County.

Exhibit 3 presents a map of a 25-district configuration based on population concentration centers.

Exhibit 3: Twenty-Five District Map

If a configuration based on the state’s population concentration centers is implemented, it would consolidate the state’s 105 counties into 25 districts. The largest district would be comprised of Johnson County and would include 534,093 residents, while the smallest district would be comprised of Cheyenne, Decatur, Gove, Logan, Rawlins, Sheridan, Sherman, Thomas and Wallace counties and would include 30,502 residents. Under the assumptions discussed above, such a consolidation could reduce total statewide county expenditures by $826 million. General expenditures could be reduced $662 million. Salaries could be reduced by as much as $317 million. Hospital costs could be reduced by $230 million, utility costs could decrease by $178 million, highway costs could decrease by $130 million, sewerage costs could decrease by $79 million, natural resource costs could decrease by $66 million, police protection costs could decrease by $45 million, health costs could decrease by as much as $33 million, and interest costs could decrease by $33 million. In addition, the level of debt incurred could also be cut by as much as $437 million.

This scenario attempts to minimize costs by structuring districts around the state’s metropolitan and micropolitan population centers, while at the same time trying to maximize the
number of district that have populations between 50,000 and 100,000, since counties in Kansas that are within this population range tend to have the lowest per capita expenditures. In 2000, the U.S. Office of Management and Budget (OMB) published new Standards for Defining Metropolitan and Micropolitan Statistical Areas in 2000. Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) have at least one urbanized area of 50,000 or more population, plus adjacent territory that has a high degree of social and economic integration with the core as measured by commuting ties. Under this definition Kansas has parts of five MSAs. The Kansas portion of the Kansas City MSA includes Franklin, Johnson, Leavenworth, Miami, and Wyandotte counties. The Wichita MSA includes Butler, Harvey, Sedgwick, and Sumner counties. The Topeka MSA includes Jackson, Jefferson, Osage, Shawnee, and Wabaunsee counties. The Lawrence MSA is comprised of only Douglas County. The St. Joseph MSA also includes Doniphan County. Generally, the core MSA counties was kept as separate districts, since adding counties to the core would effective increase per capita costs as opposed to decreasing them. In several cases non-core MSA counties were already in the 50,000 to 100,000 population range that tends to enjoy the lowest per capita expenditures in Kansas.

On the other hand, micropolitan Statistical Areas have at least one urban cluster of at least 10,000 but less than 50,000 population, plus adjacent territory that has a high degree of social and economic integration with the core as measured by commuting ties. Under this definition Kansas has 15 micropolitan statistical areas: Atchison (Atchison County), Coffeyville (Montgomery County), Dodge City (Ford County), Emporia (Chase and Lyon counties), Garden City (Finney County), Great Bend (Barton Count6), Hays (Ellis County), Hutchinson (Reno County), Liberal (Seward County), McPherson (McPherson County), Manhattan (Geary, Potawatomie, and Riley counties), Parsons (Labette Count6y), Pittsburg (Crawford County), Salina (Ottawa and Saline counties), and Winfield (Cowley County). In most cases, micropolitan counties and counties that have had historic economic ties and transportation linkages were combined to form additional districts. In addition, four other districts were formed with a lack of an established population concentration center and/or the lack of historic economic ties and/or transportation linkages. This approach attempts to optimize population sizes of the consolidated districts. Appendices 1 through 3 present the estimated actual, hypothetical, and difference in expenditures by 25 districts and function for Kansas in 2008.

**Three Additional Consolidation Alternatives**

**Senate Bill No. 198**

Senate Bill No. 198 introduced into the Kansas Legislature during the 2009 Session proposes to consolidate the 105 counties in Kansas into the following 13 counties or consolidated counties:

(1) Cheyenne, Rawlins, Decatur, Norton, Sherman, Thomas, Sheridan, Graham, Wallace, Logan, Gove, Greeley, Wichita, Scott and Lane counties;

(2) Hamilton, Kearny, Finney, Stanton, Grant, Haskell, Gray, Morton, Stevens, Seward and Meade counties;

(3) Rooks, Trego, Ellis, Ness, Rush and Pawnee counties;

(4) Hodgeman, Ford, Edwards, Kiowa, Clark and Comanche counties;
(5) Russell, Lincoln, Barton, Ellsworth, Rice, Stafford, Reno, Pratt, Kingman, Barber and Harper counties;
(7) Sedgwick, Butler, Sumner and Cowley counties;
(8) Ottawa, Saline, Dickinson, McPherson, Marion, Harvey, Riley, Pottawatomie, Geary, Wabaunsee, Morris and Chase counties;
(9) Greenwood, Woodson, Wilson, Elk, Chautauqua, Montgomery, Crawford, Labette, Cherokee, Allen, Bourbon and Neosho counties;
(10) Nemaha, Brown, Doniphan, Jackson, Atchison, Jefferson and Leavenworth counties.
(11) Shawnee and Douglas counties;
(12) Osage, Lyon, Coffey, Franklin, Miami, Anderson and Linn counties; and
(13) Wyandotte and Johnson counties.

Exhibit 4 presents a map of the 13-district consolidation proposed by 2009 Senate Bill No. 198.

Exhibit 4: Thirteen District Map

If Senate Bill No. 198 is adopted, it would consolidate the state’s 105 counties into 13 districts. The largest district would be comprised of Johnson and Wyandotte counties and would include 688,380 residents, while the smallest district would be comprised of Hodgeman, Ford, Edwards, Kiowa, Clark and Comanche counties and would include 44,922 residents. Under the assumptions discussed above, such a consolidation could reduce total statewide county
expenditures by $337 million. General expenditures could be reduced $191 million. Salaries could be reduced by as much as $161 million. Utility costs could decrease by $179 million, highway costs could decrease by $149 million, natural resource costs could decrease by $59 million, and sewerage costs could decrease by as much as $43 million. However, the level of debt incurred could rise by as much as $426 million. Appendix 4 presents the estimated actual, hypothetical, and difference in expenditures by 13 districts and function for Kansas in 2008.

**Thirty-Six District Configuration**
An alternative configuration proposes to consolidate the 105 counties in Kansas into the following 36 counties or consolidated counties:

(1) Sedgwick County;
(2) Johnson County;
(3) Shawnee County;
(4) Wyandotte County;
(5) Douglas County;
(6) Morton, Stanton and Stevens counties;
(7) Grant, Hamilton and Kearney counties;
(8) Greeley, Logan, Wallace and Wichita counties;
(9) Cheyenne, Rawlins, Sherman and Thomas counties;
(10) Decatur, Graham, Norton and Sheridan counties;
(11) Gove, Land and Scott counties;
(12) Finney and Haskell counties;
(13) Gray, Meade and Seward counties;
(14) Clark, Comanche and Kiowa counties;
(15) Edwards, Ford and Hodgeman counties;
(16) Ness, Pawnee and Rush counties;
(17) Ellis, Rooks and Trego counties;
(18) Osborne, Phillips and Smith counties;
(19) Barton, Ellsworth, Lincoln and Russell counties;
(20) Reno, Rice and Stafford counties;
(21) Barber, Harper, Kingman and Pratt counties;
(22) Butler, Cowley and Sumner counties;
(23) Harvey McPherson and Marion counties;
(24) Dickinson, Ottawa and Saline counties;
(25) Cloud, Jewell, Mitchell, and Republic counties;
(26) Clay, Marshall and Washington counties;
(27) Geary, Pottawatomie and Riley counties;
(28) Chase, Morris and Wabaunsee counties;
(29) Coffey, Lyon, and Osage counties;
(30) Greenwood, Wilson and Woodson counties;
(31) Chautauqua, Elk and Montgomery counties;
(32) Crawford, Cherokee and Labette counties;
(33) Allen, Bourbon and Neosho counties;
(34) Anderson, Franklin, Linn and Miami counties;
(35) Atchison, Jefferson and Leavenworth counties; and
(36) Brown, Doniphan, Jackson and Nemaha counties.

Exhibit 5 presents a map of an alternative 36-district consolidation proposal.
If this alternative is implemented, it would consolidate the state’s 105 counties into 36 districts. The largest district would be comprised of Johnson County and would include 534,093 residents, while the smallest district would be comprised of Greeley, Logan, Wallace and Wichita counties and would include 7,411 residents. Under the assumptions discussed above, such a consolidation could reduce total statewide county expenditures by $583 million. General expenditures could be reduced by as much as $418 million. Salaries could be reduced by as much as $247 million. Highway costs could decrease by $115 million, natural resource costs could decrease by $63 million, and sewerage costs could decrease by as much as $45 million. The level of debt incurred could also be cut by as much as $279 million. This alternative is likely to generate additional cost saving because the proposal creates more districts that are not too large in population or area. Appendices 5 through 7 present the estimated actual, hypothetical, and difference in expenditures by 36 districts and function for Kansas in 2008.

**Judicial District Configuration**

Another alternative configuration would be to consolidate counties based on the State’s 31 judicial districts:

1. Atchison and Leavenworth counties;
2. Jackson, Jefferson, Pottawatomie and Wabaunsee counties;
3. Shawnee County;
4. Anderson, Coffey, Franklin and Osage counties;
5. Chase and Lyon counties;
6. Bourbon, Linn and Miami counties;
7. Douglas County;
8. Dickinson, Geary, Marion and Morris counties;
9. Harvey and, McPherson counties;
10. Johnson County;
11. Cherokee, Crawford, Crawford, Labette and Labette counties;
13. Butler, Elk and Greenwood counties;
14. Chautauqua, Montgomery and Montgomery counties;
15. Cheyenne, Logan, Rawlins, Sheridan, Sherman, Thomas and Wallace counties;
16. Clark, Comanche, Ford, Gray, Kiowa and Meade counties;
17. Decatur, Graham, Norton, Osborne, Phillips and, Smith counties;
18. Sedgwick County;
19. Cowley County;
20. Barton, Ellsworth, Rice, Russell and Stafford counties;
21. Clay and Riley counties;
(22) Brown, Doniphan, Marshall and Nemaha counties;
(23) Ellis, Gove, Rooks and Trego counties;
(24) Edwards, Hodgeman, Lane, Ness, Pawnee and Rush counties;
(25) Finney, Greeley, Hamilton, Kearny, Scott and Wichita counties;
(26) Grant, Haskell, Morton, Seward, Stanton and Stevens counties;
(27) Reno County;
(28) Ottawa and Saline counties;
(29) Wyandotte County;
(30) Barber, Harper, Kingman, Pratt and Sumner counties; and
(31) Allen, Neosho, Neosho, Wilson and Woodson counties;

Exhibit 6 presents a map of the 31 state judicial districts.

Exhibit 6: Thirty-One District Map

If a configuration based on existing state judicial districts is adopted, it would consolidate the state’s 105 counties into 31 districts. The largest district would be comprised of Johnson County and would include 534,093 residents, while the smallest district would be comprised of Cheyenne, Decatur, Gove, Logan, Rawlins, Sheridan, Sherman, Thomas and Wallace counties Edwards, Hodgeman, Lane, Ness, Pawnee and Rush counties and would include 19,241 residents. Under the assumptions discussed above, such a consolidation could reduce total statewide county expenditures by $798 million. General expenditures could be reduced $633 million. Salaries could be reduced by as much as $296 million. Hospital costs could be reduced by $188 million, highway costs could decrease by $117 million, sewerage costs could decrease by $79 million, natural resource costs could decrease by $66 million, interest costs could decrease by $53 million, police protection costs could decrease by $45 million, and health costs...
could decrease by as much as $28 million. In addition, the level of debt incurred could also be cut by as much as $729 million. This alternative is likely to generate additional cost saving because it attempts to minimize the number of very small and very large districts. Appendices 8 through 10 present the estimated actual, hypothetical, and difference in expenditures by 31 districts and function for Kansas in 2008.

Further Research

According to Boyd (2008) Kansas ranks 5th in the nation in terms of layering of general purpose local governments with 10.9 percent of the state’s population governed by three layers of general purpose local governments. Only Illinois (61.0 percent), Indiana (49.7 percent), New York State outside of New York City (16.8 percent), and Ohio (14.2 percent) have higher percentages of population with three layers of general purpose government. As such, one important aspect of further research would involve an examination of the cost implications of overlapping governments in Kansas. Some potential areas of analysis include:

- The relationship between county government and township government,
- The potential cost savings for consolidating counties and townships, and
- The potential cost savings from consolidating urban cities and counties.

Fox (1980) and Doeksen and Peterson (1987) established an explanatory relationship between per capita cost of services and the number of people served. However, economies of scale are typically unique to each service function or cluster of related functions being performed. Therefore, it would be enlightening for the costs for each function or cluster of related functions to be estimated separately to improve reliability of results and interpretation.

Conclusions

Levine (1984: 179) suggests that:

Fiscal stress is an overlay on the anti-government/bureaucracy framework that conditions the relationship between citizenship and public administration. Combining the two sets of constraints highlights two persistent problems of public administration:

(1) How can a government build support for taxation to finance public service when citizens do not trust government to produce appropriate services?

(2) And, how can governments provide appropriate services if citizens are unwilling to pay for them through collective mechanisms like taxation?

Lockner (2008: 10) posits that “[c]onsolidation is one course to residents living better lives in a local regional community. A consolidation alternative, such as interlocal government agreements, is another course. But either one is not necessarily the right one for every community.” Additional alternatives include the status quo, tax increases, greater efficiency, reducing services, and voluntarism (Koven and Hadwiger, 1992: 321-325). On the one hand, the positive results from consolidation are (Kent and Sowards, 2005):

(1) Reduced duplication of governmental services and functions,
(2) Increased credit strength,
(3) Expanded ability to attract federal or state funding,
(4) Reduced problems with annexation,
(5) Improved services, and
(6) Improved image for consolidated government.

On the other hand, the negative results from consolidation (Kent and Sowards, 2005) are:

   (1) Loss of identity and autonomy,
(2) Fewer local government jobs and elected officials,
(3) Higher taxes and fees for suburban and rural residents, and
(4) Higher initial costs.

According to Koven and Hadwiger (1992; 326) early Jeffersonians espoused the view that “farmers were more virtuous than the corrupted urban dweller—holding a revered place in American society as protectors of democratic values and providers of sustenance.” However, Browne and Reid (1990: 268) conclude that “efforts to develop and revitalize rural areas are diffused by a lack of consensus and the tendency of interested parties to see rural America as they want it to be, rather than as it exists.” They go on to point out that “[l]ocal governments in a rural setting... share two prevailing characteristics; they usually serve small and dispersed populations and they tend to shun sharing authority with broader governments. These characteristics pose special problems for rural governments while inhibiting their ability to respond (Browne and Reid, 1990: 273).” According to Broder and Schmid (1983) rural residents identify several fears that may result from consolidation, including:

- Loss of control and self-determination over issues affecting their community;
- Loss of control over service level, convenience, and quality;
- Unnecessary increases in taxes;
- Increased likelihood local revenues will go to improve services in other communities, and
- Loss of community identity.

Because of this “[c]onsolidation is strongly resisted by citizens whose sense of community is tightly linked to a particular... government (Browne and Reid, 1990: 274).” In keeping, Thomas and Boonyapratuang (1993: 17) found that “the configuration of governments in a county is a product of local choices made over time.” Browne and Read (1990: 279) conclude that “[r]ural problems are sufficiently complex, and sufficiently basic, that most rural communities will not by themselves achieve a satisfactory resolution.” Because of this, Thomas and Boonyapratuang (1993: 1) conclude that “reforms aimed at making the county the ‘local government of the future’ would require perhaps insurmountable changes in state and local structures.”

Nevertheless, Koven and Hadwiger (1992: 324) conclude that “[c]onsolidation of county governments... is probably politically feasible, and ecologically feasible... because small, declining, counties tend to be cluster in the same rural regions.”
Thus, the key challenge of governmental consolidation requires management of multiple demands at one time, including the following (An Initial Assessment of Consolidation Feasibility, 2007: 15):

- The choosing and integration of new leadership
- The management of staff morale and the potential clash of organizational cultures
- The implementation of a new employee benefit package
- The reconciliation of differences in ordinances
- The implementation of common enforcement practices
- The adoption of a single information system and the transfer of data to this system
- The potential renegotiation of contracts and on-going partnerships (e.g., with the non-profit sector of the community)
- The adoption of a common set of standard operating procedures (e.g., for purchasing, accounting, and human resources)
- The management of potential changes in service levels to citizens
- The optimization of facility allocation and management
- The emergence of new political alliances due to changes in election districts and new issue coalitions
- Managing and funding the extension of services to areas (e.g., the unincorporated area) that previously did not receive the service or the same level of service
- The development of new understandings and workable relationships with respect to the roles of key public officials (e.g., a consolidated government will typically have a new charter that may define the roles of the commission/council, mayor/chair, and manager/administrator in ways that differ from either of the former governments).
- Managing the expectations of different groups of citizens. Research suggests that it may be nearly impossible to achieve the “promise” of consolidation due in part to the fact that some of the goals of consolidation may contradict each other (e.g., it is difficult to increase efficiency without risking equity).

Kent and Sowards (2005) go on to point out that the characteristics of successful consolidations and reorganizations include:

1. Democratic control,
2. General purpose authority, and
3. Sufficient independent resources.

According to Koven and Hadwiger (1992: 318):

The consolidation of rural governments may be politically feasible, but only if it can be shown that any economies of scale to be achieved are commensurate with the social and political costs of consolidation. Advocates of structural reform in government must
recognize the social costs associated with changing the structure of government. Consolidation not only reduces the number of local political leaders but also lead to the disappearance of important identity symbols. A loss of a county courthouse surely ranks in importance with the loss of a town’s football team or a community’s softball team. The social and political costs can be more tangible than vague promises of better services and greater efficiency in government. Psychological resistance to losing one’s hometown identity must be overcome in order to successfully implement consolidation plans. It is assumed that citizens have an emotional commitment to maintaining symbols such as the local high school or courthouse. For this reason, it may be necessary for a governing body with a broader constituency (such as the state legislature) to initiate action. Such bodies can more easily overcome parochial interests favoring the status quo. Historical precedent exists for initiation of consolidations by state legislative leadership.

In 1937 Bradshaw (p. 747) pointed out that “[b]ecause of the peculiar position occupied by the county, there is an opportunity for improving county services through promoting closer relations with the state.” In keeping, Edelman (2000: 21) recommends that:

It is generally easier for state governments to create incentive frameworks for voluntary local restructuring than to impose mandatory consolidation. Local governmental units often wish to modify and invent solutions that work best for their unique circumstances and objectives. When savings do exist, they typically accrue to merging entities as an incentive to proceed with reorganization. These savings are typically reinvested to improve the quality of service and to facilitate transition to the reconfigured delivery system. Unless well-conceived benefits are articulated, top-down mechanisms to collect and reallocate consolidation savings toward new statewide initiatives may risk the perceived local incentives for voluntary restructuring and impose new unintended barriers that could impede continuation of progress made in recent decades. A detailed and objective feasibility study process involving the relevant governmental units should be conducted on any specific proposals to identify whether potential savings are generated, who gains, who loses, and whether other important service characteristics are changed in the process. If this step is not taken, decision-makers risk encouraging consolidations that generate little or no savings or service enhancement. Public support for such efforts can easily erode when unintended consequences occur or when savings cannot be realized or verified.
References


Faulk, Dagne e and Hicks, Michael. (2009) Local Government Reform in Indiana. Muncie, IN: Center for Business and Economic Research, Ball State University.


Appendices
## Appendix 1: Estimated Actual Expenditures by 25 Districts

### Kansas, 2008

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>District Name</th>
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<th>Debt Expenditure</th>
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**All Districts**: 2,802,134  3,206,004  255,842  4,455,031  1,096,935
## Appendix 2: Estimated Hypothetical Expenditures by 25 Districts
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**Appendix 3: Estimated Difference in Expenditures by 25 Districts**

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| All Districts            | 2,802,134       | 826,128           | 83,808  | 436,783 316,538 |
## Appendix 4: Estimated Actual, Hypothetical, and Difference in Expenditures by 13 Districts

**Kansas, 2008**

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<th>Salaries</th>
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<th>Salaries</th>
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### Appendix 6: Estimated Hypothetical Expenditures by 36 Districts
#### Kansas, 2008

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| All Districts                | 2,802,134       | 2,608,084         | 189,605 | 4,310,218 | 851,528 |

- 34 -
### Appendix 7: Estimated Difference in Expenditures by 36 Districts
#### Kansas, 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Debt</th>
<th>Salaries</th>
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| All Districts               | 2,802,134       | 582,845          | 73,328  | 278,681 | 246,987   |
### Appendix 8: Actual Expenditures by 31 Districts
#### Kansas, 2008

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<th>Debt</th>
<th>Salaries</th>
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## Appendix 9: Estimated Hypothetical Expenditures by 31 Districts  
*Kansas, 2008*

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<th>Salaries</th>
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| All Districts                | 2,802,134              | 2,484,866               | 186,462 | 3,746,053 | 816,193 |
## Appendix 10: Estimated Difference in Expenditures by 31 Districts
### Kansas, 2008

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<th>Difference District Number</th>
<th>2008 Population</th>
<th>Total Expenditure</th>
<th>Capital</th>
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“Don’t Let the Geisha Steal Your Husband”:
The Reconstruction of the Wife during the 1920s and 30s in Japan

TANAKA Aiko, Kyoto University (aikotanaka@gmail.com)

Abstract:
The purpose of this paper is to explore the reconstruction of the wife during the 1920s and 30s when the modern ideals of unified sex, love, and marriage started to prevail in Japanese society, through analyzing the women’s magazine “Shufu no Tomo” (Housewife’s Friend).

In “Shufu no Tomo”, it was kuroto – various kinds of women whose profession was to comfort men such as geisha and prostitutes – who were considered to be the rivals of the wife in terms of maintaining a monogamous married life. Therefore, the advice to the wife was about competing with kuroto in order to attract her husband.

Specifically, the way to beat kuroto, in the first half of the 1920’s, was to make a sweet home for her husband so that he would want to come back home. Whereas, in the latter half of the 1920s and 30s, the advice went further to integrate some characteristics and roles of kuroto to that of the wife’s, such as taking care of one’s appearance or making efforts to be the object of the husband’s sexual desire. This suggests that the spread of the ideal to unify sex, love, and marriage was accompanied by new expectations toward the wife, which had formerly belonged to kuroto.
1. Title of the submission: Increasing Self-Efficacy for Exercise: An Everyday Problem Solving Analysis

2. Name(s) of the author(s): Daniele Artistico, Justin G. Black, Gursharan Bharth, Lyubov Gorbach, Helen Quinn, Christopher Dye.

3. Affiliation(s) of the author(s): Baruch College, City University of New York

4. Address(es) of the author(s): Baruch Way Psychology Department, Box 8-215, New York, NY 10010.

5. E-mail address(es) of the author(s): Daniele.artistico@baruch.cuny.edu

6. Abstract and/or full paper:

The objective of the study was to develop a novel procedure to increase self-efficacy for exercise. In the experimental condition, participants ($M_{age} = 21.38; SD = 4.41; N = 56$) underwent a problem-solving session in which they learned new strategies on how to solve day-to-day obstacles (the novel procedure). We enabled participants to psychologically remove the obstacles that interfered with their physical activity by using an idiographic methodological approach. Gains in people’s ability to resolve day-to-day obstacles were expected to cause an increase in self-efficacy for exercise. The results indicated that the experimental procedure improved self-efficacy for exercise. We discuss the possibility of applying these basic findings to health interventions.
Making the Pipelines Conquerable

RC Rockwell
rrockwel@du.edu
Joseph Korbel School of International Studies
University of Denver

March 19, 2010
“Cultural domination has been an underappreciated facet of American global power. Whatever one may think of its aesthetic values, America’s mass culture exercises a magnetic appeal, especially on the world’s youth... As the imitation of American ways gradually pervades the world, it creates a more congenial setting for the exercise of the indirect and seemingly consensual American hegemony.”

– Zbigniew Brzezinski

“...If ever anyone was to try to carry out in practice my ideas about laws and constitutions, now was the time for making the attempt; for if only I could fully convince one man, I should have secured thereby the accomplishment of all good things... I might some day appear to myself wholly and solely a mere man of words, one who would never of his own will lay his hand to any act.”

– Plato

“We continue to hear it said or suggested in a thousand ways and from a thousand sources that a major concern of American diplomacy, worldwide, should be the advancement of self-government by other peoples... In a host of ways, the thought finds expression in the American media that America has the duty to encourage and support the growth of democratic institutions, or at least the assurance of human rights, across the world, and that this should constitute a major, and even overriding objective of American foreign policy on a global scale. There are a number of reflections which cause me, for one, to have deep misgivings about this thesis... Those Americans who profess to know with such certainty what other people want and what is good for them in the way of political institutions would do well to ask themselves whether they are not actually attempting to impose their own values, traditions, and habits of thought on peoples for whom these things have no validity and no usefulness.”

– George Kennan

In this paper I will explore the nature and extent of U.S. involvement in the Color Revolutions, particularly the use of American nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). One of these NGOs involved is the Albert Einstein Institution (AEI); its founder, Gene Sharp, has studied the nonviolence techniques of Gandhi since the 1950s and written extensively on the subject. Two of Sharp’s books, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* (1973) and *From Dictatorship to Democracy* (1993), have been instrumental in helping to build upon the ideas of the youth-led demonstrations in Serbia (2000), Georgia (2003),

1 Brzezinski, p. 25.
2 This quote was taken from The Seventh Letter, by Plato. It was translated by J. Harward and retrieved from www.classicallibrary.org/plato/dialogues/25_7thLetter.html, p. 6 of 35.
3 Kennan, pp. 41-43.
4 I will abbreviate the Albert Einstein Institution as AEI, not to be confused with the conservative think-tank, the American Enterprise Institute.
Ukraine (2004), and Kyrgyzstan (2005). Yet some critics argue that Sharp’s use of nonviolence is being used a tactical weapon in a geopolitical theatre – its major participants being the U.S., Russia, and China. Adversaries of Sharp argue that the Gandhian theory that Sharp once studied and which historically falls in a continuum between Socrates and Martin Luther King, has developed into a great-power realist one that calculates the ends first, anticipating a favorable outcome. The nonviolent civil disobedience that Socrates, Gandhi, and Martin Luther King practiced, irrespective of the outcome, was set in motion with the intention of benefiting a common good; conversely, opponents say Sharp’s nonviolence has been incorporated into U.S. foreign policy as a regime-changing tactic designed solely to stretch its imperial ambitions, benefiting not a common good but the interests of a powerful few.

I was introduced to Gene Sharp’s ideas on nonviolence through his book, Making Europe Unconquerable: The Potential of Civilian-based Deterrence and Defense (1985), during Alan Gilbert’s seminar on nonviolence. Written toward the end of the Cold War, Sharp’s ideas on the possibilities of nonviolent, civilian-based defense of nation-states were needed (still are, today) and offer a refreshing alternative to standing armies and conventional warfare - especially in the nuclear age. For example, the nonviolent

5 Concerning the common good, Gandhi said, “My mission is not merely brotherhood of Indian humanity. But through realization of freedom of India I hope to realize and carry on the mission of brotherhood of man. My patriotism is not an exclusive thing. It is all-embracing and I should reject that patriotism which sought to mount upon the distress or the exploitation of other nationalities. The conception of my patriotism is nothing if it is not always in every case, without exception, consistent with the broadest good of humanity at large. Not that but my religion and my patriotism derived from my religion embrace all life…I have said times without number that untouchability is a serious blot on Hinduism and, I think, in the long run, in the race for life in which all the only religions of the world are today engaged, either Hinduism has got to perish or untouchability has to be rooted out completely, so that the fundamental principle of Advaita Hinduism may be realized in practical life,” (Iyer, p. 59). Martin Luther King’s speech, “A Time to Break Silence,” given exactly one year before he was murdered, and his organization in the Poor People’s Campaign epitomize a common good, as well. King moved beyond segregation, speaking out on economic class injustice and American foreign policy (Vietnam) - a topic that many feel strongly cost King his life.
“Blitzkrieg” described by Sharp combines striking, economic shutdowns, evacuating cities, staying at home, and defying media sources such as newspapers and radio, offer arguably better ways of defending an attack than countering with violence. Sharp’s Albert Einstein Institution (AEI) has a comprised list of “198 Methods of Nonviolent Action” that can be used as a substitute for violence and range from public speeches, slogans, group or mass petitions, mock awards, displays of flags, wearing symbols, and marches and parades. Gilbert speaks highly of Sharp’s nonviolent alternative during the Cold War in *Must Global Politics Constrain Democracy?* (1999); but I found some of Gilbert’s topic questions concerning Sharp intriguing: “In what way is Sharp’s analysis of Europe realist?” and “How might a Marxian criticize Sharp’s view?” Perhaps Sharp’s theory of applying nonviolence was too exclusive, leaving out the inclusive ingredients of *democratic internationalism*. I became interested in more closely exploring Sharp’s motives after a student highlighted one of Sharp’s books, *From Dictatorship to Democracy* (1993), which has been strategically circulating around the globe and is currently available in over twenty languages. Gilbert also questioned Sharp’s apparent invisible stance on Vietnam and Iraq. “Was this nonviolent theory put to use during the Vietnam War or now and/or during the Iraq War?” asked Gilbert.

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8 In the Albert Einstein Institution’s Spring 2006 Newsletter (p. 12), it was reported that the Farsi translation of *From Dictatorship to Democracy* had been downloaded more than 10,000 times in Iran. In 2003, the Christian Science Monitor published an article entitled, “The Nonviolent Script for Iran,” authored by Peter Ackerman and Jack Duvall. Ackerman produced the Peabody award-winning documentary, “Bringing Down a Dictator,” and is chairman of the board of overseers of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. “Duvall coauthored the book “A Force More Powerful.” Both are involved with the Center for Nonviolence.
This has led me to research Gene Sharp, his theory and how his nonviolent techniques have been used and are being used today. I discovered an article that has since fueled an addiction to continue researching this topic. In the article entitled, “The Albert Einstein Institution: Nonviolence According to the CIA,” journalist Thierry Meyssan, writes:

It has been 15 years since (the) CIA began using it (non-violence as political action) to overthrow inflexible governments without provoking international outrage, and its ideological façade is philosopher Gene Sharp’s Albert Einstein Institution… Gene Sharp formulated a theory on nonviolence as a political weapon… he first helped NATO and then CIA train the leaders of the soft coups of the last 15 years. Since the 50s, Gene Sharp studied Henry D. Thoreau and Mohandas K. Gandhi’s theory of civil disobedience. For these authors, obedience and disobedience were religious and moral concerns; Civil disobedience can be considered then as a political, even military action technique…Therefore, nonviolence, recognized as good-natured and assimilated to democracy, offered a suitable option to antidemocratic secret actions.9

Meyssan also asserted that the Albert Einstein Institution is backed financially by the National Endowment for Democracy (NED)10 and that in September, 2002, Sharp trained

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9www.voltairenet.org/article30032.html. This is a translation from French.
10The National Endowment for Democracy and the Albert Einstein Institute were both created in 1983. The NED has been called “kinder, gentler CIA,” says Kane, with one of the creators (of the NED) saying, “A lot of what we do today was done covertly 25 years ago by the CIA.” This led to the creation of four offshoots of the NED, including the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the International Republican Institute (IRI). Originally, the IRI and NDI focused their attention on Central America and the Caribbean, but after the fall of the Soviet Union they shifted their attention to the former Communist republics of Eastern Europe.
members of Ahmed Chalabi’s Iraqi National Council to return to Iraq, and that Sharp organized the leaders of Sumate to demonstrate against Hugo Chavez after the failed CIA coup in April of 2002. Not ready to accept Meyssan’s thesis and his notes, and wanting more than a second opinion, I continued my investigation. Despite the fact that Meyssan is also a questionable 9/11 conspiracy-theorist, I found numerous authors who more than reiterate Meyssan’s reservations about how Sharp’s theories and his organization, the AEI, are being used to further western control and interests.

Gene Sharp’s global interests and involvement span the past twenty years beginning with his creation of the Albert Einstein Institution in 1983 - founded to promote the study and use of nonviolent action. He spent three decades (1950-1980) studying and writing on nonviolence, particularly the theories and politics of Mahatma Gandhi, obtaining a master’s degree in 1951 from Ohio State University. Sharp continued to study Gandhian thought and the political turmoil in India more intensely while working as a personal secretary for pacifist A.J. Muste. He also served nine months of a two year prison sentence as a conscientious objector during the Korean War, published his first book, *Gandhi Wields the Weapon of Moral Power* (with an introduction by Albert Einstein) in 1960\(^{11}\), and received his doctorate at Oxford University in 1968. Throughout the seventies, he lectured at Boston University, Lesley College, Tufts University, Brandeis University, and Harvard University. He became an Associate Professor of Sociology and Political Science at Southeastern Massachusetts University in 1971. Despite his nonviolent beliefs and his proximity to East-coast anti-war activities, he seems to turn up MIA as far as any overt political involvement during

\(^{11}\) Interestingly, I found it a difficult task in trying to acquire a copy of this book. I later found that an Indian publishing house still holds the copyright - the same company that holds Gandhi’s writings.
the Vietnam War. I have found little to no information of substance concerning Sharp in this era, except an article written in 1976 critical of the antiwar movement. Published in Fellowship magazine, Sharp comments:

Peace groups have been willing to settle for things far short of abolishing war: witnessing to one’s piety and purity—and the stupidity of everybody else; witnessing to being a “holy remnant” or the only sane people around; struggling for the rights of conscientious objectors to war. There is nothing intrinsically wrong with any of these things. The point is not that. But they serve as substitutes for serious efforts to abolish war as such.\(^\text{12}\)

Years later Sharp contradicts his stance on the possibilities of abolishing war in his book, Social Power and Freedom (1980), with an introduction by Senator Mark Hatfield:

It may never be possible, or even desirable, to remove conflict from human society. Max Weber insisted, for example, that “conflict cannot be excluded from social life…Peace is nothing more than a change in the form [of the conflict] or in the antagonists or in the objects of the conflict, or finally in the chances of selection.” Conflict may help to keep human society creative and free and to remove oppression and injustice, which are constant potential sources of open struggle.\(^\text{13}\)

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\(^{12}\) This article can be found at www.fragmentsweb.org/fourtx/dishistx.html.

\(^{13}\) Sharp, Social Power and Political Freedom, p. 198.
Here, Sharp appears to adhere to the traditional realist principle set forth by Hobbes, that man by nature is evil. Throughout Sharp’s chapter entitled “The Political Equivalent of War,” he continues to cite Weber as well as Morgenthau (politics is about man over man). Yet one might observe such views on the nature of man and pessimism towards the possibility of eradicating war as reactionary and determined by one’s “throwness” to his/her historicity as Heidegger theorized. This “worse-case-scenario” outlook by those affected by war negates the positive steps made throughout man’s history. Moreover, as an anthropology student, I urge one to shift the paradigm of our “history” back seven million years ago to our earliest known ancestor, Sahalanthropis (found in Chad), or even further to our primate origins as nocturnal lemurs. While even sociobiologists have attempted to explain man’s ostensible innateness to war, it was Jane Goodall who discovered “behavioral plasticity” among chimpanzees – that although some groups of chimps displayed aggression, others did not. That sociobiologists appear to have cherrypicked the data equates to Said’s theory of orientalism. This idea that man is by nature evil and violent omits the fact that our history extends very far back into the past and that war is simply a contemporary phenomenon and thus very susceptible to disintegration.

Sharp’s _The Politics of Nonviolent Action_ (1973), with an introduction by Thomas Schelling, set his pragmatic nonviolent theory, nonviolent training workshops, and academic studies of nonviolent political activism in motion. Though Sharp founded his studies on Gandhi’s nonviolence, it seems Sharp began to embrace a more “realistic,” pragmatic nonviolence technique that was stripped of the moral obligation. For Gandhi, nonviolence as a moral principle could not be separated from the political, since the
consequences of actions could never be known, and therefore kept pure. Sharp’s
disassociation and differentiation from Gandhi’s nonviolent theory specifies “knowing
the consequences…that the aim of nonviolence should be victory not conversion.”\footnote{14}
Gandhi’s satyagraha or clinging to the truth of conflict resolution, attempts at
conversion, and freedom without humiliation became “too worldly and utopian” for
Sharp. One example is not only the idea of living nonviolently throughout one’s life (as
opposed to its use pragmatically), but applying it to whole societies/nations vs.
individuals. “Somehow or other,” proclaims Gandhi, “the wrong belief has taken
possession of us that ahimsa (nonviolence) is preeminently a weapon for individuals and
its use therefore should be limited to that sphere. In fact that is not the case. Ahimsa is
definitely an attitude of society.”\footnote{15} Taking a slightly different path, Sharp diverges, “The
turn the other cheek philosophy and the love your enemies philosophy were only valid, I
felt when individuals were in conflict with other individuals; when racial groups and
nations were in conflict a more realistic approach seemed necessary.”\footnote{16}

This idea of being able to project or anticipate falls in line with arguments put
forth by scholars like Michael McFaul, a senior fellow at Stanford’s Hoover Institution
and advisor to the National Democratic Institute (NDI). For example, in his article
“Transitions from PostCommunism,” McFaul lays out factors for determining the success
of regime change in Serbia, Georgia, and the Ukraine:

1) a semi-autocratic rather than fully autocratic regime
2) an unpopular incumbent

\footnote{14} Sharp, The Politics of Nonviolent Action, p. 64.
\footnote{15} Weber, pp. 2-3.
\footnote{16} Sharp, Power and Political Freedom, p. 398.
3) a united and organized opposition
4) an ability quickly to drive home the point that voting results were falsified
5) enough independent media to inform citizens about the falsified vote
6) a political opposition capable of mobilizing tens of thousands or more demonstrators to protest electoral fraud
7) divisions among the regime’s coercive forces.”¹⁷

This quantifiable approach to regime change coincides with Sharp’s pragmatic nonviolence, which aims not for long-term change but the exchange of political power:

Nonviolent action is a technique by which people who reject passivity and submission, and who see struggle as essential, can wage their conflict without violence. Nonviolent action is not an attempt to avoid or ignore conflict. It is one response to the problem, of how to act effectively in politics, especially how to wield power effectively.¹⁸

One might look to a review Sharp wrote on Erik Erikson’s *Gandhi’s Truth*, as a crystallizing moment. In the review, Sharp questions whether Gandhi can even be credited with discovering nonviolence saying, “…while Gandhi stimulated some of this (nonviolence), the technique was modified in new cultural and political settings and has already moved beyond Gandhi.”¹⁹ Whether or not this was a turning point is difficult to ascertain, but the consequences of Sharp’s pragmatic nonviolent theory border on

¹⁷ McFaul, p. 7.
¹⁹ Sharp, *Gandhi as a Political Strategist*, p. 65.
unethical. For instance, when nonviolence is pragmatic the aim is to defeat the opponent; there is no desire to seek a compromise or a common good. This leaves “conflict resolution” through nonviolence in an endless cycle with an acceptance that none is possible. The elusiveness and relativity of such an opponent invites Sharp’s pragmatic nonviolence to be used for good or bad purposes when the morality of nonviolence is not factored in. At the same time, the use of nonviolence is still preferable to the use of violence in any case. Still, Sharp states, “It is not a question, is this violent or nonviolent. It is not a question, is it morally right or morally wrong. It is not a question, is it justified or unjustified. The question is what are its consequences.”

Today, Sharp is known as the “Clausewitz” or “Machiavelli of nonviolent warfare,” championing that nonviolence need not concern itself with ethics, only hard-headed realism, particularly with regard to the color revolutions of the former Soviet bloc and unrest in Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, and even Africa. It seems obvious that anti-government political actions around the globe have increasingly become almost scripted. F. William Engdahl points out that Sharp’s book, *From Dictatorship to Democracy*, has become the bible of the color revolutions that explains the various uses of nonviolent tactics, e.g. color symbols and flags. In a November 29, 2004 interview with Robert Parry, Amy Goodman of *Democracy Now!* asked Parry to contrast the media’s coverage of the Ukrainian elections to the U.S. presidential elections of the same year. Parry, an investigative journalist whose reporting led to the exposure of the Iran-Contra scandal, remarked to Goodman:

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20 From the Film, “People Power,” by Ilan Ziv.
21 Engdahl’s article entitled, “Washington’s Interest in Ukraine: Democracy or Energy Geopolitics,” can be found at www.globalresearch.ca.
Immediately after the Ukraine election, the Washington Post and other major news organizations in the U.S. began demanding that the official results be thrown out because of questions about legitimacy. The Post cited in a lead editorial the fact that exit polls had shown the opposition candidate prevailing while the official results came in the opposite way…Ironically, of course, some similar facts existed for the U.S. election on November 2. The exit polls had shown John Kerry winning…So you have a double standard in fact. In the Ukraine, the U.S. press corps seems to be much more concerned about having a pure and precise democratic process, where in the U.S., there’s less of a commitment, it seems.22

This juxtaposition was also raised by Gilbert, and moreover, he questioned the motives of the U.S. and its funding of Ukrainian exit polls and reelections while neglecting the 2004 presidential elections discrepancy. Little did we know at the time that much of the Ukrainian Orange Revolution that brought a pro-U.S. candidate to power was organized and financed by American NGOs using Gene Sharp’s methods. Engdahl, author of A Century of War: Anglo-American Oil Politics and the New World Order (2004), admits that:

The Kuchma regime is anti-democratic and no model for human rights, one factor which feeds an opposition movement, but the Ukrainian elections are not about western-sanctioned democratic voting…it’s mainly about who influences the

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22 This article can be found at www.democracynow.org/article.pl?sid=04/11/29/1448211&mode=thread&tid=25.
largest neighbor of Russia, Washington or Moscow - the deeper issue is Eurasian geopolitical control.23

A significant observation, however, is that Ukraine is the transit land for most major Russian Siberian gas pipelines to Germany and the rest of Europe. Former National Security Council chief, Zbigniew Brzezinski has written on the geopolitics of regime change in Eastern Europe and Central Asia and sees Ukraine as part of a wider U.S. pattern of active regime change:

Ukraine, a new and important space on the Eurasian chessboard is a geopolitical pivot because its very existence as an independent country helps transform Russia. Without Ukraine, Russia ceases to be a Eurasian empire…If Moscow regains control over Ukraine, with its 52 million people and major resources as well as access to the Black Sea, Russia automatically again regains the wherewithal to become a powerful imperial state, spanning Europe and Asia. Ukraine’s loss of independence would have immediate consequences for Central Asia.24

In 2001, Brzezinski accompanied Yushchenko to Washington, having been invited by the Bush Administration. The event was paid for by the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) – an organization established by the Reagan Administration and Congress to privatize certain CIA operations. Engdahl points out that media groups such

23 This article can be found at www.atimes.com/atimes/Global_Economy/GF30Dj01.html.
24 Brzezinski, p. 46.
as the *Washington Post* and *New York Times* reported voter fraud only from Moscow-backed Viktor Yanukovych. *Helsinki Watch Group*, a British human rights group, reported that both sides committed vote fraud and found more voting irregularities from the side of U.S.-backed Viktor Yushchenko. Still, an estimated 500,000 nonviolent protesters in support of Yushchenko filled Kiev’s independent square and marched in front of the Ukrainian Parliament wearing and waving Yushchenko’s symbolic orange party color demanding a fair reelection.\(^\text{25}\)

The driving force of such an awesome exhibit of mass demonstration was the “swarm,”\(^\text{26}\) a 10,000 strong student youth group *Pora!*, which means *High Time*! Whether *Pora!* was grass-roots based or not remains in question, but it received considerable training from by Robert Helvey, a retired colonel and president of the Albert Einstein Institution, and was funded by American NGOs - specifically, the Republican arm of the National Endowment for Democracy – the International Republican Institute (IRI), Freedom House\(^\text{27}\), the U.S. Institute of Peace, USAID, and the Center for Nonviolent Conflict, AEI\(^\text{28}\), and George Soros’ Open Society Institute. Helvey’s first youth-oriented group, *Otpor!*, meaning “resistance,” had been established in 1999, prior to the 2000 Bulldozer Revolution which culminated in the overthrow of Slobodan Milosevic. The training of twelve *Otpor!* leaders at the Budapest Hilton Hotel, by Helvey, came at the behest of the International Republican Institute.\(^\text{29}\) Such training

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\(^{25}\) www.wikipedia.org/colorrevolutions.

\(^{26}\) The tactic of swarming stretches back at least to Genghis Khan, and is now being implemented by the U.S. military for violent and nonviolent convergences via modern technologies.

\(^{27}\) Freedom House has eight offices around the world, including Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Serbia, and Ukraine. www.freedomhouse.org.

\(^{28}\) According to sourcewatch.org, AEI is funded by Soros and the NED.

\(^{29}\) Consultants from the U.S. contributed heavily to the anti-Milosevic campaign through running tracking polls and vote counting. U.S. taxpayers paid for thousands of spraypaint cans to be used by student
included teaching the *Otpor!* leaders Sharp’s specific nonviolent techniques in dealing with fear, keeping protest lines straight, and chanting and making noise to drown out threatening sounds. While the origins of the “coup” upheaval can be traced back to the CIA’s overthrow of Mossadegh in the 1950s, the “banana republics” in South and Central America, the Philippines in 1986, and Tiananmen Square destabilization in 1989, the current color revolutions utilize today’s high-tech gadgets, e.g. cell phones, text messaging, computers, chat rooms, blogsites, video games; and thus the power of regime change has been shifted exoterically from the old top-down model to a bottom-up movement. After Helvey’s training, the *Otpor!* leaders unleashed an immense recruitment drive garnering an estimated 70,000 members.\(^{30}\) The NGO Freedom House,\(^{31}\) chaired at that time by James Woolsey, former CIA director and signer of the Project for a New American Century (PNAC) letter to Clinton that called for the removal of Saddam in 1998, funded the printing of thousands of copies of Sharp’s *From Dictatorship to Democracy* and trained opposition, democratic poll observers.

Since then, ‘color’ revolutions have flourished across the post-communist regions of Eastern Europe and Central Asia. *Otpor!* leaders have become modern nonviolent mercenaries with the American government footing the bill.\(^{32}\) Serving as a template, *Otpor!* was replicated in the form of *Zubr!* in Belarus in 2001 although efforts failed to overthrow Luschenko. *Knara!*, meaning “enough,” in the 2003 Rose Revolution in Georgia overthrowing Shevardnadze, *Pora!* in the aforementioned Orange Revolution in

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\(^{31}\) The current director of Freedom House is Peter Ackerman, author of *A Force More Powerful* (2000), who was also the chairperson for the Center on Nonviolent Conflict.

the Ukraine in 2004, and the 2005 Tulip Revolution in the Kyrgyz Republic. Engdahl has summarized the situation thusly:

In short, virtually every regime which has been the target of a US-backed soft coup in the past twenty years has involved Gene Sharp and, his associate, Col. Robert Helvey. Notably, Sharp was in Beijing two weeks before student demonstrations at Tiananmen Square in 1989. The Pentagon and US intelligence have refined the art of such soft coups to a fine level. RAND planners call it swarming, referring to the swarms of youth...who can be mobilized on command to destabilize a target regime.33

Due to the fact that these movements have been triggered by outside interests rather than inspired from within the countries permanent change has been elusive. The Gene Sharp inspired street protests and regime changes have not resulted in the expected stable democracies. For instance, Orange Revolution supporters were discontented last August when pro-Western Yushchenko was forced to back his arch-rival, Yanukovych, as prime minister. Yanukovych favors, as well as most members of parliament, the maintenance of close relations with Russia. The pro-Western, democratically elected President Bakiyev of the Kyrgyz Republic recently signed a new constitution limiting his powers, resulting in BBC headlines concluding, “Tulip Revolution Wilts.” This after the Bakiyev’s predecessor, Askar Akayev stated, “We have to confront those that are committed to reproduce a Georgian or Ukrainian scenario...we’ll not allow the import of Rose [Georgian] and Orange [Ukrainian] revolutions in our country.” These and past

33 This article can be found at www.atimes.com/atimes/Global_Economy/GF30Dj01.html.
historical examples of regime change, as well as the process and outcome of the March 2005 upheavals in the Kyrgyz Republic, suggest that democracy is rarely achieved through mass street protests or through elections alone. In Fiona Hill and Kevin Jones’ “Fear of Democracy or Revolution: The Reaction to Andijon,” they write:

Although either may lead to a change in power, allowing nascent democratic movements to emerge, political democracy is solidified through the development of strong civic institutions and a fair and impartial legal system. Furthermore, the goal of democracy promotion is not simply to ensure free and fair elections. It is supposed to be the creation of a system of governance that enhances the political, economic, and social welfare of as large a group of the population as possible.34

Some countries, alarmed by the strategic implementation of these manufactured revolutions by the U.S., have already begun to take drastic, more repressive measures; Uzbekistan, Russia, and China have banned NGOs from entering their countries. George Soros and his Open Society Institute are now being accused by Tajikistan of corruption and nepotism.35

Since these regime changes have resulted in power changes that favor the wishes of the United States, it can be argued that Gene Sharp’s theory on nonviolence has ended up serving the goals of imperialism and been masked in the promotion of democracy. As Chalmers Johnson rightly clarified in Seattle on February 11, 2004, “Imperialism is not colonialism. Colonialism involves establishing governments abroad, whereas

34 Hill and Jones, p.120.
35 Ibid.
imperialism influences foreign governments from abroad.”36 The U.S.’s priority does not lie in bringing free trade and open markets, let alone democracy for the people it would appear. Our main concern, perhaps, is keeping Russia and China from influencing Central Asian and Eastern European countries – specifically with regard to oil and the oil pipelines.

It is increasingly clear that the domino-like regime changes, youth-led revolutions, and the circulation and popularity of Gene Sharp’s “how-to” book on nonviolent protest have not been a series of unrelated events. The big power countries of Russia and China are in competition with the US and other NATO countries for the energy resources of areas like the Caspian Sea, and a series of pipelines are being built to funnel oil to the West. To have the routes of these pipelines surrounded by Western-friendly regimes only makes sense to the nations and major companies that stand to reap the rewards. By taking control of countries like Ukraine, Uzbekistan, and Azerbaijan, Washington would lay siege to Russia in order to assure that China and Iran’s ties with Russia come to an end. To answer the age-old question of the Roman Cassius, “Cui Bono?” Justin Raimondo observes in “The Pipeline from Hell:”

For sheer clout in establishment circles, the Azeri and Georgian lobbies are hard to beat. Several prominent figures in the Bushian wing of the Republican party stand to make a substantial profit through their investments in companies doing business in the region, among them: James Baker, Brent Scowcroft, Dick Cheney.

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36 Chalmers Johnson spoke in Seattle, Washington on February 11, 2004 and was recorded by Alternative Radio out of Boulder, Colorado.
and John Sununu; the secretary of state, national security adviser, secretary of defense, and chief of staff respectively for George Herbert Walker Bush.”

“Energy and oil and gas pipeline control lay at the heart of the US moves;” writes Engdahl, “Little wonder, perhaps, that some people inside the Kremlin, notably Putin, began to wonder if Putin’s new born-again Texan partner-in-prayer, George W. Bush, was in fact speaking to Putin with a forked tongue, as the Native Americans would say.”

One hundred and fifty years ago Manifest Destiny called for railroads across the United States and a series of military forts to defend them from the indigenous landholders; today we can look forward to pipelines and a series of modern “forts” built by that largest contractor of military bases, who else but Halliburton? While Sharp and his followers may truly believe these endeavors protect a common good (the U.S./West), they manage to only help a small percentage of the world’s population. After listening to Slobo present his experience and watching “Bringing Down a Dictator,” my thoughts were on the sheer magnitude of the resistance that Otpor! created – truly an awesome feat. I believe people in Eastern Europe and Central Eurasia truly want governments that tilt more in favor of democratic regimes, as opposed to authoritarian ones. That democratization should be carried out around the world by the U.S. depends on the intent; perhaps an implementation of nonviolence based on Gandhi that is concerned with what might happen to nonviolent actors and its people as a result of their struggle might better suit countries like Serbia, Ukraine, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan that are caught in the revolving door. Ackerman and Duvall call Sharp “the great theoretician of nonviolent

38 “Moscow plays its cards strategically.” http://www.atimes.com/Central_AsiaHJ25Ag01.html.
Anyone undertaking to write about nonviolent action necessarily stands on the shoulders of Gene Sharp.” This is a compelling echo of the way that Sharp once stood on the shoulders of Gandhi and declared that:

The satyagrahi, a believer in satyagraha, constantly seeks to live a life of truth and love. He always seeks to turn the searchlight inward and to so live that he does no wrong to his fellow men through exploitation, oppression, violence, or other means. The satyagrahi looks upon all as his brothers. He believes that the practice of love and self-suffering will bring about a change of heart in his opponent. The satyagrahi tries to change both individuals, and institutions. He believes that the power of love, if pure, is great enough to melt the stoniest heart of an evildoer.39

References


39 Sharp, Gandhi Wields the Weapon of Moral Power, p. 4.

Sharp, Gene. *Gandhi As Political Strategist.* Porter Sargent Publishers: Boston. 1979


Realist Interpretations of Thucydides and Melian Dialogue

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March 19, 2010
Introduction

Many American realists refer to Thucydides as the “father of realism,” particularly zeroing in on Thucydides’ *Melian Dialogue* in his *History of the Peloponnesian War* as evidence in support of their international political theory. In this paper I will summarize realists’ views of Thucydides and his Melian Dialogue, then offer just a few (for there are many) countering arguments against the idea that Thucydides and his Melian Dialogue are realist – specifically from Donnelly’s *Realism and International Relations*, Gilbert’s *Must Global Politics Constrain Democracy?*, and Connor’s *Thucydides*. These refreshing reexaminations of Thucydides by Connor, Gilbert, and Donnelly strengthen the case for new offerings towards what Thucydides really meant. I will then offer my own critique of realists’ misuse of Thucydides and his Melian Dialogue.

It is my belief that Plato wrote *The Republic* as a response to the fall of Athens (I later found out that J. Peter Euben shares the same feeling), more specifically - what happened in the quarries of Syracuse. I will elaborate on the similarities between the quarries of Syracuse and Plato’s “Cave,” and argue that Plato’s determinism in “going down” into the mess in order to enlighten is his attempt to revisit the quarries and save Athens from its mistake in overstretching its imperial ambitions. Moreover, even Plato saw that Thucydides’ *History* was not a realist bible but a warning to those engaged in a realist/Thrasymachus “strong over the weak,” or Carl Schmitt’s “friend vs. enemy” concept. The *Republic*, therefore, is Plato’s attempt to avoid imperial “overreach;” for he realized its implications: that the invasion of Sicily and debacle in the quarries at Syracuse resulted in the downfall of Athens.
Summary and overview

In this section I will summarize and review realists’ use of Thucydides, specifically his Melian Dialogue in book 5 (85-111) of the History. While Thucydides, the History, and the Melian Dialogue have been used to endorse realist thought stretching back to Machiavelli and Hobbes, I will concentrate on twentieth-century American realists’ usage.

Ever since Thomas Hobbes first translated Thucydides’ History of the Peloponnesian War (431-404 B.C.),¹ from ancient Greek to English, realists have viewed Thucydides as the “father of realism.”² During the Cold War Thucydides became synonymous with realism in American academia and government as the U.S. assumed its role as a powerful nation-state. Here, Donnelly explains the paradigm shift between World War I and II:

The link between realism and international theory is especially strong in the twentieth century. International relations first emerged as an academic discipline before and immediately after World War I, largely in reaction against realist balance of power politics. The discipline was then reshaped immediately before and after World War II…³

While neoconservatives like Donald Kagan and Victor Davis Hanson draw parallels between the Treaty of Versailles (Kagan), George Herbert Walker Bush’s decision not to enter Iraq (Hanson) and the Peace of Nicias (lesson – pummel the opponent into annihilation), realists (both classical and neo, in academia and government)

¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thucydides  
² Concentrating on American realism, in Michael T. Clark’s journal article, “Realism Ancient and Modern: Thucydides and International Relations,” he writes that “the relationship of Thucydides to contemporary IR is what George Kennan reportedly ascribed to Reinhold Niebuhr and the postwar generation realists: ‘he was the father of us all.’” p. 491, Political Science and Politics, Vol. 26, No. 3 (Sep., 1993, pp. 491-494.  
³ Donnelly, p. 1.
began to draw their own parallels between Athens and Sparta and the U.S. and Soviet Union after World War II.

For instance, in 1947, Secretary of State George Marshall said, “I doubt seriously whether a man can think with full wisdom and with deep convictions regarding certain of the basic issues today who has not at least reviewed in his mind the period of the Peloponnesian War and the fall of Athens.”4 Marshall took Kennan under his wing and into the State Department. Kennan brought with him the “X” telegram and his realist views on the necessity of negating morality (that it did not constitute a “national interest”).5 Since then, “Twentieth-century”6 realists Kennan, Morgenthau, Waltz, Keohane, and Nye, to name a few, have paid tribute to Thucydides, by quoting from the History to support their realist theses - comparing Athens/Sparta and the U.S./Soviet Union in relation to “power politics.”

Louis Halle, who was the Director of the State Department’s Policy Planning Staff in 1952, wrote, “the present, in which our country finds herself, like Athens after the Persian Wars, called upon to assume the leadership of the free world brings him [Thucydides] virtually to our side…It seems to me that since World War II Thucydides has come still closer to us so that now he speaks to our ear.”7

Waltz cites Halle in his book, Theory of International Politics (1979), saying, “Less famous (than Hobbes), but equally striking, is the realization by Louis J. Halle of

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4 This quote is well-known, but was taken from Daniel Mendelsohn’s article, “Theatres of War,” in The New Yorker January 12, 2004. Mendelsohn states that Marshall spoke these words when visiting Princeton University on Washington’s Birthday in 1947.
5 Kennan left the State Department in 1950 after Acheson replaced Marshall. Acheson and Kennan didn’t get along; Kennan’s “X” article became the blueprint for NSC-68, a militarized ‘containment’ strategy (with Keynesian economists fixating a GDP annual growth from arms) that became the outline for the Cold War.
7 Halle, pp. 262 and 265.
the relevance of Thucydides in the era of nuclear weapons and superpowers (1955, appendix).”

Waltz also takes in another interpretation of Thucydides, this time from Werner Jaeger, in order to show “that states balance power rather than maximize it. States can seldom afford to make maximizing power their goal.”

Yet Thucydides’ Melian Dialogue is touted by realists (most often “radical realists”) as the quintessential historical precedent to the realist doctrine of negating morality/justice in modern foreign policy. Donnelly best summarizes: “The Melian Dialogue provides perhaps the best-known and certainly one of the strongest, statements of realist amoralism.”

For instance, in his book Nuclear Ethics (1986), Nye writes, “As Thucydides put it two and half millennia ago, ‘the strong do as they will and the weak suffer what they must.’ Self-interest is more important than justice in such a setting. Raison d’état, or the self-interest of the state, is the sole criterion for policy choices.” Keohane replicates the same clichéd phrase, too, in his chapter, “Theory of World Politics,” saying, “If, as Realists argue, ‘the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must,’ why should hegemons ever lose their power?”

More subtle is Morgenthau’s use of the Melian Dialogue in an effort to persuade the assumption of human nature’s necessity to dominate man. “Of the gods we know,”

8 Waltz, p. 66.
9 Waltz writes of “the lesser city states of Greece cast the stronger Athens as the tyrant and the weaker Sparta as the liberator (circa 400 BC, book V, 17). Waltz’ thought is endorsed by Jaeger who writes of the tyrant and liberator as a interchangeable, historical phenomenon – with no moral fixation.
10 Waltz, p. 127.
11 See Donnelly’s definition of “radical realists” on p. 12, in Realism and International Relations.
12 See Donnelly’s Box 1.1 Representative definitions of realism, p.7.
13 Donnelly, p. 167.
14 Nye, jr., p. 6.
15 Keohane, pp. 177-178.
Morgenthau quotes Thucydides, “and of men we believe, that it is a necessary law of their nature that they rule wherever they can.”

While not as offensive as “might makes right,” used by Keohane and Nye, Morgenthau’s use and interpretation of Thucydides, along with Waltz, Keohane and Nye all share a commonality in brevity and a reliance on indirect reading of Thucydides’ *History*, e.g. using interpretations of others. In the next section, I will provide strong arguments against why Thucydides is not a realist and though, when singled out, as repulsive realism, the Melian Dialogue is not realism, as well.

**Criticisms in the literature**

I will use Donnelly, Connor, and Gilbert to shed light on new interpretations that bring strong evidence against claims that Thucydides was a realist and that the Melian Dialogue encapsulates realism. Realists continued to parallel Thucydides’ Athens/Sparta and the U.S./Soviet Union throughout the Cold War, but as Donnelly notes, “During the 1960s, realism in the United States was steadily losing its dominance. By the end of the decade, it was in serious decline.”

The U.S. defeat in Vietnam had international theorists scrambling to redefine the world, “Instead of a realist world of autonomous sovereign states, alone and adrift in the sea of anarchy.” Connor’s introduction to his book *Thucydides* (1984) mirrors Donnelly’s analysis:

> We lost a great deal in the 1960s and 1970s, including many of the old certainties and assumptions about Thucydides, objectivity, and the process of writing history. The synthesis that many American classicists of my generation had relied upon in forming an approach to Thucydides now seemed dubious. Yet even more significant than the changes in our intellectual outlook were, I strongly suspect, the changes in politics and world affairs…The wonderful smugness of our Cold War view of foreign policy disintegrated. The polarization seemed so evident and

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16 Morgenthau, p. 38. (from Thucydides, book V, 105)
17 Ibid., p. 29.
18 Ibid., p. 29.
so ominous in the 1950s and such a striking analogue to the world Thucydides described...But above all it was the shattering experience of the Vietnam War that made me reconsider the *Histories*...I began to think about Thucydides in a new way.\(^1\)

Connor’s classicist interpretation of Thucydides’ Melian Dialogue proves book 5 to be the fulcrum that can be used to look back (Persian Wars) and forward (foreshadows defeat in the quarries of Syracuse).

Looking back, Connor writes of the Athenians’ determination to resist Persian aggression, yet, they now seem to emulate their former enemy on Melos. Connor sees Thucydides asking, “What if the Athenians had acted against the Persians as they now urge the Melians to act?”\(^2\) Dionysius of Halicarnassus, apparently complained of the exchange recorded by Thucydides (see footnote 20), saying, “Words like these were appropriate to oriental monarchs addressing Greeks, but unfit to be spoken by Athenians to Greeks.”\(^3\) To the future, Connor carefully notices that, “The Melian account lacks a rounding-off sentence; it confronts us directly with Sicily...The themes of the Melian Dialogue continue into the account of the invasion of Sicily, and Athens ultimately comes to resemble Melos, forced to rely on hope, chance, and speculation about the gods.”\(^4\)

Connor observes the literary structure of the *History*; that it is entirely narrative with two exceptions: book 2 (71-74), between Spartan King Archidamus and the Plataeans and book 5 (85-111), between the Athenian magistrates and Melian representatives. The

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\(^1\) Connor, pp. 6-7.
\(^2\) Ibid., p. 157. Athenians: “…both you and we knowing that in human disputation Justice is then only agreed on when the necessity is equal; whereas they that have odds of power exact as much as they can, and the weak yield to such conditions as they can get.”
Melians: “Well then (seeing you put the point of profit in the place of justice), we hold it profitable for ourselves not to overthrow a general profit to all men...” (Grene, p. 365, book 5, 89).
\(^3\) Ibid., p. 155.
\(^4\) Ibid., p. 150 and 155.
transition into Greek tragedy-style dialogue is purposeful - foreshadowing the downfall of Athens.²³

“The law of the stronger,” may, according to Connor, “be deeply rooted in human nature, but we have already glimpsed that it has another side – the natural tendency for smaller states to ally and resist aggression.”²⁴

Gilbert would agree, adding that:

…the law of history is of struggle by the seemingly weak – class struggle from below by those who are victimized – not only the crass triumph of the powerful…If Thucydides had meant to praise, as a theme, the supposed ‘law of the stronger,’ he would not have concluded with the Athenian defeat at Syracuse and internal collapse. He would have stopped, instead, ahistorically, with the account of Melos.²⁵

Extending the argument against Thucydides and his Melian Dialogue celebrating realism, Donnelly brings to light issues of justice and morality throughout the History:

Mytilene, Plataea, and Corcyra are linked by the “realistic” use of savage, self-interested violence, which Thucydides describes in explicitly critical moral terms. Both externally at Plataea and internally at Corcyra this abhorrent politics of passionate violence arises from setting aside the restraints of Justice. So too at Melos, Thucydides sees culpable moral failure. In fact, Thucydides’ catalogue of the repugnant consequences of stasis²⁶ bears a striking resemblance to standard realist policy prescriptions.²⁷

The critiques of Donnelly, Connor, and Gilbert led me to find a plethora of material by others on Thucydides’ political stance. For example, Daniel Garst echoes Donnelly, Connor, and Gilbert in refuting neorealists’ claims by highlighting the fact that

²³ One could also view Melos as a “strike three,” the others being Platea and Mytilene.
²⁴ Connor, p. 157. Athenians: “…For you have not in hand a match of valour upon equal terms, wherein to forfeit your honour, but rather a consultation upon your safety that you resist not such as be so far your over matches.” Melians” But we know that, in matter of war, the event is sometimes otherwise than according to the difference of number in sides; and that if we yield presently, all our hope is lost; wheras if we hold out, we have yet a hope to keep ourselves up” (Grene, p. 367, book 5, 101 and 102).
²⁵ Gilbert, p. 168.
²⁶ “Stasis,” Donnelly clarifies, “reduces politics to self-interest defined in terms of power.”
²⁷ Donnelly, pp. 169.
Thucydides focuses on internal, individual aspects throughout the History; whereas a true “realist” would not focus on the internal matters of the state. But perhaps the strongest arguments against realists’ claims of Thucydides being a realist, and even the event at Melos is in Marc Cogan’s *Human Thing* (1981), “The actual capture of Melos is of no strategic value, and so the event has no evident material significance.”

My argument

The zeal after World War II to find comparisons and parallels between Athens and the U.S. may have negated careful reading of Thucydides in academic circles; more specifically, realists may have projected Thucydides a realist based on events that featured elements of realism, e.g. the Melian Dialogue. While the Melian Dialogue and the Athenian envoys, standing alone, represent realism and realists, one must and cannot separate nor ignore the entirety of Thucydides’ structure (narrative, speeches, dialogue) and the moralism and concern with justice in other examples like Plataea, Mytilene, and Corecyra. Connor, Gilbert, and Donnelly’s refutations, along with others, like Garst and Cogan, have convinced me that Thucydides, a banished Athenian general – similar to Colin Powell today – was simply not recording history, but was deeply concerned with

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28 Cogan, p. 88.
29 Victor Davis Hanson would probably nominate Don Rumsfeld: From a speech given at the Wednesday Morning Club, Los Angeles, February 1, 2006:

…fortunately for us, unlike the Persian wars or even the Punic wars, there was a great philosopher who was embedded as a reporter: Thucydides. And he wasn’t embedded by desire: he was exiled. Remember poor Donald Rumsfeld? He won the hot war in Iraq in three weeks, and they wanted to have him coronated as king; then the museum was looted and Abu Ghraib occurred, and leftists think he’s the worst thing since Douglas MacArthur. That’s what happened to Thucydides. He was exiled for coming two days late to a naval battle, where he was pitted against an authentic military genius: the Spartan general Brasidas. In response to that bitterness, he went among the troops on both sides and wrote this history. Even then we wouldn’t necessarily want to read it. There are a lot of ancient battles that are tedious, written by authors like Xenophon or Diodorus. But he was a philosopher, and he used this war to reflect a higher theme, which I think is very important at this time. We as products of the Enlightenment, especially the influence of the French Enlightenment – Rousseau’s thought – believe that in modern therapeutic society man is born into the world perfect, and then the family burdens him with hang-ups. Religion burdens him, and society
the direction Athens was headed. I came to a growing awareness as I read both
Thucydides’ *History* and Plato’s *Republic* that a similarity might exist between the
quarries of Syracuse that Thucydides records and Plato’s allegorical cave. There are
occasional similarities in the texts and many of the physical sensations are described in
terms of human experience and emotion.

We do know that Thucydides’ account of the quarries is a historical account of the
Peloponnesian War; how did Plato come to describe a metaphorical cave in such
meticulous detail? Was personal experience a factor? To what extent might Thucydides’
testimony of captive Athenians in Syracusan quarries have influenced Plato as he
composed the *Republic*? More importantly, would reading Thucydides’ *History*,
specifically book 7, or learning from first-hand recollections - knowing they symbolized
and recalled a recent historic tragedy in the downfall of Athens - cause or heavily compel
Plato to answer with the *Republic*? Euben thinks so:

…Platonic reflection demands that we look elsewhere…What are we to make of
the dialogue’s intensity after the cave parable, where Socrates speaks in anger at
the corruption of potential philosophers and the blaming of philosophy for
corruption? Is the *Republic* a response to tragic events depicted in Thucydides,
particularly the separation of thought and action? In these terms could we think
of it as the third play in a trilogy? The first would be the *History* with its collapse
of Periclean leadership into the overactive but thoughtless Alcibiades and the
overly thoughtful inactive Nicias. The second would be the *Apology/Crito* where
Socrates seeks a bridge to his native city and close friend, even as he pulls back
into a self-enclosed world.30

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30 Euben, p. 240.
Does Plato’s cave in some way symbolize a return to the quarries, an effort to “lead” all those prisoners out of the quarries (mess/democracy) and into the “light” saving Athens from the sorry defeat they had experienced militarily at the hands of a democratic government? I believe that Plato saw not a realist “law of the stronger” but issues of morality and justice throughout Thucydides’ History, much like Connor, Gilbert, and Donnelly. As for Melos and the “amoral” realism enacted by the Athenian envoys, Plato must have correlated their “hubris” to the tragedy at the Syracusan quarries. Therefore, the Republic is Plato’s literary attempt not only to redeem Socrates but also Athens from the pitiful defeat at Syracuse triggered by “might makes right” endeavors like Melos. Plato’s vision and meaning of the cave is illustrated in Socrates’ dialogue with Glaucon. “Imagine,” says Socrates, “men living in a cave with a long passageway stretching between them and the cave’s mouth, where it opens wide to the light. Imagine further that since childhood the cave dwellers have had their legs and necks shackled so as to be confined to the same spot.” Glaucon replies, “You describe a strange prison and strange prisoners.”

Thucydides’ account of what happened to the Athenians at the quarries of Syracuse draws striking parallels with Plato’s cave:

As for those in the quarries, the Syracusians handled them at first but ungently. For in this hollow place, first the sun and suffocating air (being without roof) annoyed them one way; and on the other side, the nights coming upon that heat, autumnal and cold, put them, by reason of the alteration, into strange diseases; especially doing all things, for want of room, in one and the same place, and the carcasses of such as died of their wounds or change [of air] or other like accident lying together there on heaps…For for [sic] eight months together, they allowed no more but to every man a cotyle of water by the day and two cotyles of corn…How many were taken in all it is hard to say exactly; but they were seven thousand at fewest.

There are obvious differences between Plato’s cave and the quarries that Thucydides writes about in the History, e.g. allegory vs. historical event, cave (enclosed) vs. quarry (open-air), etc… But the similarities overwhelm curiosity when comparing the beginning of book 7 in the Republic and the end of book 7 in the History. For instance, Plato writes of the prisoners being “confined to the same spot,” a phrase that is evocative of Thucydides’ “in one and the same place.” I suspect that people’s creations are not total inventions from their own minds but that in reality, are re-creations based on their personal experiences, varieties and historical recollections. Little appears to have been written that addresses Plato’s inspiration for his famous cave, although I discovered that in 1906, John Henry Wright did ask a similar question in a Harvard Studies in Classical Philology journal essay, entitled, “The Origin of Plato’s Cave:”

Where did Plato get this extraordinary figure or picture of the Cave, and of its chained prisoners who behold shadow dancing on the high wall of the cave before them, shadow of figures and images that are borne along a platform or roadway behind them, shadows made by a bright fire higher up? It is hardly possible that this picture originated in pure imagination, borrowing no suggestion whatever from without, though imagination must have had much to do in the development of it.33

Wright attempts to find similarities to Plato’s cave in Empedocles and three caves: the ‘Quarry-Grottoes’ of Syracuse, the Corycian cave in Delphi, and the cave of Vari in Attica, but I find myself disagreeing with his conclusions. His quest, although very thought provoking and interesting, stems from an attempt to find a cave similar in physical exactness; he negates searching for any symbolic, political analogy. While Wright’s essay offers information not known before hand and an interesting hypothetical

33 Wright, p. 132.
– inferring a connection to the cave at Vari, let me offer a more reasonable theory of the origin of Plato’s cave – namely, that Plato got his inspiration from the quarries of Syracuse. For Plato, knowing that he was one of the enlightened philosophers of his time, was traveling to Syracuse to advise a government and improve life for its citizenry his way of “going down again among the prisoners” into the real-life land of quarries and caves?

However, we do know, based on historical evidence that he made three trips to Sicily. Perhaps his voyages to Syracuse after Socrates’ death may shed a more definitive light on the relationship between the cave in the Republic and the quarries in Syracuse. It has been documented that Plato made at least three voyages to Syracuse - 388, 367, and 361 B.C.; it would have been logical for him to take time to visit the quarries of Syracuse. His interest in seeing the quarries would equate today with a business or political trip to New York City where one might make a pilgrimage to Ground Zero to witness the exact spot where catastrophe occurred. Or, in the manner that a later and concerned generation would visit Auschwitz, Gettysburg, the cemeteries at Normandy, or the Hiroshima memorial.

Why did Plato travel to Sicily at all, let alone three times? I believe that Plato went to Sicily partly to experience for himself the quarries of Syracuse; obviously highly aware of Thucydides’ account of the trials experienced by Athenian soldiers during the Peloponnesian War and their subsequent massacre and the destruction of the Athenian state. Moreover, Plato’s journey provided an opportunity to practice his theory on how to best govern a state. The Seventh Letter addresses this possibility, “If ever anyone was to try to carry out in practice my ideas about laws and constitutions, now was the time for
making the attempt, for if only I could fully convince one man, (Dionysius, ruler of Syracuse) I should have secured thereby the accomplishment of all good things.” He goes on to reveal a philosopher’s desire for boldness and action, “…I sailed from home, in the spirit which some imagined, but principally through a feeling of shame with regard to myself, lest I might some day appear to myself wholly and solely a mere man of words, one who would never of his own will lay his hand to any act.”34 For Plato, could Syracuse have represented the unattainable or to borrow and paraphrase from Jonathan Schell’s most recent book title, the “Unconquerable Ancient World?” Athens’ downfall had been soundly accomplished at the Syracusan quarries – a defeat that curbed its imperial reach.

Conclusion

Thucydides is a complex thinker and writer whose work has been misused; his *History* has been “drawn and quartered” not only by realists, but also by neoconservatives like Leo Strauss, Victor Davis Hanson and Donald Kagan. The latter group have cherry-picked the *History*, citing the “law of the stronger” as a divine right, concluding that Thucydides’ depiction of Syracuse is a result of no “support for the troops” at home, and unabashed sympathy for the Athenian envoys vs. blame towards the Melians. Plato, while also misinterpreted by neocons/Straussians, understood Thucydides’ *History* in its complicated entirety, specifically the connection between Melos and Syracuse. His insight and comprehension resulted in the *Republic*, his attempt to salvage the dignity of Athens as a state. While I have offered the similarity between Plato’s cave and the quarries of Syracuse, others have written of parallels as well. Plato, strongly affected by

34 www.classicallibrary.org.
Thucydides, realizes that events like Melos, Plataea, Mytilene bear implications for morality and justice in conflicts between states. Unlike some contemporary writers and political scientists, he understood the totality and scope of the *History* and the complex lessons it continues to teach us.
List of Texts


Exploring the alignment between postsecondary education programs and labour market outcomes for recent graduates

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The purpose of this paper is to examine the changes and challenges facing postsecondary graduates of various fields of study and program types. This research will explore the implications of the evolving “knowledge-based” economy on the school-to-work transitions of recent graduates by identifying challenges in the school-to-work transitions of a recent cohort of trades, college, and university graduates. The statistical analyses utilize data from Statistics Canada’s National Graduates Survey and involve estimating linear and logistic regression models. The response variables employed in this study are transition outcomes relating to earnings and employment status (e.g., employed full-time). The key explanatory variables include level of schooling (trades, college, university-undergraduate, university-advanced), field of study, and gender. The analyses also control for sociodemographic variables such as age, marital status, and visible minority status. While some of the results are consistent with previous literature, some new issues are also brought to light with this research. Field of study remains a salient factor in determining postsecondary graduates’ labour market success, particularly among graduates with a Bachelor’s degree. Recent postsecondary graduates of applied and technical fields fare better than liberal arts graduates both in terms of earnings and employment status, indicating that the knowledge economy favours graduates with applied skills over those with “soft” or generic skills. The effect of level of schooling is generally consistent with human capital theory; however, male graduates of trades programs are found to experience an earnings advantage over college graduates. Gender differences are also found to persist, as males at all levels of postsecondary education experience better labour market outcomes than their female counterparts.
Work in Progress Report:

“Struggling in Suburbia: The Suburban Homeless Family”

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Abstract

The number of suburban homeless families is increasing. Economic hardship resulting from foreclosure, unemployment and lack of social services, continues to grow this understudied and ignored population. If we allow suburban homeless families to remain hidden, there is no guarantee that necessary services will be made available. I have begun research on suburban homeless families including how they got there, why they remain there and the social stigma surrounding them and how it maintains a culture of silence. Also included is a discussion of future research, which focuses on the effect homelessness has on the white suburban homeless family and privilege.
Introduction

Homelessness is an issue well addressed in an urban environment, but largely overlooked in a suburban one. On city street corners and under expressway overpasses, on buses and trains the urban homeless are visible; while the suburban homeless are hidden in motel rooms, cars and church basements. With the number of suburban homeless families (SHF) increasing, due to economic hardship resulting from foreclosure, unemployment and lack of social services, there is an increasingly urgent need for services to assist this population. If we allow suburban homeless families to remain hidden, there is no guarantee that necessary services will be made available.

School systems are announcing record numbers of homeless students (Israel, 2009; Fangmann, 2009). Newspapers are declaring the “Family of Four the New Face of Homelessness (Jenkins, 2009:1).” The National Alliance to End Homelessness estimates that 1.5 million more Americans will become homeless in the next two years as a result of the recession (NAEH, 2009). Many of these will be displaced suburban families, forced to leave their homes by foreclosure.

One of the barriers I have faced in my research is the lack of peer reviewed journal research on the topic. It appears some research has been done on homeless families and some on suburban homelessness and poverty, but there is little to no work currently published on the pairing. Likewise, I have been able to find studies done on many of the polices and programs that effect suburban homelessness yet, until very recently, I have been unable to find any that discuss the programs in terms of their specific relation to the suburban
homeless. The most prevalent and current information I have been able to find and use for
my research comes from newspaper articles and media reports.

**Operationalization of Terms**

Although terms such as “homeless” and “suburban” may seem clear cut, it is important to
define them clearly in the context of suburban homelessness.

Suburban refers to those who live in the suburban environment which is characterized by:
very limited access to public transportation, a far more spread out landscape, limited access
to low-income or public housing and limited access to social programs.

Homeless refers to the lack of access to permanent housing and the constant threat of
displacement. For example, a family living in a motel is still considered homeless because of
the constant threat of displacement. There is no lease and the management may evict them at
any time. Many homeless families are also able to find temporary shelter with relatives or
friends. While this, again, implies that they are not without shelter, it is not permanent
housing. In many cases the family and/or friends taking them in may not be financially stable
themselves and may not be able to support two families and then they find themselves, again,
without shelter.

**Literature Review**

**Changing Face of Homelessness**

The face of homelessness—especially that of suburban homeless families—is changing. I
will begin with a discussion of what homeless families have looked like in the past and the
current trend as seen in the media.
Historically the homeless family has consisted of a mother in her early 20s and two pre-school aged children. In half of those families the mother has lacked a high school diploma and three quarters have been minority families (Anderson & Koblinsky, 1995). Up to half of these families became homeless after fleeing domestic violence (Homeless Information Exchange, 1994). Most of these families were poor before becoming homeless and lived in urban “neighborhoods characterized by violence, persistent unemployment” and poor schools (Anderson & Koblinsky, 1995).

What we are seeing in media reports is a new homeless family, consisting of two parents and two or more children (Jenkins, 2009). According to a coordinator for the Department of Education, every state that has reported thus far, has reported an increase in homeless students (NAEH Outcome of Recession, 2009). This, combined with information found in interviews with SHF, implies that the age of children in homeless families is increasing from pre-school to primary and secondary school-aged. We are also seeing a more equal representation of races.

One primary change is in the neighborhoods the new homeless family is coming from, the suburban homeless family. Suburbs have been characterized by their lack of widespread poverty, unemployment and by good schools, which is in direct contrast to the traditional homeless family. Another item which I feel is important to note is that many of SHF were not living at or below the poverty line prior to homelessness. Several families interviewed by the media listed their prior salary at or above $49,000 a year (Jenkins, 2009; Gootman, 2009), while still low, this is almost double the 2009 federal poverty guidelines for a family of four (USDHHS, 2009).

**Reasons for Suburban Homelessness as Discussed in the Media**
While homelessness in families has been on the rise since the early 1990s (Anderson & Koblinsky, 1995), the rapid increase that is currently occurring in suburban families is relatively new. Since there is not much literature available on suburban homelessness, I have found myself turning to the media for explanations on why it is increasing.

Homelessness for most individuals and families is caused by a crisis event. A crisis event could be the death of a partner, an instance of domestic violence or eviction (Anderson & Koblinsky, 1995). I have begun collecting articles profiling suburban families who are experiencing homelessness across the country. It is from these articles and others that I have determined the two most prevalent crisis events which have contributed to the increase in SHF. I do plan to begin interviews of homeless families in suburban Cook County this summer with the intent of determining the primary crisis events of the SHF population in suburban Cook County.

The two most prevalent crisis events are reflective of the current economic downturn: foreclosure and unemployment.

Reasons given for foreclosure in media accounts are varied. The Boykin family of South Carolina lost their home after their adjustable rate mortgage doubled (AP, 2009.) Cindy Almerez lost her home in Waukegan after her husband passed away and she lost her job (Black, Schmadeke and Bowean, 2009). Another scenario being described by news outlets involves families being evicted due to foreclosure on the part of the landlord. According to the National Law Center on Homelessness & Poverty, approximately 40% of families facing eviction from foreclosure are renters (NLCHP, 2009).
Unemployment rates are rising, with the U-6 (the broadest category) rate climbing to 15.6% in March of 2009. The U-6 measure of unemployment includes not just those who have been unemployed for 15 weeks and those who have completed temporary work, but also discouraged workers, marginally attached, and total employed part-time for economic reasons (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2009). I believe this measure more accurately reflects the discussed population because it includes those who have been unemployed for over 15 weeks and those who have accepted part-time work to support their families. Loss of employment seems to be the other catalyst that launches families into homelessness. The Polights of Virginia, found themselves unable to make their rent payments after Robert, the father, lost his job at a warehouse; his wife Joshalyn’s salary alone could not support them (Jenkins, 2009).

In my research thus far I have found that often foreclosure and unemployment occur together, forcing families into homelessness and keeping them there. One situation that was echoed in various news accounts is one parent being laid-off and the remaining single income does not allow the family to maintain mortgage payments; forcing them into foreclosure.

**Special Needs for Suburban Homeless Families**

Homeless families need safe shelters and temporary housing that will house all members of the family and are designated specifically for families. By designating shelters solely for family use, two ends can be accomplished. The first is separating them from the chronically homeless population. The second is allowing families to stay together.

One reason shelters designated solely for the family population must be established is to separate them from the chronically homeless. Many chronically homeless individuals have serious mental illnesses, such as schizophrenia and can be prone to violent outbursts. Although
the chronically homeless are a relatively small portion of the population, they spend an average of 290 days a year in shelters (National 2007:1), increasing the chance of contact with families and children.

Mixing chronically homeless populations with families can be psychologically and physically dangerous. Children who experience homelessness are more likely to experience sexual and physical assault. Children who are exposed to violent outbursts, even when not a victim of one, can become traumatized and lose whatever remaining sense of security they have (NCTSN, 2005).

The second reason to create more family shelters is to prevent families from splitting up. Many shelters will only house women and young boys. Waukegan Township has a common shelter set-up, with one facility for men and another for women and children (Hendrick and Mossberger, 2009). This arrangement is common because in the past most homeless families were headed by a single female and one of the largest causes of homelessness in families had been domestic violence. While shelters that serve and protect battered women and their children are needed, there also must be housing provided for the entire family unit. By only offering services for mothers and children (and only young boys at that) these shelters actually cause families to split up.

Splitting up families makes it harder for them to attain permanent housing. Instead of being able to use all of their resources to gain housing, the family must now attempt to maintain two separate households. In situations where both parents are already working and still cannot
afford permanent housing, this added expense only exacerbates the situation serves to keep them homeless for a longer period of time.

Another negative effect of splitting up families is an increased sense of alienation for parents and children, as well as further removing children from a sense of normalcy. In an already stressful and frightening time losing the support of a partner only adds to feelings of isolation and hopelessness. Mothers are now left alone with neither emotional support from their spouse, or parenting support such as childcare. Fathers may find themselves battling feelings of worthlessness and emasculation when they must leave their families behind at the shelter doors. Children may be confused and feel abandoned by their father, who simply cannot stay with them in the shelter; they may begin blaming themselves for the break up of their family. By allowing families to remain together, this trauma can be lessened (NCTSN, 2009).

**Access to public services**

One of the most important needs of homeless suburban families is access to public services. Many public services aimed at homelessness and poverty are not readily available in the suburbs.

The Illinois Department of Human Services (DHS) currently has seven offices that accept applications for Cash, Food Stamps and Medical Assistance in the suburban Cook, DuPage, Kane, McHenry and Lake Counties combined. This can be compared to the 19 offices within the city of Chicago. Although historically there has been greater need within the city for the social services provided by the DHS, the rising SHF will need access to these services within the suburbs.
These state run and federally supported programs are even more important after considering cuts that local townships are cutting programs. In a study recently released by The University of Illinois at Chicago and The Chicago Community Trust, Professors Rebecca Hendrick and Karen Mossberger found that “forty percent of municipal governments said that they should not be involved in social service delivery (2009:53).” They also discovered that 16% of townships have begun to cut or eliminate social service programs (2009:6).

Transportation is another issue that must be addressed for homeless families in the suburbs. As has been mentioned previously, the suburban landscape is much more spread out than the urban one. Walking is generally not an option for getting to work or school, especially in the winter. Many suburbs do not have reliable and/or suitable public transportation, making the added expense of a car, including insurance and maintenance, necessary.

**Mental Barrier**

The Reganistic image of the “Welfare Queen” - a slovenly, lazy woman who simply sits around her home having babies and collecting checks has had its desired effect. This disturbing stereotype has done more than negatively affect welfare recipients’ attempts for support and employment and sway legislation surrounding welfare; it has drawn a firm line in suburban minds that separates “us” from “them.” This reflects the neoliberal society of the individual, that everyone is solely responsible for their own failures and successes, and created a mental barrier that keeps suburban families from even applying for social services such as food stamps and other aid programs.
This feeds into the feelings of shame: “Good” Americans do not take these programs. To admit that one cannot succeed purely on their own merit, by lifting their family up by grabbing their bootstraps, than they are a failure.

**Current and Future Research**

My current research is focusing on the way in which homelessness effects privilege for white suburban homeless families. These formerly “middle-class” homeless families find themselves with a dual consciousness which results from becoming aware of the doxa with which they were raised and how it labels them in their new, lower, socio-economic status. This generally results in a loss of privilege and access to whiteness. I will examine this phenomenon in terms of DuBois’s concept of dual consciousness, Cooley’s looking-glass self and Bourdieu’s concepts of doxa and racialized habitus.

My conceptualization of dual consciousness for homeless whites is that it comes from having internalized white middle class doxa (Protestant work ethic, meritocracy, individual responsibility, etc.), regardless of class, and being aware of the perceptions of homelessness within it and attempting to reconcile this with personal, firsthand experiences of poverty. Because this doxa has been adopted as part of dominant white culture any deviation from it labels one as "other", thereby limiting one’s access to whiteness and the privilege which comes with it.

I believe that some examples I will find within my research will be:

- Reluctance to apply for welfare programs or a refusal to "take charity" due to the internalization of middle-class doxa.
• Hiding condition from friends, family and workplace for as long as possible; creating a culture of secrecy.

• Depression, embarrassment and feelings of guilt related to their situation due to internalization of the stigma attached to homelessness.

• Finally, some attempt to reconcile their condition with their identity.
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The Reappearing Voter:
Voter Participation within the 2008 Presidential Election

Abstract: This study examines voting and its constituent role in a democratic society. The United States obtains the strongest democratic institution in the world but has been experiencing a detrimental crisis – the dissipating voter. Without voting, a democratic society would cease to exist; it serves as the overarching movement for progression. Despite the increasingly low voter participation in the past couple decades, the 2008 presidential election attracted five million more voters. This study is an analysis on the resilient voter and active voter within the American liberal democracy. Relying on National Election Study data I find that the study pays particular attention to the voting patterns of minorities and young voters in this historic election. The paper concludes with a consideration of the implications of turnout rates and participation patterns for democracy in the United States

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Introduction

Voting is a defining characteristic of American democracy and is every American citizen’s constitutional right. However, there has been a drastic decline in voter turnout. However, the 2008 election sparked a political wildfire between candidates Barak Obama and John McCain. According to some political analysts, the youth and minorities, typically known to be apathetic towards politics, drastically impacted the 2008 presidential election increasing the voter turnout by five million votes (Science Letter 2009). It is important to investigate the various constituents that pushed these individuals to vote. The current paper investigates the role that political trust, economy, mobilization, education, and family structure played in the 2008 election.

Political Trust Amongst Youth and Minorities

Research demonstrates that minorities and the youth are the least engaged in politics. They are primarily apathetic towards the political system and do not display high levels of political trust (Kelly 2008). Within the past election, the youth and minority rate increased because they believe they were represented. Obama’s idealism, young age, and aspirations for change influenced the youth and minorities. Their representation by Obama led them to obtain a higher political trust pushing them to become more actively involved and civically engaged. Civic participation and social trust work directly together in a cycle. Civic participation enhances social trust and social trust enhances civic participation (Kelly 2008).

During the 2008 election, the candidates tried to speak the language of the youth in attempt to avoid the generation gap between them. This helped present the platforms
of each candidate clearly and promoted trust within the youth, which pushed them to go
to the polls and participate in civic activities (Greenberg 2009). Civic activities are
essential because it allows the youth to educate themselves and acquire major social
skills towards their adulthood (Kelly 2008). Research proves young minority youth who
live in repressive neighborhoods are less likely to be civically involved and at risk for
school dropout and juvenile delinquency (Kelly 2008). Because of their lack of
opportunity within their neighborhoods, these youth fail to develop a sufficient level of
civic participation and knowledge (Kelly 2008). Ultimately, the push for the election of
President Obama made the youth and minorities come out to vote because of his
effective communication skills promising them a hopeful future (Greenberg 2009).
Amongst the minorities and youth, the African American youth had the highest voter
turnout; this increase was the greatest turnout since 1972 (Oshyn and Wang 2007).
Because of Obama’s campaign communication strategy, minorities and the youth
developed trust for his candidacy and became more politically involved, hence pushing
the voter turnout.

The Effects of the Economy on the Minorities and Youth

The failing economy has affected American citizens and their voting practices,
regardless of race, gender, age, or socioeconomic status. The U.S economy has
plummeted within the last two presidential terms. Because of these detrimental
economic times, voting behavior increased in effort to push for a financially healthier
environment. Beck and Nadeau claim it depends upon how an individual defines
economic growth (Beck and Nadeau 2001). Each American has his/her own
interpretation and measurement of what a positive and negative economy obtains. One
may define strong economic growth as a low unemployment rate, or inflation, or trade
deficit (Beck and Nadeau 2001). Politically active citizens evaluate their own indicators
and present their own judgments about the government’s economic performance (Beck and Nadeau 2001). These appraisals are a representation of the state of the economy (Beck and Nadeau 2001). Although the president doesn’t have power over Congress, he is always viewed as responsible for an economic crisis. Voters immediately judge his position as a leader on the status of the economy (Beck and Nadeau 2001). Former President Bush’s administration sent us into a drastic economic decline and citizens demanded change. Hence, another reason why voter turnout increased.

It is important to realize Republican economic platforms have not been beneficial and accommodating towards the youth as expenses for school have heightened and the job market limiting those who do not have a college education (Greenberg 2009). The youth are known to spend their money carelessly pushing them into debt (Greenberg 2009). Economic mobility has been in decline therefore creating a decrease in opportunities for those who do not have advanced degrees (Greenberg 2009). Another key fact is that, the most ethnically and racially diverse Americans are under the age of 30. Eighty five percent of Americans are noted to be 55 and older identified themselves as white in comparison to the only sixty nine percent identify themselves as white within the youth. All citizens, including minorities and the youth wanted the economy to strengthen, therefore administration was in dire need of a change which is why they became more civically involved.

**Mobilization Amongst Youth and Minorities**

Within the 2008 election, voter mobilization played a key role in pushing the increase for voter turnout. Obama led a strong political campaign through mediums such as the television and Internet thus leading him to his victory. Our society has advanced into a technological savvy era in which citizens gather majority of their information through various technological mediums. Candidates have taken advantage of this and
produced campaigns that heavily involve Facebook, Myspace, and other networking sites.

Studies have shown there is a direct relationship between voter turnout and expenses on political campaigns; therefore the more capital spent on campaigns the higher the voter turnout. Candidates have taken advantage of this by raising immense amounts of money for their campaign (Baek 2009). Obama led his dominating campaign mainly through the Internet and television. Within the month of February 2008, Obama raised fifty five million dollars averaging about 2 million dollars a day. He was capable of producing a fortune for his campaign through small donations from the internet, these small donations later added up to become the majority of his donations throughout the election (Walker 2008). Obama also hired one of the cofounders of Facebook, Chris Hughes, to create his website, MyBarakObama.com, which became the major fundraising medium. It consisted of a social network for his supporters and campaigners, where they could track the election and make donations (Walker 2008).

Ultimately, Obama used his image and campaign slogan to establish his promising position within the election. His slogan, “Yes we can” provided hope and a positive outlook for Americans who were feeling distraught from a failed presidency that was previously in power. His presentation as a strong, diplomatic individual worked hand in hand with the media. His main attractions, the youth and minorities, felt represented by him because of his own age and ethnicity. They began to use mediums such as YouTube to broadcast themselves for participatory democracy (Kellner 2009). The normally underrepresented people of color and youth were capable of creating their own broadcasts and express their feelings as to why they support Obama (Kellner 2009). Celebrities and artists in Hollywood also advertised for him, the artist Will.i.am from the band, The Black Eyed Peas, created a YouTube video about his support for Obama,
which helped mobilize individuals to support Obama as well (Kellner 2009). The youth are the most technological advanced generation; therefore they are more likely to engage in politics if it is presented to them through mediums they understand, such as the Internet. The Internet also provides an outlet for races that underrepresented to voice their opinion and feelings regarding political issues. Obama strategically revolved his campaign around the Internet, which thoroughly engaged the youth. Ultimately, Obama intentionally secured his position in the presidential election by carefully working with his technological resources.

**Education**

Education plays a crucial role within American politics and civic involvement. Studies have shown education and political engagement are directly linked. Citizens who are educated are more likely to understand the American political system better therefore engaging themselves into politics. Schooling inevitably helps teach students civic skills, which allows them to become civically engaged (Campbell 2009). Another element to education and voting behavior is education implies social class, the more educated an individual is the higher class they obtain (Campbell 2009). And since those who are considered to obtain high status are educated, the link between education and social class is confirmed (Campbell 2009 It is ultimately the social network you belong to that encourages civic involvement (Civic Engagement and Education: An Empirical Test of the Sorting Model). Education and political involvement are related on an individual level (“Civic Engagement and Education: An Empirical Test of the Sorting Model”, Campbell). Residing within an educated environment, amplifies civic engagement and there level of education (Campbell 2009). It is important to realize within this generation education among the youth is prevalent. Voter turnout amongst those who did not attain a college degree was 36% in comparison to those who did have a degree, which was
62% (Oshyn and Wang, 2007). There has been an increase in education over the past decade; about half of the youth population has some college exposure. Although minorities and blacks have advanced academically within the past 60 years, there is still a difference in education levels amongst Anglo-Americans, Latinos, and African Americans. Caucasians or Angle-Whites are much likely to finish their college education in comparison to African Americans and Latinos, which drastically can effect voter turnout and political participation (Verba, Schlozman, Brady and Nie 1993). Opportunities within the workforce are also drastically limited when an education is absent. Therefore skills that could have been developed at work are reduced (Verba, Schlozman, Brady and Nie 1993). Ultimately, lack of education can be considered detrimental towards one’s status and work opportunities, which can lead to a decline in political behavior.

**Family Structure**

Family structure has proven to play a vital role in voting behavior. Those who are married are more likely to participate politically because there more likely to obtain a stable family structure, which leads to civic involvement (Wolfinger and Wolfinger 2008). It is important to understand family provides the major means of civilization for a child, as the child develops there personality tends to mirror their upbringing (Davies 1965). Many times, if the child begins to develop conflict with the parents, they begin to alienate themselves in many ways even politically depending upon the stance the parents take in politics (Davies 1965). It is also important to recognize, adolescents that undergo major transitions will experience large impacts on there political participation. These major transitions will also create other major transitions creating a domino effect (Plutzer and Pacheco 2007). Ultimately, family structure does impact the youth politically, considering that politics can be considered something that is family oriented and follows a pattern. A study done by Jenniger Glass, Vern L. Bengston, and Charlotte Chorn Dunham confirmed parents attitudes politically impact there child’s as well, however direct
parental influence did decline among older generational pairs. Therefore, political ideologies are initially impacted on the child but after childhood do not directly influence them past childhood (Glass, Bengston, and Dunham 1986).

Studies have also shown, marriage provides a support system between two individuals therefore responsibilities can be shared and it inevitably will promote political participation. However the terms “married couples” present the question in comparison to whom? In comparison to everyone else: single, widowed, previously married, and never married (Wolfinger and Wolfinger 2008). But, if children are involved the voter turnout decreases, children can create a distraction for the voter. Childcare can be very difficult causing the voter to abandon their civic duty, however it can also increase voter turnout by pushing the parents to vote on school issues (Wolfinger and Wolfinger 2008). Children have the ability to affect voter turnout positively or negatively depending upon the status of the marriage. Those who are single parents that have children are substantially less likely to vote. The stressors and pressure of single parenting is immense and voting is not the main priority. Divorce is also a negative variable; it disrupts the stability within the family and creates a colossal strain on the individual, which also results in negative voter turnout (Wolfinger and Wolfinger 2008). If the voter obtains a stable environment within the family unit voter turnout is more likely to be prevalent. The Voting and Registration Supplement of the Current Population Survey, formerly known as CPS, conducted research studying the relationship between marriage and voting behavior, it looked at statistics provided by U.S Census Bureau in 2000 (Wolfinger and Wolfinger 2008). There studies proved fifty eight percent of adult citizens voted in comparison to the 19 percent who were separation, divorced, or widowed. About seventy five percent of married individuals voted in comparison to the just over half non-married individuals (Wolfinger and Wolfinger 2008). Marriage can be compared
to a team, both individuals work together in order to accomplish things such as voter registration, locating how to receive absentee ballots, and finding the location of the polls. In comparison to non-married individuals who are pressured to put on a one-man show. Those who are divorced and have children are focusing on adapting to the new structure and would rather focus on mending the broken household than voting (Wolfinger and Wolfinger 2008).

Political participation and family structure varies among minorities and different ethnicities. Early childbearing amongst African-Americans and Hispanics is not a taboo in comparison to many White Anglo-Americans (Pacheco and Plutzer 2007). Amongst Whites it is perceived to be negative, while it is least problematic for Blacks. As for Hispanics, there isn’t a clear clarification as to how they judge these matters (Pacheco and Plutzer 2007). Studies show that Whites who become parents before graduating high school are very likely to decrease in voter turnout, however as a whole early marriage for Whites is insignificant to voter turnout (Pacheco and Plutzer 2007). A study done by Pacheco and Plutzer, reveals that African Americans who were married by the end of high school obtained high levels of voter turnout, however it is important to understand only 2% of the sample answered to this question (Pacheco and Plutzer 2007). This small group is religious and is considered to have high maturity levels (Pacheco and Plutzer 2007) As for Hispanics, neither marriage nor early parenthood effected voter turnout. The variables were considered to be insignificant (Pacheco and Plutzer 2007). Ultimately, family structure can play a vital role within voter turnout. A household that obtains a strong family foundation is more likely going to vote because they have the stability to focus on other priorities such as being politically involved.

Data
This study is based on the examination of the 2008 American National Elections Study. The study consists of a questionnaire that asks individuals questions about their beliefs within the American political system. I gathered questions that corresponded to education, voter mobilization, political trust, the economy, and family structure. After running regressions, frequencies, and cross tabulations, I was able to confirm some of my hypotheses and unable to confirm others regarding these variables and political participation.

The importance of political trust amongst the youth and minorities to politically participate was confirmed. Those who obtained higher levels of political trust were more like to vote and politically participate. This was statistically significant at a .008 level and obtained a slope of .043. The R squared level was .019 meaning that 19% of the variation in participation can be explained by political trust and involvement. Trust is huge factor when becoming politically involved. If the voter does not obtain trust then they are not going to politically participate because they believe a difference is not going to be made. The effect of the economy on political participation was the only variable that was statistically significant at a .028 level and at a slope of -.039. The R square yields .009 level meaning there is a 9% variation in political participation. Taken into account the effect of race on political participation was statistically significant when controlling for age and mobilization at a .019 level and a slope of -.015. The R reveals a .022 level, therefore there is 22 percent variation in political participation. The effect of age on political participation was the only variable that was statistically significant at a .002 level at a slope of .141 for when controlling race and education. The R square reveals it is at a .010 explaining that there is a 10% variation in political participation. The effect of marital status was statistically significant at a level of .045 and at a slope of .032 for controlling political participation, however age and race were not. The R square
explains is significant at a .004 level meaning there is a 4% variation in political participation.

Conclusion

The effect of marital status, economy, and political trust were proven to be statistically significant when controlled for race and age. The effect of race on political participation was statistically significant towards political trust when controlling for age and mobilization. Through mobilization mediums such as the Internet, those who are underrepresented, such as minorities have the ability to access YouTube and networking sites to voice their opinion. They also use sources such as television to educate themselves on the campaign, which further can increase political participation. The effect of age on political participation was the only variable that was statistically significant when controlling for race and education. Age and education work together to increase political participation.

Table 1: Political Trust and Participation Amongst the Youth and Minorities

Model Summary

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<th>Std. Error of the Estimate</th>
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a. Predictors: (Constant), politicaltrust, HHList.2. Respondent: race, agerec

Coefficients*

| Model | Unstandardized Coefficients | Standardized Coefficients | t | Sig. |
Table 2: Economy and Political Participation Amongst the Youth and Minorities

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Coefficients\(^a\)

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a. Dependent Variable: politicalparticipation

Table 4: Education and Political Participation Amongst the Youth and Minorities

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Table 5: Family Structure and Political Participation Amongst the Youth and Minorites

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a. Dependent Variable: politicalparticipation

Table 5: Family Structure and Political Participation Amongst the Youth and Minorites

<table>
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a. Predictors: (Constant), Y2a. Marital status [VERSION M], HHList.2. Respondent: race, agerec

a. Dependent Variable: politicalparticipation
Works Cited


Advances in Remote Sensing of the Environment for Monitoring Man-modified Landscapes

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ABSTRACT

Significant advances in digital image processing and GIS modeling during the past decade have made it possible to more accurately monitor man-modified landscapes. This poster first summarizes the use of LIDAR and hyperspectral remote sensor data in a Remote Sensing and GIS-assisted Hazardous Waste Site Decision Support System (RSHDSS). Examples of the detection of subsidence and stressed vegetation on hazardous waste sites on the Savannah River Site in South Carolina are presented. The poster also presents the results of predicting the impact of future sea level rise on estuarine and upland environments for an area near Bluffton, SC. LIDAR-derived digital elevation models, high spatial resolution color-infrared aerial photography, and GIS modeling are used to produce a thematic map showing the spatial distribution of estuarine and upland land cover if 1-ft. of sea level rise takes place.
Ostracism Impacts Social Well-being, Judgments of the Ostracizers and Feelings of Group Belonging for African American Women

Alison A. Dingwall, Candice M. Wallace and Lloyd R. Sloan
Howard University

169 African American women from an HBCU were ostracized or included by other men or women. Participants played Cyberball, a cyber-ostracism scheme in which players are either ostracized or included by a co-player believed to be at a remote location. Cyberball was imbedded in a series of questionnaires that assessed participants’ social well-being following ostracism, attitudes toward the source of ostracism and likelihood of reconnection with ostracizing co-players. As expected, ostracism resulted in a lower sense of social well-being. Furthermore, sources of ostracism were perceived as more prejudiced, arrogant and manipulative and less trustworthy, tolerant, friendly and fair. Not surprisingly, being ostracized resulted in negative judgments of the ostracizers and an unwillingness to reconnect with them.

The experience of ostracism has detrimental effects on one’s sense of social well being (Williams, 2001). Consequently, threats to social well-being may result in differing judgments of the source of ostracism as a way to buffer these negative effects. Literature suggests that those who are ostracized may also buffer the experience of ostracism by choosing to reconnect with the source of ostracism or by turning to other groups that support feelings of inclusion (Zadro et al., 2004). The current research explores the impact of ostracism on one’s social well-being, the subsequent judgments about the ostracizers that the ostracized individual makes and the likelihood of reconnection with the source of ostracism following an ostracism episode.

Research in ostracism exists across disciplines, including developmental and social psychology, ethnology, sociobiology and counseling. There is a gap in the literature that addresses specific individual differences in the experience of being ostracized. Researchers from varied disciplines have studied similar concepts such as rejection, ignoring, group exclusion, the need to obey or conform and the effects of the silent treatment. While all offering interesting and socially relevant information, none reach the depths and overall meaning of being truly ostracized. Ostracism is the combination of each of these individual psychological constructs to create a general process of social rejection or exclusion (Williams, 2001).

It was expected that this research would demonstrate that consistent with previous findings, that being ostracized would have negative effects on the four fundamental human needs (self-esteem, sense of belonging, sense of control, meaningful existence). Furthermore, those participants who most highly identify with the in-group (women) are more likely to experience even greater distress when ostracized by the in-group (women). Following ostracism, attitudes toward the source of ostracism and likelihood of reconnection with ostracizing co-players would also be assessed.

Ostracism is used by individuals across cultures, species, and ages as an intentional and unintentional means of social control. Ostracism can be employed informally (the “silent
treatment” between friends and coworkers), formally (legal restrictions and imprisonment) or as a combination (racism or sexism). Social rejection initiated as a means of social control or to regulate social behaviors can result in a variety of diverse behaviors. Social rejection may serve to support group cohesion, cultural values, or protect personal safety. Alternatively, even simultaneously, it can be used to hurt and to create injustice as in the case of discrimination (Gruter & Masters, 1986).

For the purpose of this research, ostracism is defined as ignoring or excluding one or more individuals. Williams has developed a Need-Threat Model of ostracism which will be used as the theoretical framework for this research (Williams, 2001). Repeat studies have shown consistent evidence of the relationship between being ostracized and a variety of negative psychological outcomes. When ostracized, even for a short period of time, participants have reported a decrease in mood, increased anger, increase in loneliness and lower levels of the four needs (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Zadro et al., 2004).

Cyber-Ostracism

In addition to social settings examples of ostracism can be seen in cyber-communities. Most, if not all, forms of social interaction are now accessible as a part of a cyber-community. The advancement of technology, including the increased usage of the internet and smart phones, provides a medium through which individuals can communicate without the need of physical interaction. While this provides a positive and convenient means to do business, communicate with friends and possibly meet new people, it also provides a platform for potentially harmful exchanges. Preliminary research reveals that cyber-ostracism can be as disturbing to participants as social ostracism in person (Williams, Cheung, Choi, 2000).

To explore these cyber-interactions, Williams and his colleagues created a virtual ball-toss game called Cyberball, in which participants are led to believe that they are playing a virtual game of catch with other participants. In repeated studies, participants who are led to believe they are ostracized through a Cyberball game by unknown opponents, nevertheless report negative moods, low group cohesiveness, decreased feelings of belonging, self-esteem, sense of control and meaningful existence (Eisenberger et al., 2003; Williams et al., 2000; Zadro et al., 2004).

Smith and Williams (2004) conducted a study in which individuals were initially included in a text messaging conversation and were then ostracized from the remainder of the conversation. The results from this study again substantiate the notion that cyber-ostracism is enough to elicit lower responses to each of the four fundamental needs (self-esteem, sense of belonging, sense of control, meaningful existence) believed to be threatened by ostracism (Smith & Williams, 2004).

Gender

According to previous research, women seek membership in smaller, informal intimate groups whereas men seek membership in larger more task-focused groups. Reflecting men and women’s differing interpersonal orientations (Forsyth, 1999). Williams and Sommer (1997) investigated the effects of being ostracized by two confederates (the same gender of
the participant) on the participant’s effort on a future task. The authors expected the ostracized individuals to over-compensate in the task in order to reduce the effects of being ostracized. Interestingly this was only true for socially ostracized females. Furthermore, females were more likely to blame themselves for the ostracism than the male participants. Regardless of the ostracism condition for males, when asked to participate in a future task the male participants did not contribute their full effort to the group. Based on these results the authors surmised that males and females interpret and respond to being ostracized differently.

Geller and associates (1974) developed a technique in which female confederates systematically ignored female participants. Participants felt lower self-esteem when ignored by two confederate females, than when included in the conversation. Furthermore, the females in the ignored condition attributed being ignored to a personal attribute as opposed to a situational factor or as an attribute of the confederate. Participants were also given the opportunity to reward one of the confederates, however, ignored females chose to reward either confederate less often than did those females in the not ignored condition.

Research Questions:
This study will offer unique insights about an individual’s responses to being ostracized when the gender of the source of the exclusion is central to the target’s gender identity. Specifically, African American women from an HBCU responded to ostracism by men and women. Would ostracism by men (versus by women) produce different outcomes on participants’ well being and judgments of their ostracizers?

Method
Participants
169 female undergraduate students at Howard University were recruited to participate in this research for which they received partial course credit.

Materials
All measures and manipulations were given and responses collected through the use of personal computers. Participants were ostracized or included during the experiment through the use of Cyberball, an online ostracism paradigm. Participants are told they are playing with two co-payers connected over the internet. Participants were randomly assigned to the inclusion condition or exclusion condition. In the inclusion condition, the Cyberball game consisted of 15 simulated throws resulting in participants receiving the ball a total of 5 times or approximately 33% of the time. In the ostracized condition, participants received the ball only once in the first round of simulated throws and are then left to watch the remainder of the simulated game between the two other co-players. The pictures of the co-players were pre-tested for consistency on 10 personality dimensions, as well as age, race, and gender.

Procedure
Upon arriving, subjects were welcomed and thanked for agreeing to participate. Participants were then advised on administrative details including course credit, the consent form, and a
preamble explaining the nature of the study, ostensibly concerning their personality and groups that they support. Experimenters randomly assigned participants to a computer and followed the order of the conditions. To prevent any experimenter bias, all experimenters were unaware of the ostracism/inclusion and co-player category condition numbers.

Once the consent form was signed, the experimenter took a digital picture of the participant and explained that the picture would be uploaded into the computer system so that the co-players would know with whom they are interacting. Participants were seated at individual computer stations and were presented with all of the materials and manipulation on the computer using MediaLab software (Jarvis, 2000) and asked to begin. Participants played Cyberball, a cyber-ostracism scheme in which players are either ostracized or included by a co-player believed to be at a remote location. Cyberball was imbedded in a series of questionnaires that assessed participants’ social well-being following ostracism, attitudes toward the source of ostracism and likelihood of reconnection with ostracizing co-players. Participants were thanked, debriefed and excused.

**Results**

Consistent with previous research, ostracism resulted in significant negative impact on participants’ social well-being. Participants that were ostracized reported lower levels of sense of belonging, $F(1, 169) = 127.21, p > .001$, self-esteem $F(1, 169) = 49.79, p > .001$, sense of control $F(1, 169) = 105.1, p > .001$, and meaningful existence $F(1, 169) = 128.77, p > .001$ than participants that were included.

Additionally, participants that were ostracized demonstrated more proclivity for negative perceptions of the source compared to participants that were included. Sources of ostracism were perceived as more prejudiced $F(1, 169) = 26.01, p > .001$, arrogant $F(1, 169) = 22.83, p > .001$ and manipulative $F(1, 169) = 13.28, p > .001$ and less trustworthy $F(1, 169) = 7.12, p > .008$, tolerant $F(1, 169) = 34.30, p > .001$, friendly $F(1, 169) = 80.63, p > .001$ and fair $F(1, 169) = 135.86, p > .001$ (see Figure 1).
Participants who were ostracized were also less likely to agree to engage in future game play with their co-players compared to those that were included, $F(1, 169)=12.50, p >.001$ (see Figure 2).

While it was expected that the gender of the co-players would have an effect on participants’ social well-being and perceptions of the source, the results of this study do not reflect this prediction.

**Discussion**

As expected, ostracism resulted in a lower sense of social well-being. Furthermore, sources of ostracism were perceived as more prejudiced, arrogant and manipulative and less trustworthy, tolerant, friendly and fair. Not surprisingly, being ostracized resulted in more negative judgments and a reduced willingness to reconnect with the source.

The current research emphasizes the prevailing, powerful, overwhelming negative effects of being ostracized. Consistent with previous research, the results from this research suggest that being ostracized leaves an individual with diminished self-esteem, sense of belonging, sense of control and meaningful existence (Eisenberger et al., 2003; Gonsalkorale & Williams, 2007; Williams et al., 2000; Zadro et al., 2004). Furthermore, results revealed that being ostracized significantly diminished participants’ positive judgments of the source of ostracism. Additionally, the results also suggest that it is the experience of being ostracized alone that is responsible for these diminished psychological states regardless of the gender of source of the ostracism. Perhaps gender ingroup versus outgroup effects may be observed in less dramatically painful situations.
As research continues on this area, it is important to consider the impact these phenomena will have on personal relationships (through networking sites such as MySpace.com or FaceBook), business (how to build and maintain tele-commuting success) and academic progress (on-line courses and communicating through academic sites such as Blackboard). As the world continues to develop technology to bring people together, implications for the negative effects of being excluded by these mediums should not be overlooked in planning for the social consequences of these seemingly beneficial technologies.

References


The Implications of the Individual and Social Dimensions of Religious Identity on Stereotyping Outgroups

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Social identity theory has been extensively applied to the study of the identities of race, gender, and sexuality, but has yet to be extended to religious identity. The current study applies this theory to religious identity to study the behavioral implications of experiencing this identity as a social or individual dimension, specifically it is suggested that the salience of the social aspect of religious identity will be more likely to result in stereotyping of religious outgroup members. The data indicated that participants who were in the social religious identity condition rated the Muslim, outgroup target significantly higher on stereotypical Muslim traits than the Christian, ingroup target. There was no difference in the evaluation of the targets in the individual identity condition. This suggests that social religious identity leads to stereotyping of religious outgroups.

The aim of the current study is to enrich and broaden social psychology’s understanding of identity by examining the behavioral implications of religious identity, which is a neglected topic in the field. Specifically, it is suggested that religious identity may be experienced as a social or individual dimension and there are behavioral implications that arise with each. The tenets of social identity theory (Turner & Tajfel, 1979) have been applied to identities such as race, gender, and sexuality, all of which have been extensively researched. It is now time for religion to receive the focus it deserves as being developed and understood as an identity and the effects it has on behaviors, attitudes, and interactions with other identities (O’Brien & Howard, 1998). It is proposed that when individuals experience their religious identity more as a social identity, rather than an individual identity, they are more likely to stereotype and negatively evaluate outgroup members. On the other hand, those with an individual religious identity are expected to be more consistent in their judgments of ingroup and outgroup members.

Religion has been absent in identity research, which then implies that the study of religion is lacking identity. It is important to understand how religious identity influences social relations, both in negative and positive ways, along with the basic mechanisms that govern it are critical (Keen, 1986), both for the study of social psychology and religion.

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The components and consequences of religious identity have a major impact on people’s lives, from political implications to its unique characteristics that affect daily life. Religion provides a sense of meaning to people’s lives and because of this role, it can be an important social force (Emmons & Paloutzian, 2003) and so, it is necessary to understand its nature. Religion has an authority over the choices we make on how to act in social situations, how to behave toward other groups, and the general judgments we make daily (Silberman, 2005). For example, there are two ways in which religion has the power to endorse injustice in people’s decisions of others. It has been previously found that church members are usually more racially prejudice than those that don’t attend church since religious leaders can utilize religion to consecrate social order. Also, Christian fundamentalists are more likely to be prejudice than those believing in a more liberal ideology (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Batson, Schoenrade, & Ventis, 1993; Woodberry & Smith, 1998). But, on the other hand, it has also been found that those who attend church faithfully are less prejudice than those that do not attend on a regular basis (Batson & Ventis, 1982).

Even though religion may share similar features with other well studied identities, such as being created in the context of the social world (Vryan, Adler, & Adler, 2003), that situational factors are pertinent to their maintenance (Strauss, 1959), and can cause stratifications amongst different groups in the social world (Anthias, 2001), the way in which the individual experiences these identities will differ (Deaux, Reid, Mizrahi, & Etheir, 1995) due to the different roles and influences these identities have in life. Also, since people are naturally affiliated with multiple identities, they inevitably interact with each other (O’Brien & Howard, 1998). This interaction of identities in a single person can alter the overall experience of life for that person (Cerulo, 1997). But, in order to further understand this interaction of identities, it is necessary to first understand the framework of religious identity and the components that constitute it and influence daily life.

The understanding of religious identity is lacking in social psychology and the most prominent theory on identity, social identity theory, has yet to be applied to religious identity. According to social identity theory, an individual’s self-concept is comprised of both individual identities and social identities. The effects of a perceived positive social identity have an impact on social interactions. A positive social identity causes self-esteem to increase, which consequently causes a fortified self-concept because this group membership affords the person a place to belong in social society. The benefits reaped from group membership allow its members to have a perception of it as being distinguished in comparison to other groups, which causes ingroup favoritism. Therefore, members of a group make downward social comparisons with other groups in order to maintain the benefits of this membership, which ultimately shapes identity. Self-categorization is then substantiated by social identity theory. People naturally break down social society into groups, which allows them to make intergroup comparisons that maintain self-esteem and buffer against negativity by attributing unfavorable traits to the outgroups and superior ones to their own group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).
The negative consequences of categorization and comparison have strong implications in the social world. Turner (1981) suggested that the negative effects of self-categorization occur when the social dimension of the self is salient, not the individual dimension. Self-categorization creates distinct stratifications in the social sphere, which consequently forms ingroups and outgroups. This distinction between social groups provides the foundation for group serving biases which function to sustain the ingroup’s notion that they are distinct and have supremacy over outgroups, as well as attribution biases in which outgroups are thought to be homogeneous and ingroups as heterogeneous (Macrae & Hewstone, 1990). Therefore, ingroup bias and outgroup derogation are the unfortunate results of comparison and categorization, which ultimately emanate from seeking positive self-concept maintenance. The fundamental groundwork of stereotyping and prejudice are thought to have ensued by this movement towards ingroup favoritism and outgroup depravity (Sherif, 1966). When social identity and group attachment are salient within an individual, the likelihood to exhibit these intergroup biases are very high (Brewer, 1979; Brown, 1995; Crisp, 2006; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). With all this extensive research that has been done on social identity theory, there is no definitive answer as to how it functions when it is applied to religious identity. There is some evidence that the components of religious identity are orthogonal constructs and may be experienced as an individual identity, a social identity, or even both (Van Camp, Sloan, & Barden, 2009). The dimensions in which an individual experiences religious identity may compel mechanisms that influence behavior and attitudes (Brewer, 2008). But as of yet, for religious identity, there is still no certainty as to how these dimensions relate to behavior and attitudes.

Recently, research has been suggesting that one of the most “important and ubiquitous effects of social categorization is homogenization” (Hugenberb & Sacco, 2008, p. 1052; Bernd, 1992). When ingroup members perceive all members of the outgroup as being the same and not having any varied traits among them, this is the process of homogenization (Ostrom & Sedikides, 1992). This, in effect, causes stereotyping of the outgroup members (Park & Judd, 1990; Judd, Ryan, & Park, 1991) because the ingroup views them in a standardized way due to oversimplification of the characteristics the group possesses (Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2000, 2001), even though in actuality they vary more than perceived (Brodt & Ross, 1998). Therefore, the outgroup is disliked because they are attributed with possessing negative traits. Ingroup favoritism is the blueprint for the foundation that stereotyping and prejudice is built upon and this cycles into outgroup derogation by means of categorization in order to maintain one’s self-concept (Tajfel & Forgas, 2000).

Even with the extensive amount of research that has been done in the field of identity, social identity theory has yet to be applied to understanding the components of religious identity. Based on the literature presented, it is reasonable to hypothesize that if religious identity is experienced as a social dimension, as opposed to an individual dimension, that it will result in negatively stereotyping religious outgroup members. There is evidence that religious identity may be an individual or social dimension, or even both, and
therefore one or the other may be more or less salient. The current research will manipulate one’s religious identity to be experienced as a social or individual dimension by utilizing an experimentally successful priming technique to put participants into either identity mindset (Brewer and Gardner, 1996). Evaluation of outgroup targets will be assessed after priming the identity mindset, in order to gauge the differences in responses due to the manipulation of religious identity as a social or individual dimension. More specifically, those in the social identity condition are expected to rate the Muslim, outgroup target as higher on negative traits, lower on positive traits and suitability for a job applied for, and higher on traits specific to Muslim stereotypes. Those in the individual identity condition are expected not to differ as much in their evaluation of the ingroup and outgroup targets.

**Method**

**Participants**

Thirty-eight at least moderately Christian Howard undergraduate students participated in the study for partial course credit for their introductory psychology class. Those who identified themselves as not being religious were dropped from the study as they don’t have the identity under investigation in this study (Allport & Ross, 1967). Therefore, criteria for inclusion was answering 4 or higher on a 7-point scale about one’s religiosity. Also, those who did not identify as Christian in the demographics section were dropped as well in order to keep the religions of the ingroup and outgroup of the manipulation consistent. Fifty participants were present in the study before the omissions.

**Materials**

**Social vs. Individual Religious Identity Manipulation.** This is designed to manipulate whether the participants think of their religious identity in individual or social terms. Participants will be randomly assigned to either the individual or social condition. They will then read a short paragraph about a person’s religion accompanied by a picture. To strengthen the manipulation participants will be asked to circle all individual or collective pronouns. This is a priming technique successfully used in prior identity research (Brewer & Gardner, 1996).

**Evaluation Target Job Application.** All participants will read the same generic job application with information regarding the targets’ work experience, academic record and training, all suggesting that the candidate is well suited for the position. To manipulate the targets’ religious group and thus status as an outgroup member or not we will vary her photo (to be pictured with a hijab or no hijab), hobbies, and religion (Christian or Muslim).

**Evaluation of Suitability for Job.** Participants will be asked to rate on a 7-point scale the extent to which they agree (0 being disagree, 6 being agree) with the following statements: “I feel this person would make an excellent candidate for the position in question”, “I would likely give this person serious consideration for the position in
question”, “I would guess this person is in the top 20% of people interviewed”, and “I felt favorably toward this person”. These questions were used by Fein & Spencer (1997) in a similar study and found to operate well as a scale with good internal reliability (Cronbach alpha .91).

**Personality Evaluation.** Participants’ ratings of the targets’ personality is assessed by the extent to which they endorsed (on a 7-point scale, with 0 being disagree and 6 being agree) the following positive traits: intelligent, trustworthy, sincere, friendly, down-to-earth, creative, motivated, ambitious, happy, and warm. Participants also rated the targets using the same scale on negative traits: cliquish, materialistic, rude, insensitive, conceited, vain, arrogant, inconsiderate, self-centered, and superficial. These questions were used by Fein & Spencer (1997) in a similar study and found to operate well as a scale with good internal reliability (Cronbach alpha .93). Other traits specific to the stereotypes of Muslims will also be included, particularly: conservative, fundamental, standoffish, hostile, rigid, kind, and devout.

**Procedure**

The design was a 2 (religious identity manipulation: individual / social) x 2 (target: ingroup / outgroup). Participants used computer to provide all of the data by utilizing MediaLab software (Jarvis, 2006). When subjects arrived to the research lab for the study, they were randomly assigned to the individual or social manipulation. The priming technique used to manipulate religious identity was provided on paper and MediaLab provided instructions. After completing the priming task, participants were presented with a seemingly unrelated study, by presenting the job application of either the Christian (ingroup) or Muslim (outgroup) target and asked to form an impression of them. They then rated the target in terms of their suitability for a job and overall personality evaluation, as well as typical demographic information.

**Results**

A 2 (religious identity manipulation: individual / social) x 2 (target: ingroup / outgroup) between-subjects ANOVA was performed on several dependent variables individually, including negative traits (averaged together), positive traits (averaged together), suitability for the job, and stereotypical Muslim traits (averaged together). There was no significant effect of the positive or negative traits in either identity condition.

As figure 1 illustrates, there was a significant interaction between the religious identity manipulation and target on stereotypical Muslim traits ($F(1, 34) = 5.56, p < .05$). Tests of simple effects show that while there were no significant differences in the evaluation of Christian and Muslim targets on stereotypical Muslim traits for participants in the individual identity condition, participants in the social identity condition rated the Muslim target significantly higher on stereotypical Muslim traits than the Christian target ($t(15) = -2.40, p < .05$). Therefore, when religious identity was manipulated to be salient as a social dimension, there was stereotyping of religious outgroup members.
For suitability of the job, only one question, “I would consider this person for the position,” came out marginally significant (F (1, 34) = 3.301. p <.10, in the opposite direction of the prediction, that the Muslim target would be considered more for the position than the Christian target.

![Mean Ratings of Ingroup and Outgroup Targets on Stereotypical Muslim Traits based on Identity Condition](image)

**Discussion**

The results for the personality evaluation of stereotypical Muslim traits of the ingroup and outgroup targets are consistent with the hypothesis of this study. The Muslim, outgroup target was rated higher on Muslim stereotypical traits than the Christian, ingroup target when the participant was in the social religious identity manipulation condition. But, participants in the individual religious identity manipulation did not differ in their evaluation of ingroup and outgroup targets on stereotypical Muslim traits.

These results are consistent with previous studies that applied social identity theory to understanding other identities, for example race, such that the findings supported the notion that the social dimension of identity has a preoccupation with categorizing others, which perpetuates into stereotyping (Blascovich, Wyer, Swart, & Kibler, 1997). Our social identity builds the part of our self-concept that pertains to our group affiliations.
(Chen, Boucher, & Tapias, 2006), thus evaluating outgroups negatively allows the ingroup to maintain an aloof status, which feeds into sustaining a positive self-concept (Smith & Tyler, 1997).

Having found that one significant result is associated with social identity theory, the literature can now be applied to further understanding religious identity. Future research may want to examine how strength of social religious identity has implications for stereotyping of religious outgroup members, for example, if religious people would be less prejudiced than moderately religious or non-religious people because strong religiosity may make people nicer by following so closely to their faith. As Gordon Allport stated, “The role of religion is paradoxical. It makes prejudice and it unmakes prejudice” (1958, p. 413).
References


Professional Football Team Managers: Increasing or Diminishing Sustainability
P. C. PROFILE Theory (Professional Club Profile Theory)

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Abstract

Introduction:

The evolution of “Football” (Soccer), historically has been considered to be originated from England and wide spread around the world. Modern football was developed in Britain in 19th century and gradually become increasingly international and then eventually global in the present day world respectively. In Thailand Football has been known in Siam (the old name of Thailand) in 1897 and most of the Siamese focused on playing as amateur rather than as professional. Besides nobody ever thought or believed that “Football” could be a profession.

The first official football game in Siam, however, took place on Saturday, March 2, 1900, between Ministry of Education Team (Thai and European players) and Bangkok Team (All English players) on the occasion of College Athletics Games. The game was met with great interest for it’s excitement to the spectators and thus Football started to pick up popularity among the general public. More and more competition took place and tournaments were then organized which culminated into the National Level Tournament which presently called “Thai Premier League”. Before the inception of Thai Premier League, the highest level of football club was the Royal Cup A, which was officially competed in the form of tournament from 1916 to 1995. The Thai Premier League was introduced in 1996 by the Football Association of Thailand (FAT), competed with 18 Football clubs who earlier competed for Royal Cup A. in a double round robin league system. Originally, the Thai Premier league had only 10 to 12 clubs each season until 2007, when it was expanded to 16 clubs. At the end of each season three bottom placed clubs will be relegated to the Thailand Division 1 League, and eventually, in the same year 2007, Thai Premier League was combined with Provincial League completely.
Politics and especially top politicians get involved in the game and their inclusion is now an important agent, if not the agent, of the progress in the Thai Premier League through the power of their solid monetary contribution.

The Thai Premier League was employed by powerful politicians to raise up their prestige and image and eventually to overrun their oppositions and laddering their ways to top authorization and commercial exploitation. The forms of their behavioral approaches, however, for instance, claimed that they were “not as money-minded opportunists but as leaders and role-models.” Such practices nipped Thai Football and dwarfed it in the stage of infancy. Progressing in the unnatural procedure, thus, Thai Football though looks smart but never goes far in the global tournament like the FIFA World Cup Qualifications even though the successful entry into the World Cup is the utmost aspiration of the whole Thai population.

One of the researchers who was an American Field Service (AFS) student to the United States in the past three decades, had proposed few models which would be beneficial if applied to Thai educational development plan at that time. The mentioned culture models were both seen as the academic and athletic grown up parallel to each other in an American undergraduates system. These interesting culture models are suitable for determining the required level of development in professional football clubs as the realistic outcome models of evolution.

Objective:

To examine the ways, in which the political matters are dealt with in the context of relationship between the professional football clubs and their members, thus, there should be the need for the general “Code of Conduct” for Thai Football (same as in other developed countries where professional sports become a support to the countries’ life blood) and this study intends to somehow find out and throw some light on the subject and to provide guiding principles for the football club’s code of conduct, and thereby to equip a tool of protection for the public when approaching sport in the case football, and to promote the understanding of and the confidence in the professional football clubs and their members as a process for resolving disputes and initiative to pose challenging questions about the nature of societies in the capitalist world and their underlying moral, values and to explore the ethical principles on which societies base their actions to achieve the global sustainable goals and to eliminate all possible optional issues.
Methods:

This study conducts interpretive qualitative sociology research which adopts practical orientation using the systematic analysis of socially meaningful action through the direct detailed professional football clubs to develop an understanding of their social lives and discover how their stakeholders construct meaning in natural settings. The researchers want to learn what is meaningful or relevant to the clubs and their stakeholders being studied, or how they experience daily life. The researchers do this by getting to know a particular social setting of professional football clubs and seeing it from the point of view of the insiders while sharing the feelings and interpretations among the clubs and their stakeholders.

In depth interviewing, using open-ended questions, the ethical survey involves voluntary participations by respondents. The clubs’ members as respondents agree to answer questions and can refuse to participate at any time. Researchers depend on respondents’ voluntary cooperation by asking well-developed questions in a sensitive way, treat respondent with respect, and be very sensitive to confidentiality.

Results:

The ways, in which the politics deals with the context of the relationship, the interaction and the transaction between the professional football clubs and their members, there is no standard code of ethics commonly governed or hold among clubs’ members and clubs’ owners (or managers). Such practices by the approaches of playing a major role as “Colonialism” led to the dilemma of Increasing or Diminishing Sustainability in the future. “A stitch in time saves nine,” to provide guiding principles for the club’s code of conduct to provide a means of protection for the public and to promote understanding of and confidence in the professional football clubs and their members as a process for resolving disputes and initiative to pose challenging questions about the nature of societies in the capitalist world and their underlying moral, values and to explore the ethical principles on which societies base their actions to achieve the global sustainable goals and to eliminate all possible optional issues, the paper finds that such efforts fall into three factors: Integrity, Conscientiousness, Earnestness (ICE). The professional football clubs must play a major role, using a portfolio of ICE to conform the framework of P.C. PROFILE theory.

Conclusions:

The sustainable growth of professional football clubs in Thailand was found to be finally achieving success when evaluated against work based criteria used by them and their members. All stakeholders
within professional football clubs in Thailand were shown to have an important role to make in reducing the overall level of diminishing sustainable growth through the provision of unethical management prevention strategies. By analyzing the spatiality of the club-environment linkages, and the inter-dependency between professional football clubs and its institutional contexts, our study puts this assumption to the test. The essay demonstrates that the practice of top football clubs is still influenced by their traditional institutional context. In some aspects, the linkages between the clubs and their communities have even been intensified. The organization of football clubs involves the remolding of social, economic and cultural processes both upwards and downwards in scale, rather than being reduced to the up-scaling of processes from a local to a global scale. Clubs seem to intensify simultaneously their local anchoring and stretching their geographical scope. Thus, as the essay tries to show, it is important to identify the distinctiveness or the local flavor of this spatial rescaling in selected cases. The professional football clubs in Thailand can be survived and turn to be standardized globally sustainable growth only by playing a major role, using a portfolio of ICE to conform the framework of P.C. PROFILE theory.

**Keywords:** Code of Conduct, Colonialism, Conscientiousness, Diminishing Sustainability, Earnestness, ICE Framework, Increasing Sustainability, Integrity, P.C. PROFILE theory, Professional Football Clubs, Stakeholders.
The Study of the Competency for Pre-press Professionals

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Abstract

The objective of this research is to explore the competency for pre-press professionals under the circumstance of rapid revolution and change of technology in the printing industry. The literature reviews collected in the beginning of this research identified a few of skills, knowledge, somewhat goodwill or attitude, of the pre-press professional as the competency. A survey was also conducted through members of the Association of the Taipei Printing Industry. The total 287 questionnaire were sent out for investigation, and 107 out of them were returned and valid. The rate of feedback is nearly equal to 37%. The competency for pre-press professionals were finally categorized into 26 items in the research; more importantly, the 3 items among them--the ability to precisely set both plate-making and finished size, the skill of layout, including setting running head, running page, corner line and cutting line, the understanding of color cast in fixing a manuscript – are most essential for pre-press professionals and highly valued by the printing industry.

Keyword: printing industry, pre-press professional, competency
Introduction

With the rapid development and revolution of technology, the process and procedure of the printing has been tremendously changed toward digitalization. Especially in the pre-press process, digital prepress technology has become less cost intensive, more efficient and reliable, and as the knowledge and skill required to use the new hardware and especially software have become more widespread within the labor force, digital automation has been introduced to almost every part of the process. This circumstance has come out an issue of how to manage the workflow to gain efficiency and quality in the entire production of digital printing.

To deeply explore the competency of pre-press professionals will be the key to success in managing workflows of production in the modern printing industry. The pre-press is the first process of production. Employees, who are actually responsible for the production (e.g. layout), usually have to attend to part of pre-press in order to complete the process without errors. Managers can be benefited from understanding capabilities of their labor force well to assign task, allocate responsibility and implement job training. According to the report from the Industrial Development Bureau of Taiwan Ministry Economic Affairs (2006), 12 companies have accepted the Bureau’s help to upgrade color-control techniques and to integrate work-flows through digitalization. All evidences show that competency of pre-press professionals change. Since the competency of professionals has been changeable along with the technological and economic development, its scopes and contents need be updated too (Lee, 2003). The identification of the competency in this research is based on the principle of adjusting with the integration of new technique and printing job.

The purposes of this research are mainly to explore the current development of the modern printing industry and to understand the professional competency of the pre-press industry.

Terminologies:
Competency: the condition or quality of being competent when someone fulfill the job, including of ability, skill, knowledge, and somewhat goodwill.

Pre-press professional: Field (1980) indicated three processes in the standard printing industry: pre-press, press, post-press. Prepress is the term used in the printing and publishing industries for the processes and procedures that occur between the creation of a print layout and the final printing. The prepress procedure includes the
manufacture of a printing plate, image carrier or form, ready for mounting on a
printing press, as well as the adjustment of images and texts or the creation of a
high-quality print file. The pre-press professional means someone who is fully
responsible and specially trained for pre-press tasks.

**Literature Review**

*The Current Printing Industry:*

Since the labor force, especially pre-press professionals is the key to success in
managing a printing business, in the era of knowledge based economy, we can foresee
that the digital automation will become the main stream in the printing industry. Not
only were work forces replaced by the automation of machines quickly, but also
white-collar employees felt threatened with such a volatile environment of
management.

Huang (2001) pointed that digitalization has made it possible that processes of
printing, including of pre-press, press, and post-press, can be fully coordinated
without any impedance. The International Cooperation for Integration of 6 Processes
in Prepress, Press and Postpress (abbreviated as CIP4), formed by many printing
suppliers and educational groups, strived to set up a standard format of file transfer
and data sharing for the integration of the printing industry. Therefore, printing
techniques, graphic arts and graphic communications are formed into one technology.
With the mature of CIP4 application, all files can be inter-operated cross platform
through machines supplied by those members, so as to avoid the repetition of file
inputs, reduce errors and get high-quality products. (Liao, 2006)

At the same time, the electronic commerce and internet also facilitate the
integration of the printing industry. As a result, a company can greatly gain efficiency
from customers’ inputs to final printing by digital automation, mainly in the reduction
of production costs and the enhancement of performance without errors.

*The Pre-press Workflow:*

In current Taiwan printing industry, the pre-press process can be mainly
considered as 3 procedures of input, assembly, and output. The main task of input is
typesetting graphic and text. The facilities of graphic input include of the plotter plate,
digital camera, photo CD, handy scanner, flatbed scanner, desktop scanner, and
cylinder scanner. The text input is usually done by typing directly from a keyboard, or
scanning from the manuscript and then transferred into the electronic file by text recognition of some software (Chang, 2000). The client-server network can serve well in the assembly of files among computers. The Color Electronic Prepress System (CEPS), which edits graphics and texts and then makes into four color separation screens for the plate-making use, becomes the main operation system of pre-press process (Ho, 1995). The digital instrument of pre-press output, based on the Postscript language, interprets through the Raster Image Processor (RIP) to screen data and then outputs by layout software (Cheng, 2001). The facilities of pre-press output include of electronic files for multi-media publication and network communication, the screen plate machine, computer to plate (CTP) machine, the proof machine, and the digital press machine for customizing products (Hsieh, 2000).

Color Management System (CMS) is coordinated by a set of software and hardware to maintain the consistency of color through the procedures of pre-press (Lo, 1998). The core elements of CMS are calibration, characterization, and conversion, following the specification of International Color Consortium (ICC) (Lee, 1999).

**Professional Competency:**

A profession is a vocation founded upon specialized educational training, the purpose of which is to supply disinterested counsel and service to others, for a direct and definite compensation, wholly apart from expectation of other business gain. The scholar Chia (1979) made a definition of profession which should covers abundant knowledge, excellent capability, service and devotion.

The competency is the condition and quality of doing something well or effectively. The competency does not mean only the personal technique or skill but a kind of ability to make the job efficiency and success by fully utilizing knowledge, perception, and expertise (Chu & Chen, 1999). Lee (1999) also explained that the competency is the performance of personal knowledge, operation skill and good attitude to execute the job effectively.

Wu (2007), quoting from Darlling-Hammond, stated that the profession is composed of expertise, technique, mission and responsibility. Professionalism is the process of enhancing those elements to be qualified with service, independence, and uniqueness.

Chen (2001) defined that the competency is the behavior or real performance of implementing a job through the personal knowledge, skill, and goodwill.
Hong (1997) divided the competency into the dominant and recessive ability. Generally speaking, profession, management, and personal relationship are relevant to dominant abilities. Intellectual wisdom and personal value belong to recessive abilities.

According to above statements, this research generalized that the competency for the professional is the condition and quality of utilizing knowledge, technique, and goodwill for someone who is devoted to a special-trained job. As a result, professionals with the competency will be highly respected in society through their join into the group, service and independence.

Method

Questionnaire and Validity:

Literature review and survey method were used to conduct this research. According to literature review, prepress professional competence were defined. A questionnaire was developed to investigate how important the competences were ranked. A five points Likert scale from 5 to 1 was equivalent to strongly agree, agree, no ideas, disagree and strongly disagree. The questionnaire was reviewed by five respect scholars and professionals from the field of graphic communication to check questionnaire’s content validity.

Samples:

The target samples of this research included managers, leaders, or executives with the experience of management in the printing operation from the Association of Taipei Printing Industry. The 287 questionnaires in total were sent, and 115 out of them were returned. After removing 8 invalid copies, 107 questionnaires were effective. The return rate is 37%.

Reliability:

Cronbach’s a is used to test the internal consistency among participants. The a value is 0.966, which means the answers to the questionnaire among participants reaching high reliability.
Results

The Description Data:

This study has collected 107 valid questionnaires. The description data of the participants are described as the following:

1. Sex—
    72 out of 107 participants are male and 35 are female. The percentage of male is equal to 67.28%, and females 32.71%.

2. Age—
    14 out of 107 participants are grouped into the age from twenty to twenty nine, 18 from thirty to thirty nine, 41 are from forty to forty nine, 24 are from fifty to fifty nine, and 10 above or equal to sixty.
    As a result, the percentage of people of age from twenty to twenty nine years is equal to 13.08%, from thirty to thirty nine 16.82%, from forty to forty nine 38.31%, from fifty to fifty nine 22.42%, and above or equal to sixty 9.43%.

3. Seniority—
    9 out of 107 participants belong to the group with the seniority of less than 5 years, 13 between five and ten years, 10 between eleven and fifteen years, 26 between sixteen and twenty years, and 17 between twenty one and twenty five years, 14 between twenty six and thirty years, and 18 more than and equal to thirty one years.
    As a result, the percentage of the group with seniority less than five years is equal to 8.41%, between five and ten 12.14%, between eleven and fifteen 9.34%, between sixteen and twenty 24.29%, between twenty one and twenty five 15.88%, between twenty six and thirty 13.08%, and more than and equal to thirty one 16.82%.

4. Educational Level—
    11 out of 107 participants belong to the group with junior high school educational level, 31 are senior or vocational high school, 53 are under-graduate or college, and 12 are graduate level.
    As a result, the percentage of the group with junior high school educational level is equal to 10.3%, senior or vocational high school 29%, under-graduate or college 49.5%, and graduate 11.2%.

5. Working Department—
    20 out of 107 participants belong to the group people working in the department of pre-press, 14 press, 2 post-press, 2 logistics, 39 sales, and 30 others.
    As a result, the percentage of the group working in the department of pre-press is equal to 18.69%, press 13.08%, post-press 1.86%, logistics 1.86%, sales 36.44%, and others 28.03%. 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sex</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>67.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>female</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>32.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age</td>
<td>20~29</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30~39</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40~49</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>38.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50~59</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>22.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>□ 60</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seniority</td>
<td>&lt; 5 years</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5~10 years</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11~15 years</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16~20 years</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21~25 years</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26~30 years</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>□ 31 years</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>education</td>
<td>junior high school</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>senior or vocational</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>high school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>under-graduate or college</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>49.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>graduate</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>department</td>
<td>Pre-press</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>press</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Post-press</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>logistics</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sales</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>36.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>others</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>28.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. The Data Distribution of the Sample

*The Rankt of the Competency for Pre-press Professionals:*

We have mentioned the adoption of Likert’s five-level scaling method in the questionnaire to measure the importance of competency. We assign points to each level, and 5 points means very important, 4 points important, 3 neither important nor unimportant, 2 unimportant, and 1 very unimportant.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Content of Competency</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
<th>Ranking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The ability to precisely set both plate-making and finished size</td>
<td>4.16</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The skill of layout, including setting running head, running page, corner line and cutting line</td>
<td>4.07</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The understanding of color cast in fixing a manuscript</td>
<td>3.98</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ability of composition to present texture materials in graphic form on paper or printing medium</td>
<td>3.91</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The setting of columns to begin page layout</td>
<td>3.89</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The execution of blocking out color pictures</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The skills of character manipulation, such as handling color tint, reversing, rotation, and transformation</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The adjustment of color tone for images and pictures</td>
<td>3.76</td>
<td>0.73</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The adjustment of color cast of images and pictures</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The capability of page layout</td>
<td>3.73</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The recognition of printing techniques, including of offset and gravure press.</td>
<td>3.71</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The manipulation of texts, especially in the size, font, and typeface.</td>
<td>3.67</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The adjustment of sharpness and softness of graphics.</td>
<td>3.67</td>
<td>0.73</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The capability of composing texts and graphics in plates of color printing</td>
<td>3.67</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The understanding of software and hardware of compositors</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The execution of repairing of pictures</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The understanding of the principle of color separation and reproduction</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Task</td>
<td>Quantity</td>
<td>Kendall’s W</td>
<td>Chi-square</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The marking and annotation of the manuscript with color chart</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>0.77</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The handling of background color, line art, and lace border</td>
<td>3.59</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ability of making a shadow of texts and graphics</td>
<td>3.58</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ability to make cropping and registration mark of the printing plate</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The ability to crate image frames</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The capability of color arrangement</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The operation of facilities relevant to image scan or color separation</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doing special gradient and flat tint</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Familiar with the operation of dot meter, colorimeter, and densitometer</td>
<td>3.38</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. The Importance of Competency of Pre-press Professionals

According to table 2, we can see that the ability to precisely set both plating-making and finished size is the most important from the point of view of the printing industry, then the second comes the skill of layout, setting running head, running page, corner line and cutting line, and the third the understanding of color cast in fixing a manuscript.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Kendall’s W</th>
<th>Chi-square</th>
<th>D.F.</th>
<th>P-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>0.089</td>
<td>238.137</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0.0000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Kendall’s W Test Statistics

From table 3, Kendall's coefficient of concordance W, equal to 0.089, and P=0.0000<0.05, shows that 107 respondents’ opinions toward 26 items of competency reach ranking consistency.

The Comparison among Managers:

The multi-variance analysis was adopted to exam whether managers’ attributions affect their rating of the competence. The results indicated that managers’ sex (F=1.38, P=0.17) and seniority (F=0.671, P=0.673) do not affect managers to rate the competences but managers’ age and education level do (Table 4). Scheffe post hoc test
was used to exam how the age and education level affect competences rating. The results showed that there is no difference among age groups (Table 5); however, managers with high school degree and junior high school degree do have different rating on the importance of competence (Table 6). Overall, most managers in this study rate the professional competences consistently except managers with junior high degree.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I.V.</th>
<th>D.V.</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rating of the importance of</td>
<td>sex</td>
<td></td>
<td>107</td>
<td>3.67</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td>.170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>professional competence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seniority</td>
<td></td>
<td>107</td>
<td>3.68</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>0.671</td>
<td>.673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age</td>
<td></td>
<td>107</td>
<td>3.68</td>
<td>0.332</td>
<td>4.174</td>
<td>.04*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.62</td>
<td>0.61</td>
<td>.019*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Multi-variance analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig</th>
<th>Scheffe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) 20~29</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3.36</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>4.174</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) 30~39</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3.45</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) 40~49</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>3.89</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) 50~59</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3.61</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) over 60 years old</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4.09</td>
<td>1.17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Scheffe post hoc test on age groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education level</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig</th>
<th>Scheffe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Junior high school</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>3.474</td>
<td>0.019</td>
<td>2&gt;1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) High school</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3.94</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Undergraduate</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>3.67</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Graduate</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Scheffe post hoc test on educational level
Conclusion

Although managing the printing business in such a volatile environment of digital automation is a challenge for a lot of managers or executives, they can still promote the competency for the entire company step by step. The key will be the truly understanding the competency of labor force.

This research identifies 26 items of competency for prepress professionals and concludes that the ability to precisely set both plate-making and finished size, the skill of layout, including setting running head, running page, corner line and cutting line, the understanding of color cast in fixing a manuscript are the most essential and highly valued by managers in the printing industry.

A company running toward the digitalization will succeed by providing a good training for labor force, re-allocating the workflow of production, and gaining the competency of organization.

Reference


Abstract

This study examined the persistence of students with a GED in four-year institutions. Qualitative research methods were employed to better understand the experiences of GED recipients relative to their progress towards baccalaureate degrees. The theoretical framework for this study was symbolic interactionism.

Data were collected in two phases. After a pilot study, Phase I data collection consisted of two focus group interviews with three participants each from two institutions in Louisiana. For Phase II, 10 GED recipients at each university were engaged in semi-structured, in-depth interviews, photography, photo elicitation interviews, and document analysis of students’ records. The data were analyzed using Lincoln and Guba’s (1985) Constant Comparative Method.

Much of the persistence literature is depicted by models of attrition and explained by using variables expressed quantitatively. Since this study was about the persistence of students with a GED in four-year institutions from the perspectives of the participants, it was very important to know how the participants defined their own persistence. Therefore, the participants were asked to provide their own definition of persistence based on their experiences. The participants of this study provided rich evidence that GED recipients have many diverse experiences that define their persistence in four-year institutions.
Introduction

Did you know these facts? GED graduates include comedian Bill Cosby, Wendy’s founder the late Dave Thomas, Delaware’s former Governor Ruth Ann Minner, and U.S. Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell of Colorado. More than 95% of U.S. employers consider GED graduates the same as traditional high school graduates in regard to hiring, salary, and opportunity for advancement (American Council on Education, 2002, p.1).

Higher education is the gateway to prosperity. A high school diploma serves as a rite of passage to go through the gate (American Council on Education, 1992). If a person drops out of high school, as in 2000, 10.9% of individuals ages 16 to 24 years in America did (Kaufman Alt, & Chapman, 2001), is the gate closed forever? Researchers suggest that the General Educational Development (GED) test has served for over 50 years as a way for high school dropouts to have a second opportunity to proceed through the gateway to prosperity (Soltz, 1996; Thompson & Jimmerson, 1986). A person who drops out of high school, but passes the GED test earns a credential that is widely recognized by many higher education institutions, employers, and the United States Census as being the equivalent of a traditional high school diploma (American Council on Education, 2002).

GED recipients are an excellent source of potential students for many higher education institutions. It is important not to classify all students who leave high school as inadequate students. Research conducted by Baldwin (1991) showed that 2 out of 3 GED recipients (67%) completed the 10th, 11th, or 12th grade before leaving school. More than 1 out of 3 (37%) individuals completed the 11th or 12th grade. Some of the students who completed the 12th grade may not have earned a high school diploma for various reasons, such as failing the exit exam or not having enough credit hours to graduate.

Since every student should be considered an important part of a higher education institution, the GED recipients who enroll and persist in four-year institutions warrant a study.
Additionally, some researchers cited the need for more studies that examine the success of GED recipients in postsecondary institutions (Osei, 2001; White, 1996). As a result of the increasing percentage of students who elect to obtain a GED and pursue postsecondary education, higher education institutions must be concerned with the persistence of these students. Furthermore, higher education institutions must also be concerned with how students who preferred a different approach to completing high school will integrate into the university academic setting.

Unfortunately, the literature remains deficient in the area of the persistence of GED recipients in four-year institutions. In an effort to contribute to the body of literature, this study focused on the persistence of students with a GED in four-year institutions from the perspectives of the students. The main research question that guided this study was as follows. What experiences affect the persistence of students with a GED in four-year institutions?

**Selected Review of the Literature**

The primary purpose of this qualitative study was to explore the persistence experiences of GED recipients in four-year institutions. To enhance my understanding of the topic, I examined literature related to the experiences of GED recipients in higher education. Existing research on GED student persistence is primarily quantitative and focuses on community colleges. I wanted to learn about the personal experiences of GED recipients in four-year institutions because these students are a distinct group of individuals with a story to tell. The deficiency in the literature and my quest for knowledge led to the development of this qualitative study.

Owens (1989) studied first semester college performance of 506 GED recipients. The results showed that of 253 (50%) of the GED graduates earned a grade point average at least 2.5 during their first semester of college and were classified as successful. Additionally, the age of
the GED student was a significant factor in successful course completion, as defined by a grade of C or better. Students over the age of 25 years were more successful than younger students. Based on the number of GED recipients who did not re-enroll after the first semester (49%), the researcher concluded that GED recipients might experience some difficulties during the first semester of college.

McElroy (1990) completed a study using an equal number of randomly selected GED recipients (n=50) and traditional high school diploma recipients (n=50). The researcher used descriptive statistics to analyze the college transcripts. The results showed that the GED recipients earned higher grade point averages than the traditional high school graduates. The 50 traditional high school graduates had a mean grade point average of 2.76 with a standard deviation of 1.03. The GED recipients had a mean grade point average of 2.93 with a standard deviation of .87.

Hartwig and Beder (1992) conducted a follow up study of 1980, 1985, and 1988 GED graduates (n=7,500). The respondents stated that life was better in terms of employment, income, personal savings, and further education than it had been before receiving the GED diploma. Additionally, the research participants declared that they were able to better assist their children with schooling since earning the GED diploma.

As the number of GED graduates who enroll in four-year institutions increases, it becomes imperative for these institutions to learn more about the persistence experiences of GED recipients. Only through a better understanding of GED recipients and an appreciation of their experiences will four-year institutions be able to respond with appropriate and meaningful institutional services that promote the success of this increasing group of students.
Methodology

This study employed a qualitative methodology to develop a broader conception of the topic. The population for this study was composed of GED recipients working towards baccalaureate degrees at Alpha University (AU) and Omega University (OU). Alpha and Omega Universities are the pseudonyms assigned to these institutions to ensure confidentiality. AU and OU were selected as data collection sites because both institutions had a considerable number of GED recipients and both institutions granted me access to conduct my research study.

The data collection process involved two phases. After a pilot study, Phase I data collection consisted of focus group interviews. The sample consisted of three GED recipients enrolled at AU and three GED recipients enrolled at OU during Spring 2003 as full time, freshmen (second semester) and beyond, or who had been enrolled for at least one year. Students who transferred from other institutions, including community colleges, were invited to participate in this study. The only stipulation was that these students had to be enrolled for at least one year at either AU or OU. The participants were selected using convenience and snowball or chain sampling. The information elicited from the respondents was used to inform my semi-structured, in-depth individual interview guide.

Phase II data collection consisted of semi-structured, in-depth interviews, photography, subsequent photo elicitation interviews, and document analysis of students’ records (student transcripts and ACT or SAT scores). The sample was composed of 10 participants at AU and 10 participants at OU enrolled during Spring and Summer 2003 as full time, freshmen (second semester) and beyond, or who had been enrolled for at least one year. Students who transferred from other institutions, including community colleges, were also included. The only stipulation was that these students had to be enrolled for at least one year at either AU or OU. These
participants were selected using convenience and snowball or chain sampling. The data from Phase I and Phase II data collection were analyzed using the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

**Defining Persistence and Conclusion**

This chapter presents the major findings that emerged from the participants who are persisting in four-year institutions. Much of the persistence literature is depicted by models of attrition and explained by using variables expressed quantitatively. Since this study was about the persistence of students with a GED in four-year institutions from the perspectives of the participants, I thought that it was very important to know how they defined their own persistence. In this study, the participants were asked to provide their own definition of persistence based on their experiences. The text below describes how the participants defined persistence. Participants were asked to choose a characteristic that described them and started with the same letter as their first name.

**Beautiful:** Not giving up so easy, and just try your best to do what you have to do.

**Bold:** I would define it as when faced with insurmountable odds or just everyday problems, you never quit. Somebody else sees a mountain, you see a mole hill. It’s just going to take you a little bit longer to get over this mole hill.

**Caring:** I would say hanging in there every day. No matter how bad you feel or how much sleep you had, just do it.

**Cautious:** Keep going until you get what you’re after no matter what, even if you don’t necessarily get there by the means you thought you would. You keep at it no matter what. Go after a certain goal. Even if you get knocked down, you get back up, and you will eventually get there. It may take longer than you think, it may not work out the way you thought it would, but you just get to your goal.

**Courteous:** You’re persisting at something, you’re not quitting, you’re not giving up, you’re keeping at it, regardless of the circumstances, regardless of the obstacles, you’re just not giving up.
Darling: Keep on going, never give up, and never take no as an answer.

Determined: Keeping on, staying ahead of the teacher, being prepared for a test on days when you don’t have a test, just constantly studying, and staying ahead of everything.

Gifted: Never giving up. A lot of times people give Alpha University a bad rap, about long lines and the staff. They’re always talking bad about the staff, but if you come to a person in a better manner they are going to treat you better. If one door closes for you, go around to the back. Never give up, just keep on pressing, something is going to open up.

Great: Never ever giving up and trying your best every time. Everybody can just show up to class and make a D and then say, “I’ve been to school for four years.” It’s a lot more to be able to come out of school with something substantial, having learned something.

Hellaciuos: Persistence is an undeniable, irrefutable, totally inexplicable, and aggravating to others absence of knowledge to the word no and a total urgency, a synonym for persistence, for what you really want to get done.

Hilarious: To better myself, keep my parents happy, and to continue to play sports.

Joyful: Devoted and if you get knocked down, then get back up. You keep trying and if something don’t work for you, then try something else.

Just: A constant roaring or want to do something, to want to finish, to want to be something, to want to go somewhere, and to move every mountain possible to get there.

Kind: Persistence is to keep going until the end, don’t let anything get in your way, and to do the best I can do.

Motivated: Sticking with it and just continuing to push. To sit back down and study when I realize that I have to do laundry and other stuff. Sometimes I just get up and I’m doing it [chores] and I’m so in heaven, then I say, “Hello, aren’t you supposed to be studying?”

Multi-talented: Persistence is not giving up. It’s setting your goal and doing whatever you have to do to reach it.

Noble: I motivate myself and tell myself that you either want to get better or you want to get worse. That’s the only place where you going to go, better or worse. I go for better. You’re persisting at something, you’re persisting through school, having a positive attitude, going for it. When it’s coming
at you and you know you not going to succeed, just smile at it. Put that smile on your face and know that you are going to just compete with it.

Self-Motivated: Persistence is continuing to strive to go on in the face of adversity. To continue to try your best, although your best at times may not be enough. Face all difficulties and continue to have faith in what you are doing and what you believe in to keep going on.

Temerity: I define persistence in eight letters T E M E R I T Y. It also means to keep moving forward and not repeat the same mistakes.

Wise: Me getting up every day when I know I don’t want to roll out my bed, getting dressed, and rolling out there every day. Like the mailman—rain, shine, sleet, or snow, I’m on my way to Alpha University.

**Conclusion**

The participants of this study shared their own definition of persistence based on their lived experiences. Although some words are common, these participants told their views about what makes them not quit college. Their thoughts were compelling and provided greater insight about their persistence experiences in four-year institutions. A follow-up study of these same participants is being conducted to learn about their experiences after college.
References


Project Modeling Inquiry Science Education’s (MISE) professional development institute targets approximately thirty (30) upper elementary, middle and high school science and mathematics teachers and five SUBR College of Education pre-service teachers. These teachers are immersed in inquiry-based teaching and learning experiences using exhibits and “snacks” that focus on Laser Interferometer Gravitational Wave Observatory (LIGO) science concepts. The content of the institute focuses on understanding primary physics/physical science and mathematics concepts. Emphasis is placed on interactive exhibits and “snacks” designed and built by the San Francisco Exploratorium, and the use of technology to ensure that participants are familiar with the content knowledge taught in pertinent grade levels.

Project MISE has significant impacts on reforming science and mathematics teaching and learning. Data has been collected and analyzed over the last 5 years. Results show that teachers have increased gains in content knowledge, an increase in confidence with teaching their specific content, and a decrease in discipline problems in the classroom.
Interfacing Informal with Formal Science and Mathematics Education in the Classroom
Southern University Laser Interferometer Gravitational Wave Observatory Project
Funded by the National Science Foundation, PHY-0355471 and PHY-0917543

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This free workshop focused on using inquiry based teaching and learning methods in science and mathematics using exhibits and “snacks” developed by the San Francisco Exploratorium. The objectives of the workshop were to (1) use research-based strategies that focus on using inquiry in the upper elementary, middle, high school, and college classrooms, (2) introduce workshop participants to exhibits and “snacks,” (3) demonstrate the bridging of formal with informal science and mathematics education. This workshop was available to the first 25 participants and pre-registration was required.

Project Description: The Southern University (SUBR) College of Education and Departments of Physics, Mathematics, and Science/Mathematics Education Doctoral Program are in partnership with the Laser Interferometer Gravitational Wave Observatory (LIGO) at Livingston, LA, the San Francisco Exploratorium, and the Louisiana Gaining Early Awareness and Readiness for Undergraduate Programs. The purpose of this partnership is to significantly enhance pre-service teacher training and in-service teacher professional development focusing on inquiry-based, science and mathematics teaching and learning using exhibits and “snacks.” SUBR has 5 interactive exhibits and many “snacks” in its College of Education. These exhibits and “snacks” were a key component of this workshop.
Investigation of Ultimate Condition for Barge Racing Grand Slam in Thailand
O.C.A. PROFILE (Outstanding Competitive Advantage Profile)

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Abstract

Introduction:

This research is an investigation of ultimate condition for history and evolution of traditional Barge racing in Thailand. Barges, historically have contributed to Siamese (Former name of Thai, Siam: Former name of Thailand) culture in wide variety living patterns, and also extremely important in defensive wars. The history of the Royal Barges dates back to the Sukhothai period from the 13th century when the first Royal Barges were reportedly seen. The barges were originally troop carriers when it was more expedient to transport troops along rivers into battle. As lifestyle in Siam was so intimately linked to the river, these barges were also used for religious and ceremonial purposes. During the Ayutthaya period between the 14th - 18th centuries, the royal barge ceremonies flourished particularly during the reigns of King Naresuan, (1590 – 1605 AD). The Great named His Majesty's Barge “HMB Suphannahongsa” started the first generation of this famous Royal Barge. In the reign of King Narai (1656-1688 AD), the Royal Barge processions became more elaborate and one such procession had more than 100 vessels.

The barges performance was absolutely superb, particularly important on 1967, one of Ayutthaya’s great warlord revivalist with his men and a fleet of 100 barges, 50 crew each, moved fast and furious to revive Ayutthaya after the wreckage for seven months. The barges serious attacked then led to a remarkable achievement for Siam History. There were two types of ancient battle ships for
river battles and sea battles. The former were older since sea battles were rare. River battle ships were thus of greater importance.

Barge racing has a long history in Thailand as elsewhere in the world. There was no historical evidence of its origin. The earliest record shows that King Ekathotsarot (1605-1610) of the Ayutthaya Period once held a boat race manned with soldiers in order to train able crew (oarsmen) for use in battle. His predecessor and brother Naresuan the Great is known to have the strongest marines in Thai history. He once used his speed rowing boats to chase and succeeded in catching a rebellious Cambodian lord.

Objective:

The objectives of this research were to investigate and examine the strategies for seeking competitive advantage in a broad range of market or industry segments of Barge Racing Grand Slam in order to enable innovation, efficiency, quality and customers or consumers responsiveness, all of which can be leveraged to create sustainable competitive advantage of Barge Racing Grand Slam competitive position in the global market.

Methods:

This study conducted interpretive qualitative sociology research which adopted practical orientation using the systematic analysis of Boston Matrix which demonstrates an analysis of assessing the long-term viability or profitability of Barge Racing and market sectors and its causal problem through the direct detailed Barge Clubs to develop an understanding of their social lives and discover how their stakeholders construct meaning in natural settings. The researchers conducted meaningful or relevant to the clubs and their stakeholders being studied or how they experience daily life. The researchers collected by getting to know a particular social setting of Barge Clubs and seeing it from the point of view of those in it while share the feelings and interpretations among the clubs and their stakeholders.
In depth idea interviewing, using open-ended questions, the ethical survey involved voluntary participations by respondents. The authority and clubs’ members as respondents agree to answer questions and could refuse to participate at any time. Researchers depend on respondents’ voluntary cooperation by asking well-developed questions.

Results:

The results of the study revealed the ways, in which the political and heavy gambling matters were dealt with the context of the barge racing clubs and their stakeholders. The approaches to differentiating in the form of design or brand image, features, customer services, dealer network etc., the differentiation was expressed in some qualitative ways that customers and consumers value. This paper found that the distinctive Barge Racing enable innovation, efficiency, quality and customers or consumers responsiveness, all of which could be leveraged to create sustainable competitive advantage.

Conclusions:

The achievable goals of barge racing in dimension of the World Class Grand Slam could be reached by working on the differentiation strategy in combination with customer relationship strategy. The ways the customers and the consumers pay more attention to patronize Thailand Barge Racing Grand Slam while they could get from some sources elsewhere, could be meant that they value the remarkably extraordinary differences in the extent and the personal relationship experienced in dealing with these courses of events. Barge Racing in Thailand, unfortunately, was not only become political but also interrupted by heavy gambling which could lead to fragmentation at anytime in the future. To cope with unforeseen fragmentation, an effective strategy was likely to increase the value added of this kind of conservative business by enhancing products differentiation, and thereby higher margins that could not be achieved on the basic product, like normal ways of racing, Value added could also be enhanced by forward integration from fragmentation into defragmentation or formalization which may
neutralize buyers’ power or allow greater product differentiation and, eventually, produce powerful result in strong customer relationship.

**Keywords:** Barge Racing, Customer Relation Strategy, Sport Entertainment, Investigation of Ultimate Condition, O.C.A. PROFILE, Stakeholders.
Football as a tool to enhance the health and unity of the nation

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Abstract

Introduction

Football (Soccer), as any other sports and standard exercises, was created, developed and continually up kept for the first and foremost reason of the health agenda following up closely by the enhancement of skills, competency, versatility and social skills which are commonly known and globally accepted as “the sportsmanship” or “the Olympic Spirit”. All the underlining agenda are most important and necessary firstly for the homeland guards or the military personnel. Then the same can be extended and applicable to all other hierarchical levels of all the population of the community or organization no matter the specific roles or status. The agenda are sensed, seen and developed more in the 20th century through the rise of “the sport entertainment business” agenda and the sports professionalism. Sport in particular “Football” becomes the spearhead of “the sport entertainment industry”.

Football entered into Thailand approximately in 1900 through the Royal initiatives and vision of King Rama IV, King Mongkut and King Pinklao, following the model of the Cambridge University Regulations. The value of was well perceived as mainly the promotion of health and competency of the human resources. Football was firstly adopted and played in the Royal Palace Guards Division for the main reason of raising up the level of versatility and to eliminate the “5 UN” or the “Five Deadly Sins of Personal Development (Pasu Decharin, 2009), namely;

1. Unteachable
2. Untouchable
3. Unreliable
4. Uncontrollable
5. Unable

Upon setting up the proper Ministry of Education in the reign of King Rama V the Great, King Chulalongkorn, and his successor King Rama VI, Football was seen as a good sport to better up Thai youth and later on extended to all the Thai population. As an example, the Royal Court then set up the “Football Club” under H.M. Royal Patronage by the name of “Ratpracha Football Club” (the King and the people’s Football Club) to ensure the continuity and sustainability of the development and prolificacy of Football. Thus the royal model pin points that sustainable promotion of a sport for the nationwide values requires proper institution, acceptable structure, reliable
code of conducts and good corporate governance, especially to set priority on development or social uplift rather than financial interest. The four factors serve as the four pillars or skeleton or solid stem of success on which all other activities affix themselves on.

With the rise of modern sport concept and management, visualizing sport as an entertainment and at the same time as an opportunity or even as a fast track to wealth, fame and power. And Football has proved itself to become a very effective, efficient and efficacious tool as such especially for the top well established and financially sound business enterprises, and then for the renown public figures especially the politicians. More and more Football Clubs are then built and created with the upfront vision and objectives clearly shown as the development of sport and the public health agenda, but it can be scrutinize that the underlining framework is that of making wealth both directly and indirectly through the creation of good will for fame in order to win trust, acceptance and approved adoration from the general public culminating in winning in the election or in the business advantages.

In the recent years the important well established brands of different sectors of business have expanded their activities into sport and especially in Football but fully support or buying in Football Clubs with the clearly seen but believed to be the hidden agenda of getting the brand publicly recognized, and meanwhile conducting marketing activities to create direct wealth from the innocent public.

Methods
This research was of qualitative nature. We collected data by interviewing 375 Football advocates and opponents. The interviewer used open-ended questions to let the respondents express their attitude and opinion fully. Then researchers analyzed the data by qualitative methods.

Discussion
The promotion of Football for the purpose of health and unity of the people is clearly accepted and acknowledged as an esteemed intention and highly appreciated as merited initiative. The final destination and objective is noted as good, honourable and prestigious, but “does the end justify the mean and the side intentions?” It is, therefore, notable to deeply study and research whether the means of promotion employed by modern business enterprises and the top social figures will really help the national community to be eventually healthy and unified, while alongside by the focus of wealth and fame creation by the organizations and persons who hereby acting as investors not as simple promoters as originally understood.

The Thai Royal concept of sport promotion which in this particular case is “Football” as initiated by H.M. Rama VI, Rama V and Rama VI for Thailand is, therefore, studied against the modern trend of “Professional Football” in the disguise the actual and genuine “Business Football”. As the trend seems to be vastly spreading worldwide, it is, therefore, of great benefit to learn the right method and mean to achieve the desired objectives.

From the research it is found that the actual sustainable sport development for the promotion of health and unity requires:
1. Established Institution preferably of non-profit NGO nature
2. Established Structure of governance
3. Established code of conducts for the individual institution as well as for the sport
4. Established Reliable Central Arbitrary Committee

Within the capitalist economy, money politics plays very important role and even seen as inevitable, but the recent global recessions proved to us that the capitalist
way of conducting activities is not always right and sustainable. Because the fact of life and living is that we have unlimited needs and potency but very limited resources and time, thus proportionate share of resources is necessary to create sustainability otherwise the world will end up in the vicious circle of unfair contest and cruel competition which leads to mankind’s dehumanization.

Results

Football is an effective, efficient and efficacious tool to enhance Thailand’s national health and unity agenda if well governed by established institution, structure, code conduct and central arbitrary committee

Key words:
Football, National health and unity agenda, Sport Entertainment
The Sustainable Development of Muay Thai through the Understanding of Thai People’s Attitude

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The Sustainable Development of Muay Thai through the Understanding of Thai People’s Attitude

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Abstract

This research investigates Muay Thai in Thai people’s attitude for sports and entertainment business sustainable development. The research objective focused on studying Thai people’s attitude towards Muay Thai business, studying the needs of Muay Thai audience and finding the ways to develop Muay Thai to be a sustainable business with ability to compete with international sports business in the future. The qualitative study is divided into two main parts; documentary research and field study. The documentary research is conducted through the study of a vast variety of academic researches available in the fields of anthropology, sport communication, Sport business administration and social sciences to take a look at Muay Thai business. The researchers have collected data using questionnaire from those who are fans of Thai boxing and those who do not enter boxing arenas. To further enrich this study, documentary research and interviews were also conducted. The results of the study shows that the origins and main problems of Muay Thai, especially gambling, the most important problem of all. Gambling has spread so widely that it has become influential to Thai boxing business. Foreigners have taken Muay Thai into the next level with millions baht rewards. The research gives overall picture of boxing business in Thailand and how to sustainable development.

KEYWORDS: Muay Thai, Sustainable Development, Sport and Entertainment Business, Sports Communication

Introduction

1. Importance of Issue

Muay Thai is a form of martial arts that has long been a part of Thai people since ancient times. Together with long hand-held weapons, Muay Thai is especially clever way to assist others in fend off approaching enemies. Brave Thai warriors then must practice Muay Thai in order to have ample skills needed in the fight against various types of weapons in times of war. During the course of history, Muay Thai was practice for two main objectives: preparation for war and self defense.

During the absence of war, Muay Thai was still regularly practiced in academies. Boxing tournaments were held for entertainment purpose. Even the kings were interested in practicing and seeking those who were highly skilled. This brought Muay Thai into a higher ground and made it spread throughout the country. It became much more popular with time, until it has been recognized as international sports and Amateur Thai Boxing Association has been initiated. The first amateur Muay Thai
championship was held in Thailand in 1995. Nowadays, it has been a very popular sports practiced worldwide. World Thai Boxing Council and World Thai Boxing Federation were established. Muay Thai has become a Thai strategy that spread throughout the world. While the practice of Muay Thai is becoming ever more popular, Thai parents and children in turn do not give considerable support to this sport and have rather diverted attitude towards the true values and meanings of Muay Thai. Many families who do not support their children to learn how to do Muay Thai choose to have their kids practice other forms of self defense derived from other countries. There might be two possible reasons behind such decision. Firstly, these people thing that Muay Thai is the form of martial arts practiced by lower-class people. Secondly, they are afraid of getting themselves hurt.

In Thailand, Muay Thai is arguably a form of sports intertwined with business of winning and losing, the image of violence is therefore portrayed and the its true values shadowed. This may bring negative images to the eyes of Thai adults and youths alike. These negative images are:

1. Muay Thai is a violent, cruel and torturing sport that may have boxers killed or permanently disabled.
2. Muay Thai is practiced by lower-class people. Those of higher social status should refrain from it.
3. Muay Thai is practiced among the poor, not the rich and famous.
4. Muay Thai is only suitable for those without knowledge.
5. Muay Thai makes your brain deteriorate.
6. Muay Thai society is filled with mafia and gangsters.
7. Muay Thai is a form of gambling prohibited by Thai virtues and traditions.

These negative images should never have been portrayed among Thais who are the owners of this valuable science endowed upon them by their ancestors. The business of Muay Thai can be easily seen via weekly live television broadcast or daily boxing matches for those who which to see for themselves. Moreover, Thais can watch Muay Thai in special events catered by different stores and public offices, namely local administrative offices, different ministries as well as bureaus and departments. This indicates that Muay Thai is still popular among Thai audience. Muay Thai competitions are also popular around the world, such as K1 in the United Kingdom or Kick Boxing in Japan.

Two very contradictory situations above show that on the one side, Thai boxing has lost its charms. But on the other side, it is still very popular. It has spread to other countries, bringing in large sums of income to Thai boxers hunting for champions around the globe. But when one asks about the real situation of Muay Thai, the business and the martial arts, no one has precise answers. This brings us to the needs to study the methods to sustainable develop Muay Thai for a better future, especially for the business side of Muay Thai that has grown significantly in foreign markets where boxers are paid thousands, even millions, for each match. Other expenses are also covered, including travel expenses and accommodation. It is clear that this has been going on for quite some time. The problem is that this will make boxing business in Thailand itself unable to compete with foreign markets. To make things even worse, others might claim the rights over Muay Thai as this has happened with traditional Thai massage in the past.
2. Objectives

1. To study Thai people’s attitude towards Muay Thai and Muay Thai business

2. To study the needs of Muay Thai audience and ways to develop Muay Thai to be a sustainable business with ability to compete with international sports business in the future

3. Methodology

The qualitative study is divided into two main parts; documentary research and field study. The documentary research is conducted through the study of a vast variety of academic researches available in the fields of anthropology, sport communication, Sport business administration and social sciences to take a look at Muay Thai business in general. The researchers move on to study the interviews posted in newspapers, television broadcasts, and the internet. This also includes the study of local Muay Thai competitions such as Suk Jao Muay Thai, Muay Thai Jet See, Suk Atsawindum, Suk Wan Songchai, as well as the matches held at the famous Ratchadamnern and Lumpini boxing arenas. Competitions held in other countries such as the K1 MMA Japan is also incorporated in this study for the better understanding of the true essence and the fun that Muay Thai brings.

During the field work, researchers have interviewed both the people who enjoy Muay Thai and those who are against it. Open-ended questions were used to let the interviewed express their opinions without obstructions. The results were then gathered and processed together with information from the documentary research to answer the two main themes: Thai people’s attitude towards Muay Thai and Muay Thai business and the needs of Muay Thai audience and the willingness to pay for tickets to local Thai boxing matches.

4. Perspectives on Muay Thai Business and Audience Attitude towards Muay Thai

4.1 Muay Thai Situations

This refers to the real situation happening in the boxing matches, audience who go to see the matches at boxing arenas, and those who are involved in local Muay Thai.

4.1.1 Popularity of Muay Thai

At present, the popularity of Muay Thai has changed, especially with the youths who are easily affected by the currents of popularity. For example, tennis, weight lifting, and soccer have become more and more popular among Thai children when Thai sportspersons won international competitions. During the years 2007 through 2009, soccer has significantly developed. There have been soccer fan clubs and soccer associations throughout the country. This has made Muay Thai less popular.

Part of the reasons why parents do not want to take their kids to boxing matches is the fact that they see Muay Thai as violent, uncivilized, and gambling-oriented. Moreover, the atmosphere of the boxing arenas during competitions often involves swearing and gambling. This makes boxing arenas less and less suitable for family member, and therefore lessens the numbers of local Thai audience.

The situation is however different in foreign countries where Muay Thai has become gradually more popular; for example, the United Kingdom, the
Netherlands and Japan. These countries have hired famous boxers from Thailand to compete there, as well as skilled coaches to train their boxers. The pay is much higher than in Thailand. Moreover, there are many foreigners who come to Thailand to take Muay Thai lessons which usually costs 1,000 to 2,000 baht per person per day. This brings in large amount of foreign currencies to Muay Thai home town.

From tourism perspective, Muay Thai is part of the inbound tour program. Tourists often buy tickets to see the real boxing match live at the arenas. The costs of the tickets run between 1,000 to 3,000 baht. The ticket sales make up the revenue of Thai boxing society.

4.1.2 Competition Formats and the Martial Arts of Muay Thai

The martial arts skills of Muay Thai have become less practiced as the rules and regulations prohibit the use of too dangerous skills. The use of certain martial arts skills that have not been trained enough could create an opportunity for hard strike, especially fist fight, kicking and hugging often used when the boxer is disadvantaged.

These formats and skills are different in other countries because there usually are only three rounds of fight. The fact that boxers are usually heavier makes the fight more violent. In Thailand there are five rounds of three-minute fights with 2 minutes resting time. Therefore, boxers need to spare their energy until the very last round. While the three-round fight makes boxers fight with every skill from the very beginning.

4.1.3 Perception and Familiarity of Muay Thai

Through various perception channels such as television, education, films and soap operas Thais have known about Muay Thai since they were born. This enables Thais to use the range of martial skills without much training though the actions may not be precisely correct. However, Thais have realized that Muay Thai coexists with their country since ancient times. Most people see Muay Thai as the most dangerous national martial arts in the world. At the same time, there are negative perceptions as Muay Thai could be violent and fatal in certain cases. Some also see Muay Thai inseparably attached to gambling. Many feel that it is a sport of the poor who needs to make living getting hurt. While others see that Muay Thai is a financial site of gangsters and mafia.

4.1.4 Financial Structure of Muay Thai Business

Muay Thai business can be categorized into televised and non-televised businesses. The televised one’s revenue comes mainly from advertising fees. Only certain amount comes from ticket sales because this type of boxing match is usually held in small-scale, temporary-built boxing arenas that needs special permit. The main objective of this televised boxing match is to get as many television audiences as possible in order to bring more advertisement. It is therefore common to see different forms of advertisement in display everywhere, for example; boxing ring floor, ropes, poles, ceiling, boxer shorts and parka. Adding to this, advertisers can buy the 2-minute resting time to present awards to the boxers, solely to promote their products. It is therefore fair to say that there is no need for permanent boxing arena when they must be able to move around like western carnivals.

For the non-televised counterpart, however, things are rather different. In Bangkok there are two main arenas namely Ratchadamnern and Lumpini, while there are many more arenas set up during Buddhist festivals and temporary arenas in
different provinces throughout the country. Main source of revenue for this type of match is therefore ticket sales. For this type of boxing business, permanent with 3,000 to 5,000 seats arena should be built. Some arenas such as Ratchadamnern one is equipped with air conditions.

In this business, boxing promoters are responsible for collecting all the money earned in each match. Then they will pay all stakeholders according to agreed deals. Boxing arena keepers get fixed amount of money plus five per cent of ticket sale. Muay Thai camps and boxers get about sixty per cent of ticket sales, but the money must be spent on coaching fees, food and accommodation. Promoters themselves get ten per cent of total ticket sales.

As mentioned above, the main objective of non-televised boxing matches is to get as many audiences as possible. However, most people do not come to the arena to witness the martial arts skills of fighters, but to try their luck at gambling. For this reason, there have been many occasions when judges rule against the eyes of the regular gamblers.

4.1.5 Gambling and Muay Thai

Gambling in boxing matches is legal for non-televised matches in standardized boxing arenas. Thus, audiences are mainly there for the purpose of gambling, not entertainment. It is widely accepted that more than half of the audience are gamblers.

However, gambling is the engine to keep Muay Thai business moving. This is because gamblers are the main group of audience who are willing to pay for tickets to the series of boxing matches. At the same time, these gamblers have become more influential to the development of Muay Thai business, the rulings of boxing matches, as well as regulation formats nowadays. These gamblers are known as “Siam Muay” or Muay Thai experts.

4.1.6 Muay Thai Experts

Siam Muay or Muay Thai Experts are those who regularly enter the boxing arenas for the sole purpose of gambling which is the reason why the promoters have to take the very best care of them. Total number of audiences at Lumpini boxing arena is between 3,000 and 4,000, while Ratchadamnern usually gets 2,000 to 3,000 people. At the average price of 300 baht, annual revenue of tickets sales is over 200 million baht. But gambling money flowing in is much more. For example, at the second floor of the Blue and Red Corners, there usually are 500 to 600 experts, each spending about 10,000 each time they bet. In each match there is more than one betting, therefore, each gambler could end up spending over 100,000 baht per match. The money flow is less in other areas of the arena.

4.1.7 Influence of Gambling in Muay Thai

Because these experts bring major part of revenue to the arenas, they arguably get special treatments from the stakeholders. Therefore, the judge’s rulings must comply with judgments of these experts. More often these experts place their bets during rounds 3 and 4. This is in a way consistent with scoring of the judges. These experts thoroughly consider martial skills of each boxer during the last rounds. As a result, the judges tend to give more points in the last rounds more than the first ones. It can be inferred that gambling determines judge’s behaviors and scoring.

One instrument used by Muay Thai experts to influence judge’s scoring is shouting. These experts shout so loudly that judges hear them, especially when the
boxer they bet on hits the right target for scoring. The result of each match is often the same as the gambling pole. The better one usually wins.

However, experts must observe the attitude of each arena as to the taste of gamblers in each game. For Ratchadamnern, judges prefer boxers with strong martial arts skills. If one boxer has done so well until around 4, his chance of winning is rather bright. While in Lumpini, judges prefer offensive boxers. Both boxers then have almost the same chance of winning even in the last rounds. This may cause gamblers to lose their money when the boxers are of the different level of martial arts skills. Gamblers then prefer boxers who are of the same level of skills as this makes the chance of winning almost the same for each boxer. This is rather normal for smaller class of boxers, especially those between 100 to 130 pounds of body weight. Professional boxers then try to keep their body weight within this range because more body weight makes it more difficult to find a match, and less money earned as well.

Moreover, there are changes in boxing patterns. Experts want boxers to take offensive actions so that they can shout at the judges and affect the rulings. If the boxers stay less offensive, it makes the betting score higher, as well as the stakes of gamblers. As a result, over 60 per cent of each match is close encounter and boxing camps give more of close encounter training to their boxers. As time goes by, the game of boxing is less fun to regular audiences and they start to disappear. The only people there are obviously those experts or gamblers. The arenas once try to ban the close encounter fights, but it was against the will of these experts and therefore annulled. It is fair to say that this is a concrete example of gambling influence on Thai boxing business.

4.2 Attitude of Muay Thai Audience

To study the attitudes of Thai people towards Muay Thai, the researchers have collected data using questionnaire from those who are fans of Thai boxing and those who do not enter boxing arenas. To further enrich this study, documentary research and interviews were also conducted. The interviewed have certain views in common with regards to Muay Thai as illustrated below.

1. Muay Thai is perceived as zero-sum games of sports, not the martial arts. This makes the game less entertaining to regular audience when compared with other competitions or Muay Thai matches in foreign countries where they are much more artistic. The important thing is gambling and the influence of Muay Thai experts because they bring in large sums of revenue to the arenas; 50 to 60 per cent of total revenue from ticket sales from the regular gamblers. They are arguably boxing mafia.

2. Muay Thai is perceived as a way of gambling prohibited by Buddhist virtue. This is against the conscience of Thai people as most of them are followers of Buddhism. Gambling is one of the four wrongdoings labeled as root causes of misconduct. This makes people feel strongly objected to any gambling-related matters including Muay Thai.

There are two reasons for this. Firstly, Muay Thai portrays images of violence and assaults. Together with the fact that Thailand is arguably Buddhist country, therefore violence and gambling shall be refrained. This is also consistent with Buddhist virtue to refrain from killing and asking someone else to kill. The other reason is that in the past Muay Thai is part of Tantra branch of Buddhism whereby the followers practice both the martial arts skills and the integrity and virtue of the fight itself. As time passes, the audience’s needs have changed. Muay Thai has diverted
towards entertainment. Beginning with entertainment in festivals, it has evolved into boxing for a living and then boxing for business. In time, boxers have forgotten the origins of boxing as part of the society.

3. Boxing competition format does not generate development in general. It is fair to say that this sport is largely practice among the underprivileged that need to enter boxing competition to make a living. Boxers risk getting hurt and they all aim at winning every match. Most of the time, it’s winning with the scores not knockout as it was in the past.

Moreover, Muay Thai competitions in foreign countries have different sets of rules; for example, no elbow or close encounter and there are only 3 rounds of fight. Also, there is no mentor salutation ceremony before every match. Foreign boxers are generally bigger than Thais, thus more violent fight and more knockouts. These make matches more entertaining and exciting. Also, audiences of foreign boxing matches comprise of a vast variety of people. This makes boxing business in foreign countries develop at faster pace. With more money flowing in the business, foreign boxers earn ten times more money than Thais. There are many boxing camps, for example, there are 32 of them in London alone.

4. Public relations of boxing business are rather limited to certain groups of audience. It does not attract general public; therefore the public perception of Muay Thai is easily diverted. Most people see it as a type of legal gambling, thus causes resistance by those who dislike gambling and other types of wrongdoing.

For this matter, the fact that most boxing matches’ names begin with the word “Suk” or war, while other matches claim to be a sign of sadism makes people feel resistant to it. While other kinds of sports symbolize greatness and honors, thus attract larger crowd. Muay Thai, on the opposite, only attracts male audience. There is a saying in Thai that boxing is only for men, women shall refrain from it. Most stakeholders of boxing business are men. For women to be involved in this business, they must have close relationships with boxing camps before. Otherwise they may have strong economic pressure because boxing does not require education or looks, but patience and good will. For this reason many boxers are from the northeastern and southern parts of the country.

5. Sustainable Development of Muay Thai

This research has outlined the origins and main problems of Muay Thai, especially gambling, the most important problem of all. Gambling has spread so widely that it has become influential to Thai boxing business. Foreigners have taken Muay Thai into the next level with millions baht rewards. This has never occurred in Thailand, the mother land of Muay Thai.

To make Muay Thai better, there must be real demands for watching the matches, meaning the true demand for entertainment of boxing, not the joy of gambling. It is interesting that there are more foreigners entering boxing arenas than before. These men and women are not involved with gambling business. But their present is an evidence for the real demand for boxing.

6. Challenges to Change

Boxing business development requires courage to change, both in terms of audience, rules, formats, and attitudes of judges, promoters and boxers. They must make boxing competitions more exciting with more emphasis on martial arts skills. The current rules judge on the accuracy of offense, signs of weakness, number of offense and number of fouls, not the martial arts skills.
It is suggested that boxing rules change as follow;
1. There should be 3 rounds 3-minute fight, with 2 minutes resting time.
2. Hugging shall be limited to 5 times, each with less than 5 seconds.
   If violated, the boxer shall be ruled as incompetence. The one who starts the hug shall be banned for at least one month.
3. Judges shall be seated in special compartment, away from influences of the audiences. They shall also wear noise reducing gear for better concentration.

Nowadays boxers must be contacted by promoters to fight in each match. For championship match, the runner-up must ask the champion for a fight. This type of competition is prevalent in boxing arenas such as Ratchadamnern or Lumpini. There are championship matches such as World Muay Thai for World Thai Boxing Council. But there have not been any Thai boxing tournaments such as tennis, volleyball or soccer. It is suggested that boxing tournament would give boxers the opportunity to develop their skills needed for quick victory, thus exciting and graceful matches.

7. New Beginning and New Attitude

It is rather difficult to separate boxing from gambling because the latter is the main source of income supporting the former. However, it is not fair for Muay Thai to be stuck where it is now because internationally it has become more than ever famous, with much more money flowing in. Thais themselves can earn from becoming trainers abroad. As mentioned above, the different formats practiced successfully in other countries are good example of what should be done in Thailand; for example competition formats, rules, and control to make the game more transparent. But this shall be carried out in newly held competitions to avoid influence from the experts. Moreover, market mechanisms shall be endorsed when it comes to revenue management. Revenue can be earned from ticket sales as well as conventional broadcasting and the use of internet and wireless technologies. These instruments will help change the structure of Muay Thai to make it more internationally recognized than before.

The main objectives of Muay Thai then are making different groups of audiences more satisfied, thus bringing into the arena people from different age groups, genders, occupations, races, and educational back grounds. With a larger group of supporters, the risks of business are lower. The government sector should be part of this through the Sports Authority of Thailand and the Tourism Authority of Thailand. New competitions should be held to give entrepreneurs good example of how to develop the sports Business Industry.
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Redefining labour’s role in development?
- Globalisation and the Capture of Labour Value in Developing Asia. A research agenda.

Proceeding presentation. Abstract 19 March 2010

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How can we understand the position and transformation of labour in developing Asia (and other emerging economies) in a global development perspective - and the changing determining factors, such as authoritarian developmental states, global value chains, division of labour, class position, weak trade unions and little recognition of Asian labour?

The social and economic transformation of developing Asian countries in direction of industrial and knowledge-based societies has been very fast. The speed is without historical parallels. On the background of theories of labour, industrial relations, global value chains, off-shoring & out-sourcing, division of labour and capture of skill formation - some questions, paradoxes and hypotheses on Asian labour are raised:
(1) Industrial production moves to developing Asia. Asian labour produces the major part of global industrial value but most of the value, labour productivity and skills are captured by transnational corporations (TNCs) and finance capital (including Asian institutions). The potential of labour’s organising strength and skill upgrading in ‘global value chains’ (GVCs) is partly undermined by the power relations in GVCs.

(2) Strong Asian developmental states often in partnership with TNCs (Asian and Western) are successful in industrial upgrading but on condition of unorganized or weakly organised labour.

(3) In Western societies labour has historically had a defining role in developing democracy, social reform and welfare as a strong, independent social movement, in socialist parties or trade unions – why not in Asia?

(4) The rapid increase in industrial production in Asia (in China 50 % of GDP) and of a huge industrial labour force does not as in Western history correspond to a social compromise with organised labour in political participation and socio-economic reform.

(5) Export oriented Asian economies (in China export and import comprise 80 % of GDP) have been hardest hit by the global financial crisis (China 20 % reduction of export) but have been able to keep unemployment and social protest down - often better than many Western countries.

(6) The political influence of social movement labour organization has in the last decades been stronger in Latin America and South Africa than in Asia.

(7) De-industrialisation in the West and wage competition with Asia (‘race to the bottom’) should in theory be calling for co-


ordinated international solidarity but seem in reality to undermine any stronger potential of Western labour support to Asian Labour.

(8) The unequal distribution of Asian income, widening gap between working and middle classes and the fast expansion of middle class, which 'in theory' could help identify and organise labour interest are transferred to up-climbing middle class orientation of interest. Is the speed in transformation and “white-collarization” of workers a barrier to formation of class identity and class interest?

(9) Labour market flexibility, different forms of informal and casual labour, immigrant labour, limited rights of labour, all used as technology of labour governance make the group of permanent employed marginalised and defensive. At the same time the transformative up-skilling potential and flexible character of labour is defining in people’s mindset.

(10) Although Taylorism and traditional hierarchical industrial relation are widespread in labour intensive industries, management has invested in skill upgrading in more capital- and knowledge-intensive production and implemented a series of governance tools, like individual performance evaluation and salary incentives, teamwork delegation, coaching, corporate social responsibility (CSR), which all to some extent may take over or replace the role of trade unions or labour's social agenda.

For long Asian labour was seen as peripheral to Western labour and Western industrialization. Theories of the new international division of labour gave more impetus to labour but mainly as part of transnational corporations or capitalism in the West. Now, when Asian labour and working life have a more important and defining role for development, not only in Asia, but the whole world, concepts and analyses of Asian labour should be more central in
social science, business and development research internationally. Paradoxically labour issues have been less and less in focus of public discourse and social research since the 1970’s. Why are working class identity and labour solidarity that weak in Asia? This issue needs research and explanation from several points of view.

Asia has indeed been the preferable location for off-shoring and outsourcing of business activities from the Global North, be it North America, Europe or Japan. However, what do we know about the social consequences of this new Industrial Revolution? What factors explains the current state of labour?

Asian firms and industries have been successful in upgrading often to the latest state of industrial art in co-operation with TNCs, fitting Gereffi’s theories of the potential in global value chains, GVCs (2005). But Gereffi pay little interest to the ‘social issue’ of labour and to the power relations in GVCs.

**The social issue of labour – the labour problem**

In economic and political history the ‘labour issue’ has been crucial for the trajectories being followed and the outcomes to follow in terms of economic development, political transformation and social welfare for the population in general. Fredric Deyo highlighted the labour issue ‘beneath the Miracle’ in East Asia in 1989. China took on the role of miracle and continued to grow rapidly - and India was to follow. With Asia receiving around 50 percent of global FDI inflows to developing countries in 2007 and taking on most of subcontracting work in the 21st century, labour is an imminent part of the agenda of global economic restructuring, including industrialisation in Asia and deindustrialisation in the Global North. Simultaneously, FDI outflow from Asian TNCs is increasing, representing 150 billion USD out of 253 billion USD in total from developing countries in 2007.
The ‘labour problem’ in Western capitalism was considered the major social conflict for decades by social scientists, politicians and capitalists. As described by Bruce Kaufman in his history of industrial relations (Kaufman 2004) John Rockerfeller found himself forced to finance much of early industrial relation research in the US and even Britain to be able to understand and handle problem solving of conflicts between corporate capital and labour. Socialism and trade unions were a real threat in the West until establishment of welfare capitalism. In third world countries anti-colonial revolutions and radical labour movements had an organising space or lee-way between the two competing world systems during the cold war. Ironically labour interest and influence were often stronger before large-scale industrialisation in third world countries.

Asian models are often identified with the new rise of middle classes and meritocracy or elite governance and not with labour as an independent force in development. In the West labour’s role in defining social movements, solidarity, reform or revolution, democracy, universal rights and equality, political left and right wings, welfare system etc. has been given an important impetus in historical and social analyses. For almost a century labour problems were seen as a threat to economic growth and political stability in the West. As means of conflict resolution labour was incorporated in industrial relations systems and the ILO tripartite system, which stands as a model for international labour and human rights conventions and standards, including Global Compact of the UN for good labour, social and environmental governance of TNCs. According to ILO concepts, employers and employees should be equal partners. - In principally the same way, labour has shared power in development of Western democracy. In developing Asia, labour is supposed to have a much more submissive role. If an Asian labour federation complains to ILO about organizing rights in violations to ILO conventions it may be
accused of treason, assaulting national sovereignty, as happened to Malaysian unions and MTUC in the late 1990’s.

**Power over skill formation**

Asian countries also transform to knowledge-based societies – often in a much faster speed than in the West. According to several authors knowledge-intensive societies have changed conditions for business competition and management (Yuan Lu et al. 2008). But to what extent has labour and employment relation changed? According to one theory a new global skill regime has emerged and a ‘skill capture’ by TNCs have shifted the power over firm specific skill formation and reward systems (Lauder et al. 2008). In knowledge economy company management increases investment in R&D and human resource (HR) and skill development. Therefore their interest to control or govern skill formation has increased. Other theories point to different type of skill formation system on national, industry or company level as most important for varieties of welfare system and social protection as well as labour market relations (Estevez-Abe et al. 2001). Applying theories of skill formation and knowledge economy to our own comparative research on HR development in East Asian and Nordic countries regarding divergence and convergence of HRM and employment relations (Fleming & Tørnqvist, Fleming & Søborg) raise new questions. Which are the consequences of a possible shift in the power over skill formation for labour and employment relations? Which are the differences and the institutional challenges in employment relations between Nordic countries and Asian latecomers, Malaysia, Singapore and China.

The reason and interest for comparison is the large difference in IR system, between the Nordic tradition of labour co-determination and participation in working life and skill formation and the Asian state and employer dominated work relations and skill formation.
The institutional support in industrial upgrading and educational catching up has been strong, including the role of TNCs in training and R&D in the studied Asian NICs, but union influence has been minimised.

Management-labour relations in knowledge-based work have generally been more individualised, self-governed, borderless (in time and location) than in labour intensive production. Does this give more power over skill formation to company managers or do knowledge workers have the power to use companies in job-hopping skills careers? How is the process of skill formation, training and education taking place in different knowledge intensive companies and environments? In case of lacks of skilled workers employees can have an advantage. However management in global lead firms may anyhow control skill formation and HRM (standardised individualised performance evaluation and ranking of employees) in the company. To what extent do unions have or show interest in skill formation on the different levels: general skills, industry based skills (vocational training) and firm specific skills? There is a big difference in participation between Nordic employees/unions and the role of labour in the studied Asian cases not least at the company level. Working life culture, concepts of authority, individualism and collectivism are also different. Finally, to what extent do individualisation of knowledge work and control of skill formation influence industrial relations in the countries? Are unions powerless and the IR system eroding? Are individualism and collectivism opposite poles in knowledge-based employment relations or contingent relations, both necessary to develop and bridge in an institutional framework?

Preliminary conclusion and summary of research questions

Although we have some reservation regarding Lauder’s et al. TNC skill capture thesis it is partly in line with the results of our own
research: The IR system have several diverging tendencies, like between the Nordic and Asian countries, but the HRM system in leading TNCs use global standardisation in skill formation and individual performance ranking which have converging tendencies. On company level the power over skill formation seem to have increased on both global and national level in TNCs.

What relevance do these experiences, theories, concepts and analyses have for a late Asian development context? Is labour no longer a threat to social and capitalist stability in present Asian industrialization and therefore ignored in development research? Have the concerted policies of authoritarian developmental states and corporate social policies of MNCs drawn out the teeth of the Asian Tigers? Do Asian labour have a collective identity and consciousness as labour? Has the international labour movement failed to support and trigger the mobilisation of Asian labour in trade unions, workplace organisations, political parties and communities? To what extent are western models of labour and social relations applicable and valid in contemporary Asia? Which policies and strategies of international corporations, labour organisations and states are needed in order to generate ‘inclusive and just development’ in Asia? What role has grass-root labour in new transnational activism? These are all questions needing more systematic research.

**Literature:**


 Bronfenbrenner, K. (2007)

Abstract:

Heavy drinking is a seemingly intractable problem on college campuses, associated with myriad negative consequences for both drinkers and nondrinkers on campus. The aim of this research was to examine the relationship between heavy drinking in college students and academic disengagement, academic achievement, normative perceptions related to drinking and academic attendance, sensation-seeking orientation, and competing demands such as paid employment and class schedule.

Students were recruited on the campus of a private Catholic college in the northeastern United States. Recruiters approached students in campus dining halls, dormitories, and the library and followed a scripted protocol to invite students to participate in the survey. Written informed consent was obtained for all participants; no incentive was offered to participants. The paper-and-pencil survey was brief (34 items) and self-administered by students. Confidentiality of responses was assured by identifying surveys by ID numbers that could not be linked to consent forms/names of participants.

A total of 184 students completed the survey. Students were 18-22 years old (M = 19.6); 60% were females; 91% were non-Hispanic White, 3% were Hispanic/Latino, and 2% were Black/African American. Most students (89%) lived on-campus, 9% lived off-campus in an apartment, and 2% lived with a parent or other relative. All classes were represented: 37% were freshmen, 30% were sophomores, 19% were juniors and 13% were seniors.

Indices of heavy drinking included self-reported past-month average number of drinks per week (M=16.4 drinks, SD=4.5), maximum number of drinks in one day (M=7.0 drinks, SD=5.1), and percentage of time one drinks in order to get drunk (M=55.1%, SD=34.5). Consistent with prior research, students perceived themselves to drink less than the “average student” at this college. Students thought their peers averaged 28.6 drinks per week (SD=15.6) and 8.3 maximum drinks per occasion (SD=4.2). Heavier drinkers perceived higher normative drinking levels than lighter drinkers (p’s < .01).

As hypothesized, heavy drinking indices were significantly associated with higher levels of sensation seeking (p’s < .01), higher levels of academic disengagement (p’s < .01), lower academic achievement (i.e., grade point average) (p’s < .01), and higher likelihood of missing class due to drinking (p’s <.01). The relationship between heavy drinking and academic disengagement was not confounded by sensation seeking, which was unrelated to disengagement.
The expectation for social enhancement effects of alcohol was also significantly associated with heavy drinking (p's < .01), while students who perceived their parents to influence their drinking drank less than their peers and were less likely to drink to get drunk (p's < .01).

Students reported that competing academic demands effected their drinking. For example, heavier drinkers were more likely to say their drinking was constrained by high levels of schoolwork and that they drink less when they have an early class the next day. However, heavy drinkers were no more likely than lighter drinkers to report avoiding early classes. Moreover, hours of paid employment was not related to most indices of heavy drinking (though overall levels of work were low, with students averaging only 5.6 hours of work per week).

Data on class start time, hours worked at paid employment, and number of drinks consumed by each day of the week were also recorded, and will be analyzed to determine the event-level impact of class time and work hours on alcohol consumption.

Implications of study findings will be discussed in detail. Programs designed to correct normative misperceptions about peer drinking levels have been empirically supported and are widely implemented; the current findings lend further support for the need to correct misperceived drinking norms. Campus initiatives focused on bolstering parental influence on drinking are rare but have potential utility for reducing heavy drinking. Other under-utilized but potentially worthwhile approaches include registering at-risk drinkers (e.g., freshmen and males) in earlier classes, and having classes daily. Campus cost-saving strategies like scheduling classes only four days per week may promote heavier drinking on campus. Finally, the relationship between academic disengagement and heavy drinking has not received adequate attention. Classroom instructors may benefit from more information about college student heavy drinking, its impact on achievement and classroom effort, and early identification and intervention approaches.
The Factors Affecting On
The Women's Decision Making In Family
(A Family case study in the new city of Baharestan, ISFAHAN, IRAN)

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Abstract

The main purpose of this study is to recognize the factors affecting the family – Participation of Women. It has investigated the factors affecting the Women's Participation in the families in Baharestan, the new city in Isfahan, in 2008. This investigation has been performed by using the survey method and 200 people were studied, emphasizing the approaches of Callins, Ingellhart and White.

To analyze the data, the multivariate regression has been used. Considering the results from the multivariate regression statistical analysis of participation in family decision making equals R²=.5. It can be concluded that the duration of marriage life, age, man's age of marriage, have affected the Women's family Participation. The comparison of regression quotient shows that marriage duration has the most share in dependent variable changes.

Key Words: Women's decision making, Women's Participation, socioeconomic status, work-sharing at home
Introduction

The main hypothesis
There is a statistical relationship among socio-economic class, marriage, place of residents, ethnicity, and women's participation in family decision making.

Independence variables:

50% of answerers are women. Of answerers were Persian and the rest non-Persian.
35.5% of answerers had a relative marriage. Also, 86% were born in the city. 61% of female answerers belong to low, 25.5% to the average, and 10% to the high socio-economic class. Whereas 10% of male answerers have low, 25.5% to the average, and 10% to the high socio-economic class. The non

2.5% of male answerers and 3% of female answerers are illiterate, 8.5% of male answerers and 41% of female answerers have a diploma, and 2.5% of male answerers and 3% of female answerers have had a degree of B.A.

Depended variable

Based on the table, the highest percentage of decision making belongs to female's answerers: the kind of food cooking( ), daily shopping(57.5%), and home. Decorate 42% of answerers who stated men are responsible for decision making about buying an automobile, and women are merely responsible for 50% of this decision making. For some decision making such as children's marriage, children's education, and going on a trip, children have a role.
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American Test-givers Produce Stereotype Threat Performance Damage but British Whites Don’t, Suggesting that African Americans Expect Different Levels of Prejudicial Stereotyping by Nationality.

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African American students are often found to perform less well than White students on standardized tests and Stereotype Threat Theory (Steele and Aronson, 1995) suggests that this could be caused by reactions to one’s awareness of a negative stereotype regarding one’s group’s task performance. Sloan, et. al. (2000a) and others (Marx & Goff, 2005) however found that challenging, diagnostic stereotype-related testing in exclusively in-group settings did not produce Stereotype Threat performance decrements but did in out-group context testing (e.g., a White tester), suggesting that stereotype threat outcomes may require out-group presence. Stereotype Threat performance decrements also are eliminated when tests are described as ethnically “fair”, implying that there is otherwise an expectation of potentially biased evaluation by out-group members and that this may be needed to produce stereotype threat effects. Other recent work has found that African Americans have substantially different and less favorable evaluations of, and expectations of, White Americans than they do of Whites from other countries (e.g., Britain). Thus the central research question is whether White testers from countries of lower perceived prejudice would produce lower stereotype threat impact in minority settings where it’s usually present for White Americans. 206 African-American university students took challenging verbal (SAT) tests described as individually Diagnostic or Nondiagnostic by White American men or women or by a White British woman with a notable accent. Replicating prior findings, White American men and women experimenters produced stereotype threat performance decrements in the diagnostic (test of ability) compared to the nondiagnostic (just a study) condition. Somewhat surprisingly the White British woman produced no diagnosticity difference whatever. This strong contrast based on differently perceived nationality linked bias suggests that perceived or expected prejudice may be required for Stereotype Threat negative impacts on performance.

This research focuses on the finding that African Americans tested on challenging stereotype-related materials within uniformly in-group situations don’t show degraded performance (e.g., Sloan, Jones, Philip, Maitland, and Starr, 2000a; Sloan, L. R., Wilburn, G., Van Camp, D., Barden, J. and Martin, D., 2009; Marx and Goff, 2005) in an apparent exception to Steele and Aronson’s (1995) Stereotype Threat proposal. Stereotype threat is thought to result from taking a difficult, ability-diagnostic test related to a negative

Notes: This research was supported in part by NIMH Grant MH 16580 to the first author. We thank LeKisha Mixon, Katie Chipungu, Krystal Meares for their assistance in the conduct of portions of this research. Please send requests to Dr. Lloyd Ren Sloan, Department of Psychology, Howard University, 525 Bryant Street NW, (Room N179, CB Powell), Washington, DC  20059, USA. Email: lsqlon@howard.edu
stereotype of one’s in-group. The predicted performance decrements not observed within in-group settings are observed however in out-group context testing which suggests that stereotype threat may require stereotype relevant, out-group presence, perhaps in arousing concerns that the test-taker may be unfairly evaluated or stereotyped. Studies of meta-stereotypes held by this African American population reveal that Whites from other countries (e.g., Great Britain, France) may be seen as less biased toward African Americans than are White Americans. Would Stereotype Threat performance decrements be lower with White testers from such other countries compared to the impacts of White American test-giver/experimenters?

Stereotype Threat

Steele and Aronson (1995), demonstrated the hypothesized performance degradation on a difficult verbal ability test administered to negatively stereotyped minority students (African Americans) when the test was described as being “diagnostic” of their personal ability. This performance drop didn't occur when that task was described as simply part of a verbal problem solving study (e.g., not diagnostic). Non-stereotyped test-takers (here White students) did not show this relative performance decrement in the diagnostic condition. Steele and Aronson (1995) hypothesized that Stereotype Threat and its performance debilitating effects, could be aroused by difficult, personally diagnostic testing in an area relevant to a negative, in-group performance stereotype, thereby placing one in a possible situation of confirming the negative stereotype by their own potentially insufficient performance. The individual’s concerns that they might lend credibility to the stereotype through weak performance could lead to lower performance by creating threats to the individual’s self-evaluation or by increased self or group consciousness, lowered performance expectations, reduced task effort, added evaluation apprehension, or even simple distraction from the task. It is notable that many of these causal factors parallel hypothesized causes of the negative performance effects of Social Facilitation on difficult, challenging tasks undertaken in social settings compared to doing the task alone and without social impacts. Such hypothesized causes vary including: the simple presence of others (Zajonc and Sales, 1966), evaluation apprehension (Cottrell et al., 1968), or the distraction and resulting cognitive conflict resulting from co-actor and observer produced distraction and conflicting task attention demands (Baron, 1986). In any case, Huguet et al. (1999) showed others’ presence produces narrower attention focus that hinders performance. All theorists generally agree however with Zajonc that arousal somehow occurs and increases cognitive reliance on prepotent responses, altering performance based upon whether the prepotent response is correct or wrong.

Harkins and colleagues (Jamieson & Harkins, in press; Jamieson & Harkins, 2007 and McFall, Jamieson & Harkins, 2009) have shown, consistent with social facilitation predictions, that stereotype threat type diagnostic instructions produce performance decrements by increasing the performer’s employment of the prepotent task response, which on difficult tasks is generally less effective or incorrect. Thus these presumed mechanisms for Stereotype Threat appear supported.
The more fine-grained analysis of various possible performance mediating mechanisms of Stereotype Threat is of concern but it is not the focus here. Such mechanisms include for example notions that stereotype threat arousal may create added self-evaluation threats for the individual attempting to maintain or enhance their own status (Josephs, Newman, Brown & Beer, 2003) or may increase self-consciousness, evaluation apprehension, performance anxiety, overcautiousness, lowered performance expectations causing reduced effort, or distractions that demand attention needed for task success.

Stereotype Threat conditions produce other consequences that in turn may impair performance including; unanticipated cognitive shortfalls (Sawyer and Hollis-Sawyer, 2005), reduced working memory capacity, especially damaging to intellectual performance (c.f., Schmader and Johns, 2003; Chasteen, Bhattacharyya, Horhota, Tam and Hasher, 2005), increased mental load (Croizet, Despres, Gauzins, Huguet, Leyens and Meot, 2004) and increased negative thinking (Cadinu, Maass, Rosabianca and Kiesner, 2005). More simply, Stereotype Threat effect may be caused by cognitive priming events (Wheeler and Petty, 2001) leading to performance or effort drops. Any of these hypothesized mechanisms alone or in combinations, could predict the performance deficits found under stereotype threat invoking conditions.

**A Robust and Important Threat**

Stereotype Threat has been shown to be very strong and generalizable and may cause great damage across many performance settings for numerous negatively stereotyped groups. These include for example; Hispanic students in verbal testing (Salinas, 1998), women in difficult mathematics tasks (Spencer, S.J., Steele, C.M., & Quinn, D.M., 1999; Inzlicht, M. & Ben-Zeev, T., 2000; Oswald, D. L. & Harvey, R. D., 2000), low versus high SES French students in SAT tests (Croizet, J.C. & Claire, T., 1998), White men on math-computer skills compared to successful Asia competitors (Aronson, J., Lustina, M.J., Good, C., Keough, K., Steele, C.M., & Brown, J., 1999), White men in stereotypically African American athletic tests (Stone, J., Lynch, C.I., Sjomeling, M. & Darley, J.M., 1999) and White men compared to women on social sensitivity tasks (Koenig and Eagly, 2005) and numerous others.

Aspects of the Stereotype Threat puzzle: Many of the above researchers above focus on the process through which Stereotype Threat arousal degrades performance. Others, concentrate on discovering what factors in various performance situations influence changes in stereotype arousal and performance decrements. Beyond the notion that stereotype threat may be invoked by the challenge of a negative stereotype related, difficult test, other possible factors may include reminders of race or racial differences, anticipated bias and possibly implied comparisons to other stereotype related groups.

Steele and Aronson’s (1995) and other early research occurred at Stanford University and largely White institutions. The substantially White context of the research setting may then have contributed to the activation of stereotype threat in African American test-takers. A reasonable question to ask therefore is whether stereotype threat would be observed in a minority institution environment in the absence of some immediate out-group racial presence. Sloan, Gurira, Starr, Sloan and Jackson (1999) replicated and extended Steele and Aronson’s (1995) research but added the race of the experimenter.
(White or Black males) as another variable. Stereotype threat arousal (Sloan, et. al., 1999) and performance decrements (cf., Sloan, Phillip, Starr, Ridberg and Oleson, 2000b; Sloan, Glenn and Craig, 2002; Sloan, Wilburn, Martin, Fenton, Starr, Craig, Gilbert, and Glenn, 2003) did occur in the Diagnostic Condition with the White test-giver/experimenter (the only out-group presence), but did not occur with the African American experimenter in that uniformly in-group context. Inzlicht and Ben-Zeev (2000; 2003) observed similar results for women in math testing with or without men test-takers present. The out-group member then may act as a reminder of the stereotype or cue stereotype-related bias/fairness concerns, but that out-group presence appears necessary to produce stereotype threat.

Why would out-group presence be so powerful in the arousal of Stereotype Threat? A homogeneously African American environment appears not to provide some factors found in the out-group setting. These factors could include cues of possible biased stereotyping from out-group members and expectations of bias may be substantial among some African Americans and this may increase the potential for stereotype threat activation.

Terrell and Terrell’s (1981) work in Cultural Mistrust may offer a partial explanation. African Americans high in Cultural Mistrust performed worse on intellectual IQ measures (Sanford-Binet and WAIS) when administered by White testers, as opposed to African Americans (Terrell, Terrell & Taylor, 1981; Terrell & Terrell, 1983; Nickerson, Helms, & Terrell, 1994; Alston, & Bell (1996) suggesting expectations of greater prejudice and lower trustworthiness when dealing with the out-group test-giver. Whaley’s (2001; 2002) meta-analyses across mental health and other areas of psychosocial research confirmed and extended the earlier findings. Other findings below from our laboratory confirm that African American students expect to be more negatively stereotyped by White Americans than by other American subgroups or many other nationalities.

Pursuing the ethnic out-group effect in arousing Stereotype Threat:

If expected unfairness is an important component of the out-group in causing stereotype threat, then one way to reduce its damaging impact would be to reduce the expectation of potential unfairness or bias. Sloan, Philip, Jones, Starr, Ridberg and Oleson (2000b) and Sloan, Maitland, Starr, Philip & Jones (2001) attempted to alter the minority students’ possible perception of the unfairness of the situation including a SAT verbal test given by a White test-giver. Sloan and colleagues (Sloan, et. al., 2000b; Sloan et. al., 2003) told participants that the tests were chosen because they had been previously shown to be “culture-fair, that is, that Blacks, Whites and Hispanic students did equally well on the items”. In this “culture fair” condition, the White Experimenter condition performance decrements disappeared, suggesting that the concerns underlying stereotype threat had diminished, perhaps because the potential for the expression of prejudice had been reduced with a fair test. Fairness assurances also reduce performance damage typically found diagnostic testing of women on difficult math tests (Oswald and Harvey, 2000).

Pursuing the In vs. Out-group finding by adding potential threat factors to the uniformly in-group setting: An inverse approach to testing hypothesized factors as underlying mechanisms of Stereotype Threat is to add possible threat related variables to the in-group
American (but not British) Testers Induce Stereotype Threat


(Black Experimenter only) condition which normally produces no stereotype threat performance decrements. Several studies have examined the impact of adding anticipated comparison of the African American student’s performance to out-group performance by having the Black experimenter tell the African American test takers that their scores were to be compared with those of white students at another university (Sloan, Glenn, & Craig, 2002), or any of a series of increasingly more specific claims of impending comparison by White researchers, but none created stereotype threat effects. In attempts to introduce concerns over unfair evaluation or stereotyping judgments to induce stereotype threat in minority settings, the 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 but neither condition resulted in stereotype threat effects. A biased evaluation may not be concern when one’s immediate contact or evaluation could only be by another in-group member (Sloan, Wilburn, Camp, Craig-Henderson and Martin, 2005).

In a more direct threat of evaluation by Whites, Sloan, Wilburn, Camp, Barden, and Martin (2006) had a White researcher enter the room briefly prior to the performance test during a Black experimenter conducted testing session and say that he would return before the end of the session to make immediate evaluation by the out-group seem likely but this condition produced no stereotype threat effects and neither did another approach in which a non-evaluative, uninvolved, but continuously “merely present” White male sat in the room (Sloan, Wilburn, Van Camp, Barden, Price and Martin, 2007) nor did a video presentation of a White test-giver (Sloan, Wilburn, Van Camp, Barden, J. and Martin (2009). Thus it may be that White evaluation threat (possibly biased) is necessary in addition to White presence, as is actually the case in the solo White experimenter condition in order to produce stereotype threat impacts. If possibly biased evaluation is an essential component of out-group presence impacts in producing stereotype threat effects, then could variable degrees of expected bias in an out-group test-giver lead to different amounts of performance damage for African American test takers?

Expectations of test-giver bias toward one’s group:

Prior work has found results suggesting that African-American men and women responded differently to Black versus White experimenters (Sloan, L. R., Glenn, M., Lockett, C., Danridge, Y. and Starr, B. J., 2001). Relatedly perhaps, other research has shown that men and women do not always display stereotype threat type performance decrements in the same settings, possibly depending upon the nature of the applicability of the setting-related stereotype to each gender (cf., Sloan et. al., 2001; Brown and Josephs, 1999). Perhaps then, the metastereotypic expectations of test-givers’ potential biases would impact the magnitude of the stereotype threat effects.

Recent research has found that African Americans hold somewhat different stereotypes of White American men and women in which those women are seen as somewhat less hostile and less biased (Glover, Blair and Sloan, 2002; Glover and Sloan, 2005). White American men and women show however little difference in impact in creating Stereotype Threat performance decrements in otherwise all minority settings (Sloan and Glover, 2005).
This research seeks to build on the above findings by asking whether White experimenter/test-givers of differing nationalities, with differing perceived levels of negative attitudes toward African Americans would produce differing degrees of Stereotype Threat performance decrements. If White American test-givers produce Stereotype Threat performance decrements, possibly due to expected bias or unfairness in evaluation, would another White nationality group, perceived to be less biased, produce less performance degradation?

In more recent research in our lab, African American participants indicated how negatively (extremely=1) or positively (extremely=9) various groups felt about African Americans. White Americans were perceived as notably more negative (3.35) than British Whites (3.86) (F(1,206)=35.0, p<.000) and again, men were seen as somewhat more negative than were women. In contrast as a benchmark, these participants rated African Americans in general as slightly positive (5.65) toward African Americans.

**Research Question and Hypothesis:** If British Whites are seen as less negative toward African Americans than are White Americans (and if women are seen as more positive than men) then will a White British women experimenter/test-giver cause less Stereotype Threat performance damage than will White American experimenters?

**METHODOLOGY**

African-American men and women students at a historically African-American University (n= 205) participated in this research as a part of an introductory psychology course’s credit. Students participated with other Black students in experimental groups ranging in size from 4 to 28 persons.

Participants took timed, 15-minute tests described as a difficult and composed of 28-item, SAT-type verbal abilities test including one “analytic” read-and-interpret passage with seven questions, followed by 21 verbal analogies problems (similar to Steele and Aronson’s, 1995 test). Scores on this difficult test could range from 0 to 28. A White American man or woman experimenter (test-giver) or a White British woman experimenter, with a notable accent, was employed in this study of the impact on Stereotype Threat of experimenter/test-giver nationality (and probable anticipated prejudicial beliefs). Each experimenter described this SAT-type verbal test as “diagnostic” of the students’ personal abilities, that is, “to provide a genuine test of your verbal abilities and limitations”, or as a “non-diagnostic”, non-evaluative study of the verbal problem solving process. In all conditions, the randomly assigned participants were strongly encouraged to try as hard as they could to perform well on the problems. Thus the design was a nominal 3 (experimenter/nationality) x 2 (diagnosticity) between subjects design employing only standard instructions.

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 approximately 40 minutes, after which participants received explanations, credit and thanks.
RESULTS

Diagnosticity was successfully manipulated in subjects’ perceptions ($X^2=7.8$ (1), $p<.002$). As expected, participants did show significant performance decrements when tested by White American men and women experimenters ($F(1,114)=5.65$, $p<.05$). Although White American women experimenters appeared to have less negative impact, there was no gender by diagnosticity interaction ($F<1$) (see figure 1).

In stark contrast, the White British woman experimenter produced no differences (virtually equal condition means) between the diagnostic and the nondiagnostic conditions ($F<1$) (see figure 2).
Percent Correct on SAT Verbal Task (African American Subjects)

CONCLUSIONS

Prior findings replicated here suggest that Stereotype Threat concerns and performance decrements, minimal in exclusively minority environments, are increased by the presence of out-group members. Suggestions that the different stereotypes held about White American men and women versus White British women (experimenter/test-givers in this research) would lead to differential impact of Stereotype Threat type decrements in test-takers’ performances clearly were supported. These findings suggest that perceived or expected bias and anticipated prejudicial stereotypes may be a significant part of the felt concerns that create the Stereotype Threat Effect.

Thus it may be that great impact of the presence of a stereotype relevant out-group member (White American experimenter) may be very much influenced by perceptions such as those conceptualized as cultural mistrust (Terrell & Terrell, 1981; 1983; Whaley, 2001). Such expectations of test-giver bias and negative stereotypes, in the context of challenging, stereotype-relevant testing, may be needed for stereotype awareness concerns in general to become a substantial concern for those stereotyped. Recall that the simple presence of the White test-giver produced performance decrements but that when the White test-giver proclaimed the assessment itself to be unbiased and culture-fair, that the performance decrements disappeared (Sloan, et. al., 2000b). This direct statement of non-bias/fairness then may have served to mitigate the expectations of stereotyping theorized to underlie Stereotype Threat.

Combined, these findings suggest that Stereotype Threat concerns and negative performance consequences may result from an out-group presence which contains cues of
out-group prejudicial stereotypes of one’s in-group’s performance ability. Such cues may need to be present to act as reminders of the relevant stereotype or of the possibility of negative stereotyping to follow. In either case, the performer’s meta-stereotype expectations of test-givers in a challenging test setting may be central to understanding Stereotype Threat causes. Discovering the factors that contribute to the arousal of Stereotype Threat may allow us to discover tactics to reduce or eliminate Stereotype Threat’s negative impact on minority students’ performance on intellectual and standardized tests.

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Proceedings of the Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences, 2, 1-15, HICSS, Honolulu, HI.


‘Quo Vadis’ World Politics?

- The Case for a Historically-Oriented Research Agenda -

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Paper prepared for

The 9th Annual Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences

June 2–5, 2010
Honolulu, Hawaii
The purpose of this paper is twofold: first, to showcase a time period in international history that has gained relatively little attention within the field of IR and, second, to demonstrate that at the beginning of the 21st century there’s still room for a deeper interdisciplinary dialogue between political science and history. IR theorists continue to pay excessive interest in studying states-systems through the lenses of the Westphalian framework at the expense of pre-modern ones. Yet among ancient historians, Assyriologists and Egyptologists the Late Bronze Age (LBA) (ca. 1500–1100 B.C.A.) has been under scrutiny more than a century. It was during the LBA that the Near East became fully integrated in an international system enclosing the entire region from western Iran to the Aegean Sea and from Anatolia (Turkey) to Nubia (Sudan). The great states of the region – Babylonia, the Hittite empire, Egypt, and Mitanni state followed later by Assyria – interacted with one another as equals and rivals. Located between these great states was a set of smaller states and vassals mainly in the Syro-Palestinian area which switched their allegiance to the stronger power in accordance with the logic of the balance of power. As will be shown in the paper, this time phase in history, of which the Amarna period (ca. 1365–1335 B.C.E) was an important culmination point, has gone mostly unnoticed among political scientists and scholars of the English School in particular.

Key words ♦ Amarna Letters ♦ balance of power ♦ English School ♦ international history ♦ international society ♦ international system ♦ language ♦ prestige ♦ proto-globalization ♦ sovereignty ♦ states-system

1. Introduction

The study of world politics as an academic discipline is relatively recent phenomenon as the establishment of its first chair at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth in 1919 bear witness. Without going into the ‘great debates’ problematic within the discipline which ensued, suffice to say that at the beginning IR was markedly policy-orientated interested as it was in normative questions about war and peace. There are signs of a return of this as the English school of international relations is gaining in respectability and as the research agenda is becoming more comparative and historical in nature after the positivistic-behavioral phase. And yet the ‘Westphalian straitjacket’ still directs the research agenda. In the field of IR we unnecessarily tend to ignore pre-modern diplomacy, balance of power and other features associated with states-system such as international treaties. It is illustrative that IR theorists quibble about whether we can even talk about power balancing before the Renaissance Italy or whether we can call states as actors in a Westphalian sense at all.2 Not so, among scholars of the ancient Near-East who readily use terminology such as – balance of power, diplomacy and club of the great powers3 – that students of IR usually attribute to later epochs. In this paper an argument in favor of a more holistic approach is thus put forth. The point here is not, however, that scholars in the field of IR would not be privy to the lack of interdisciplinary approach where

1 Buzan & Little, 2001: 8, 25, 35; Dunne, 2008: 268; see also Cioffi-Revilla, 2006: 80.
3 The first scholar to use this expression was a leading Israeli Assyriologist Hayim Tadmor in 1979.
international history is underdeveloped. Rather it is a question that this state of affairs would get its due recognition.

2. **The Nature of International Relations in the Ancient Near East**

Around 1550 B.C.E. the Eastern Mediterranean looked significantly different what was to become: power structure was fragmented, economy was in decline and international contacts were limited. This time period is known as the ‘Dark Age’ (see further). After 1500, things started to change dramatically: the degree of centralization reached unprecedented levels. Reasons immediately behind this change are related to technological innovations within the region. How just how did this innovation became region wide? The British archeologists introduced a concept called ‘Peer Polity Interaction’ in the 1980s tradition to explain the intensification of relations between the actors. The Near Eastern states of the Late Bronze Age were Peer Polities in the sense that they were structurally homogenous (dynastic government), autonomous states of the same size, and linked by networks of symbolic interaction (*lingua franca*). Peer Polity Interaction goes a long way in explaining why no single state in the region was technologically more advanced than the other: the use and rapid spread of the chariot – the tank of its time – is an indication of this. The end result of this was a competing states system where warfare was chronic as well as part of prestige of the kings.

Some researchers go as far as to qualify this system as an early evidence of globalization or proto-globalization. Proto-globalization process took form in the ancient Near East during the Late Bronze Age (1500–1200 B.C.E.). This should not come as a surprise taken that it is in the Near East and North-East Africa that many of the elements we associate with advanced civilization first originated, such as agriculture, cities, states, writing, laws to mention just a few. For a student of international relations of interest are especially the written treaties between actors since these indicate the level of cooperation and hierarchy between players (this question will be tackled later in further detail). To be sure, the LBA was not the first phase of internationalization in the region. Ebla and Mari Age in the 24th and 18th century B.C.E

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4 My line of argument is largely based on Barry Buzan’s and Richard Little’s provocative article (2001) where the authors fustigate what they see as the dismal state the IR finds itself.
5 In common parlance one usually refers to Near East with the colloquial expression ‘Middle East’. However, scholars of the field prefer to use term the ‘Near East’ because it refers more precisely to the region stretching from Egypt to Western Iran.
6 See Van De Mieroop, 2010: 227.
7 Ibid., 230–1.
8 Ma, 2003: 23.
9 I use the term ‘proto-globalization’ in order to demarcate it from globalization in a modern sense. The main differences between the two are for the most part based on the scale (limited vs. wide) and intensity (low vs. high) of interactions between human communities (on the difference of the two concepts, see Cohen & Kennedy, 2000: 42–4; see also Zürn, 2002: 236–7). As will be shown in the paper, however, the interstate system that developed in the Ancient Near had certain features that we associate with the globalized world we live in. Indeed, some modern IR scholars, such as David Wilkinson and Cioffi-Revilla, date the origins of globalization at least back to the Late Bronze Age (see Cioffi-Revilla, 2006: 81–3; Frank, 1993a: 488; Frank, 1998: xx, xxi, 75, 340; Gills & Thompson, 2006: 8–12).
10 Later on in the paper I will refer to this time period by using the abbreviation LBA.
11 The best-known figure of the Mari Age is undoubtedly King Hammurabi (1792–1752 B.C.E) of Babylon who was famous for his law code although among modern scholars there’s a growing consensus that it was not so much a
respectively indicate that there existed well before a rather sophisticated regional interaction between rival city-states which in turn led to an intense diplomatic activity with all the implications that logically came with it: international trade, alliances, and mini-empires. And yet, there was still something parochial about this development, confined as these city-states were to a limited area of Mesopotamia and Syria (see appendix 1) with their close cultural, linguistic, and religious ties. It was only in the Amarna Age (ca. 1365–1335 B.C.E.) that we can see an ancient international system covering the whole Near East come about.\textsuperscript{12} This multipolar system where the great states participated in a common system without one of them dominating all the others was rather unusual in the history of the ancient world where power was usually tending toward imperial unity. Nevertheless, as these antecedents – dating ultimately back to Sumerian city-states in the third millennium B.C.E. – show, the LBA does not mark the very beginning of international relations \textit{per se} which in any case is hard to pin down in exact fashion but it does show the rapid intensification and expansion of interstate activity on all levels.

During the centuries stretching from 1600/1500 to 1200/1100\textsuperscript{13} the Near East became fully integrated in an international system enclosing the entire region from western Iran to the Aegean Sea, and from Anatolia (Turkey) to Nubia (Sudan). This new phase put an end to the so-called ‘Dark Age’ that preceded it. How long did the ‘Dark Age’ last and what were the causes\textsuperscript{14} of it are not clearly known. What is known, however, is that after 1500 B.C.E. the Near East became much more tightly knit from Cyprus and the Aegean all the way to Mesopotamia. This rise of cosmopolitanism in the region was almost certainly related to three technological innovations that had both military and commercial implications: the use of horse and chariots as well as improved seafaring.\textsuperscript{15} Horsemanship together with chariots gave a completely different aspect to warfare the same way as tanks\textsuperscript{16} changed the nature of fighting after the First World War. Just as significant were the improvements in boat construction and navigation which tied the countries along the eastern Mediterranean coast together in maritime trade which ultimately benefited the lands of Mesopotamia as well.

Consequently, a number of large territorial states started to interact with one another as equals and rivals. Located between these great states, was a set of smaller states mainly in the Syro-Palestinian area that owned allegiance to their more powerful neighbors, and which were often used as proxies in their competition. Interestingly enough, this area acted as a buffer\textsuperscript{17} between

\begin{itemize}
\item code of law but rather a monument to prop up Hammurabi’s prestige as a ruler (Van De Mieroop, 2004: 106–7; see also Kuhrt, 1995: 107).


\item Depending on the source, there is some controversy on the exact chronology among Ancient Near Eastern historians which explains here the use of double chronology.

\item It has been proposed that changes in the climatic conditions (rainfall patterns, river courses) together with possible social and political upheavals may have played a role (see Frank, 1993a: 396; Kuhrt, 1995; Van De Mieroop, 2004: 115)

\item Van De Mieroop, 2004: 117.

\item See McNeill, 2003: 56.

\item Ever since the Hyksos – an Asiatic people whose exact origin is unknown – from the north had attacked and briefly invaded Egypt in the 18th century B.C.E., it became urgent for Egypt to be in control of the Syro-Palestinian area to prevent other attacks from that direction. Hyksos became famous in Egypt for introducing horses and chariots.
\end{itemize}
the great powers where the vassals\(^\text{18}\) switched their allegiance to the stronger power in accordance with the logic of the balance of power to get elbowroom and the chance to maneuver more freely their own states\(^\text{19}\). The behavior of these vassal states which acted like ‘barometers’ to the changes in the distribution of power in the region serve as a link to the more recent states systems in international history where small nations – like the United States of America during its formative years – have sought to exploit great power rivalries to their own advantage.\(^\text{20}\)

During the Late Bronze Age the great states\(^\text{21}\) of the region were Kassite Babylonia, Hittite Anatolia, Egypt, and, in northern Mesopotamia and Syria, first Mitanni state followed in the mid-fourteenth century by Assyria. Out of these, the most persistent great states in terms of raw power, from a regional point of view, were Egypt, Assyria and Babylonia. Less durable but no less powerful in their heyday were the Hittite Empire and Mitanni. Egypt, Hatti and Assyria came closest to threaten the regional balance power and to create an imperial order.\(^\text{22}\) However, the regional states-system did not tilt over during the LBA although it never attained the pentarchy-like structure as the one we can witness in the aftermath of the Congress of Vienna (1815–53) in European context\(^\text{23}\). Rather there were one (unipolarity), two (bipolarity), three or more (tripolarity/multipolarity) powers who interacted with one another.\(^\text{24}\) The close interaction between these states came to a halt by the end of the 12th century B.C.E. This constitutes a logical chronological endpoint for the study. The reasons for this sudden collapse of the regional system are probably diverse (see section 2.5.).

2.1. THE AMARNA DIPLOMACY

Our factual knowledge of the way the regional system worked is most solid when we turn to the Amarna\(^\text{25}\) period (1365–1335 B.C.E.). It was during this brief time scale that the interaction between independent entities reached its zenith. The so-called Amarna letters constitute a key element to understand the Ancient Near East at the time. In all, these letters include 382

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\(^{18}\) The history of the kingdom of Amurru is telling of the way these small states behaved in an opportunistic fashion. The king of Aziru (ca. 1340–1315 B.C.E.) for instance played a double game of pretending to protect Egyptian interests, while he actually negotiated with the Hittites and eventually went over to their camp (see Cohen and Westbrook, 2000: 8; Van De Mieroop, 2004: 156).

\(^{19}\) Van De Mieroop, 2004: 121, 127.

\(^{20}\) See Herring, 2008: 15, 18, 57.

\(^{21}\) Excluded from the club of Great Powers are Alashiya and Arzawa (see appendix 1). Even though these two states were independent and interacted with the great states of Near East, they were not really major players because of their relative smallness and peripheral location (see Cohen & Westbrook, 2000: 7–8). The evidence seems to suggest that they were treated as equals because they had control over resources – in the case of Alashiya for instance that of copper – needed by all kings of the region (Van De Mieroop, 2004: 127). On the exact location and position of Alashiya, see Goren, Bunimovits, Finkelstein & Na’amani, 2003: 233.

\(^{22}\) Cioffi-Revilla, 2006: 83.


\(^{25}\) The term ‘Amarna’ can be derived from the name of a tribe of nomads, called Beni Amran, who settled in the 18th century on the east banks of the Nile some 190 miles south of Cairo. This was the site of Akhenaten, the capital of ancient Egypt for a brief time period in the fourteenth century B.C.E. The site Amarna became famous when in 1887 a local woman uncovered a cache of over 300 cuneiform tablets that are now commonly known as the Amarna Letters (see amongst others Moran, 1992: xiii).
cuneiform tablets that describe the diplomatic correspondence under Amenhotep III (ca. 1390–1353 B.C.E.) and Amenhotep IV\(^26\) (ca. 1352–1336 B.C.E.) who were Egyptian pharaohs. The correspondence was mainly conducted between Amenhotep IV and his vassals in Syria-Palestine, but some forty of them were from or to the kings that were considered as ‘Great Kings’. Besides Egypt, those were the rulers of Babylonia, Assyria, Mitanni, and Hatti. In the letters, the kings mainly discussed diplomatic matters related to the exchange of precious goods and of royal women. The language of most of the letters was Akkadian (Babylonian), the lingua franca\(^27\) of international relations in the region. The behavior of the small vassal states was both interesting and revealing of the way the system worked: as they were forced to pledge allegiance to one of the neighboring great states (namely Hatti, Assyria, Egypt), they often switched that allegiance to the stronger power in order to enhance their own position. For instance ‘Abdi-Ashirta, the ruler of Amurru (a vassal state under Egypt’s control in Syro-Palestine, see appendix 1), went over to the Hittites to tackle the rise of Egyptian power. Indeed, the power balancing behavior was at its purest when these small and the interacted with the regional great powers as the former had to sense and anticipate the changes in power relations if they wanted to improve their own position. As one modern author has observed: “The ancients may not have known the term ‘balance of power’ but they acted as they did”\(^28\). Although the Amarna period lasted only few decades, the correspondence contains unusually rich material to permit an analytical study of the first genuinely international system known to us. The Amarna diplomacy gives us a glimpse of the formation of truly territorial states stretching from Iran to the Aegean Sea, from Anatolia to Nubia interacting themselves, and engaging in regular dynastic, commercial and strategic relations.\(^29\)

### 2.2. POWER HIERARCHY IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

**Hierarchy between a) equals and b) unequals:**

- **Great States:** Egypt, Mittani, Hittite Empire, Babylonia, Assyria →
- **Vassal states:** Amurru, Byblos, Sumur →
- **Clash of interests:** The Syro-Palestinian region
- **Client states:** used as proxies

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\(^{26}\) Amenhotep IV is especially noted for attempting to compel the Egyptian population in the monotheistic worship of Aten and for his beautiful wife Nefertiti. Amenhotep build a new capital Akhetaten (Amarna) and changed his name into Akhenaten (meaning ‘One Useful to Aton’).

\(^{27}\) The usage of common diplomatic language ‘Akkadian’ as the language of international relations and cosmopolitan culture was an indication of the level of cooperation and an early manifestation of proto-globalization the same way as in later eras were the so-called imperial languages – mainly Latin, Chinese, Arabic, Spanish, Russian, French, and since the end of the First World War, English (see McNeill, 2003: 263; Moran, 1992: xviii).

\(^{28}\) David, 2000: 62.

The Great Kings addressed each other as ‘brothers’ which was recognition of equality\textsuperscript{30} while vassal and small states were called servants.\textsuperscript{31} While upon the vassals certain provisions and obligations were imposed, in the parity treaties between Great Powers neither party imposed anything on the other.\textsuperscript{32} Each state’s status was thus demarcated, but as the relative power of the great powers sometimes changed quickly, frictions at times arose. One famous example of this is the rise of Assyria under King Assur-uballit (1365–1330 B.C.E.) who sent two letters (EA\textsuperscript{33} 15, 16) to the king of Egypt as if he was an equal. This enraged Burna-Buriash, king of Babylon, and made him send an angry letter (EA 9) to pharaoh Akhenaten as he considered Assyria to be part of his vassal states.\textsuperscript{34} Egypt, however, did receive the Assyrian messengers and as a result \textit{de facto} recognized Assyria’s new position as great power. It is interesting to notice the low profile of Assur-uballit clearly visible in the first letter as opposed to the second where he is already addressing his Egyptian counterpart as ‘brother’ and calls himself ‘great king’ and demands to receive gifts concomitant with his status\textsuperscript{35}. Indeed, a preoccupation with recognition and status is a central theme in the Amarna Letters. To give an illustration of the power relationship between great powers and servants, it is time to look more closely at two excerpts from the Amarna letters. The first is addressed to a ‘Great King’ and the second is from a vassal:

**Letter from Tushratta of Mittani to Amenhotep III of Egypt (EA23)**

“Tell Nimmureya (Amenhotep III), king of Egypt, my brother, my son-in-law, whom I love and who loves me; Tushratta, king of Mitanni, who loves you, your father-in-law, says: All is well with me. May all be well with you. May all be well with you. May all be very, very well with your wives, your sons, your leading men, your chariots, your horses, your troops, your country, and whatever else belongs to you. May Shaushga (religious statue), the lady of heaven, protect my brother and me for 100,000 years, and may our lady give us great joy. Let us act as friends. Is Shaushga not my goddess and my brother’s goddess?”\textsuperscript{36}

**Letter from Rib-Hadda, king of Byblos, to the king of Egypt (EA 104)**

“Tell the king, my lord, my Sun; Rib-Adda, your servant, says: I fall at the feet of my lord seven and seven times. Let the king, my lord, know that Pu-bahlja, the son of Abdi-Ashira, has taken the city Ulassa by force...Let the king thus send help to Sumur, until he gives thought to his land. Who are the sons of

\textsuperscript{30} Equality as a manifestation of prestige and belonging among the great powers is one of the attributes that links the ancient Near Eastern diplomacy to later periods in international history. Napoleon III’s (1807–73) France provides a case in point. According to the Austrian Ambassador to Paris, Baron Hübner, Napoleon’s great worry after his \textit{coup d’état} in December 1851, was to be addressed as ‘brother’ by the other European monarchs, an appellation, which they commonly used when addressing each other; in the end, Austrian and Prussian monarchs agreed to call him brother whereas the Russian Tsar Nicholas I refused to act in kind (Kissinger, 1994: 106; on the concept of prestige, see Morgenthau, 1933: 61).

\textsuperscript{31} See e.g. Kemp 1978: 16–17; Van de Mieroop 2004: 127; Van de Mieroop 2010: 111–2, 120.

\textsuperscript{32} Beckman, 1999: 4.

\textsuperscript{33} EA is an abbreviation of El Amarna and it refers to the numbering of the letters. The classification itself is based on the work of a Norwegian Assyriologist J. A. Knudtzon (1854–1917) (for a brief analysis on the nature of the Amarna letters, see Moran, 1992: xiv–xxxviii).


\textsuperscript{36} Moran, 1992: 61.
Abdi-Ashirta, the servant and the dog? Are they the king of the Kassites or the king of Mittani, so that they can take the king’s land for themselves…They have seized Ulassa. If you will do nothing under these circumstances, they will certainly seize Sumur and kill the governor and the garrison.”

These letters should not be taken at face value, or as documents with direct juridical implications. Tacit elements of the Amarna letters include rhetorical, almost solemn-like arguments and emotional metaphors (with regard to reciprocity and equality for instance) that were often more important than the actual substance of the letters themselves. The first letter from the king of Mittani to Egypt is in line with this, but it does show how these two great states were bound together through marital liaisons (Mitannian princess Tadu-Hepa married to an Egyptian pharaoh) – although one-sidedly as we shall see later – and religiously (the Shaushga statue). Other issues treated in the correspondence include the exchange of gifts, proposals of marriage, and list of goods exchanged at the time of marriage. What is lacking in the international correspondence is the fact that only occasionally and in rather vague terms does it reveal the larger political scene of the Near East as when Burna-Buriash of Babylonia reveals the dangers of international trade and implies growing Assyrian aggressiveness and ambitions.

Rib-Hadda’s letter, on the other hand, is much more concrete and is a typical example of a local ruler who asks help from its protector, Egypt. On many occasions Egypt did not even bother to reply but in this particular case pharaoh Amenhotep IV acted in decisive terms: he sent an expedition, had Ashirta captured and taken to Egypt (EA 108, 111) where he apparently was executed (EA 101); clearly, Egypt’s quick response was based on the need to preserve a careful balance in the Syria-Palestine area. Indeed, the main purpose of this correspondence between the Egyptian pharaoh and his vassals was to assure personal and other goods, and to secure the safety and continuous flow of supplies to Egyptian troops stationed in the garrison cities of the area in question.

2.3. EGYPT ABOVE OTHERS

From all the great states, Egypt, however, was an exception: she regarded herself as primus inter pares (first) among (equals) the great powers. The land of the pharaohs had good reason to be arrogant since Egypt was at the height of her power during the Amarna period. Egyptian power stretched from northern Sudan in the south into southern Syria and Lebanon in the north. In Syro-Palestine, however, the Egyptian rule was typically much more indirect – with the exception of Byblos – compared to Nubia where there were large Egyptian colonies. Some of Egypt’s best-known monarchs ruled at this time: Tuthmosis III, Akhenaten, Ramesses II. Egypt’s self-assertion is well illustrated by the fact that the Egyptians were always eager to marry foreign

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37 Member of an ancient people known primarily for establishing the second Babylonian dynasty (1530–1155 B.C.E.). They were of non-semitic origine.
40 See EA 7–9, see Liverani, 2000: 20; Moran, 1992: xxv, xxxviii, 14, 16, 18.
44 See Hoffmeier, 2004: 129, 133, 141.
princesses, but never allowed their own royal women to marry a foreigner, for this would have meant not only a loss of prestige for Egypt but also, though indirectly, an elevation of such a ruler to the level of pharaoh as Liverani and Schulman astutely observe. Exchange of gifts between the rulers was also telling of Egypt’s attitude of superiority: in several letters (EA 16, 20, 27, 29) the King of Mittani, Tushratta, complained that Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) had sent him gold plated statues rather than statues made of solid gold; the statues formed part of the bride price which Tushratta received for letting his daughter Tadu-Heba be married to Amenhotep III and after his death to Akhenaten. Similar kind of complaint also came from the above-mentioned Assyrian King, Aššur-uballit, who felt that his gift to Pharaoh (a royal chariot and lapis lazuli) was not reciprocated with gold that in the eyes of the King was ‘like dirt on the ground’ in Egypt. Another example is the one already mentioned above when the new rising power, Assyria, sent messengers to Egypt, causing an outcry by the Babylonian king Burna-Buriash who wanted the messengers to be sent to him for punishment. It seems that the other Great Kings of the region sought recognition above all from Egypt that was considered as the hegemonic power. The entry to the club of great states, at least during the brief Amarna period, demanded Egypt’s consent.

2.4. The Non-Aggression Treaty between Ramses II and Hattusili III

One of the most interesting aspects of the Late Bronze Age is the relationship between Egypt and the Hittite Empire. At the time of the Amarna letters, the Hittites under Suppiluliuma I (1344–1322 B.C.E.) had become major players in the region threatening Egyptian interests in Syro-Palestine. The lingering interest of the great states of the Ancient Near East in Syria resulted from the desire to dominate and exploit the economic resources and trade of this region which was at the crossroads of proto-globalized commerce: copper, tin, chemicals, tools, ivory, ceramics, jewelry, luxury goods, timber, textiles, faience, foodstuffs, glass ingots and lapis lazuli flew into Syria all the way from Aegean in the west and from Iran and Afghanistan in the east. Hegemony in the region, then, depended to a large extent on the capacity of a given power to control this geopolitically crucial area. Suppiluliuma fought two major campaigns in Syria, the first being a failure and the second a success. It was as a result of this second military operation that Mitanni, Egypt’s ally during the Amarna Period, collapsed as a great power at the expense of Hatti (capital of the Hittite empire). From a strategic point of view the significance of Suppiluliuma’s conquest was to make Mitanni a buffer-state against the expanding power of Assyria in the east. Ominously enough, however, the Mitannian vassal states such as Amurru (see appendix 1) pledged allegiance to the Hittite state which had by now become a border state with Egypt in Syria-Palestine. Even though the relations between Egypt and the Hittite state seem to have been friendly at first, these two superpowers of their day were heading for a

46 Lapis lazuli is a germ stone used for jewellery. It was a common product of commerce in the Ancient Near East.
50 As a sign of this, Tutankhamun’s (1336–1327 B.C.E.) young widow, Ankhesenamun, made a surprising move to request a son of the Hittite king as husband (Kuhrt, 1995: 254).
military confrontation as Egypt was beginning to lose its grip on some of its northernmost territory. The direct threat for Egypt’s security by the Hittites as a result of a change in the balance of power was thus the underlining cause for the great clash between the two states in question.

It is not appropriate here to give a thorough description of the battle of Kadesh itself although it is considered to be the earliest military encounter in the history of mankind whose course can be reconstructed in detail. It was also probably the largest chariot battle ever fought, involving thousands of chariots (the estimates range between 2500 and 5000).

The showdown took place between the forces of Ramesses II's (1274–1213 B.C.E) Egypt and the Hittites of Muwatalli II at the city of Kadesh, on the Orontes River of modern Syria (see appendix 2, 3 and 5). The battle is generally dated to 1274 B.C.E. In the fourth year of Ramesses reign, he marched north into Syria, capturing the Hittite vassal state of Amurru. The recovery of Amurru was Muwatalli's stated motivation, a casus belli, for marching south to confront the Egyptians. Ramesses marched north the 5th year of his reign, and encountered the Hittites at Kadesh. The battle was given enormous attention by the Egyptians in numerous inscriptions and representations as if they had won. In actual fact, Ramesses lost the battle even though neither side gained a decisive victory. This was a culmination point of the centuries-long struggle between Egypt and Hatti which resulted in the expansion of Hittite control over southern Syria. When the news of Kadesh spread and the perceived failure of the Egyptian army along with them, this caused revolts in the whole of Canaan which took Ramesses years to quell. The northern front was, however, relatively calm in comparison to Egypt’s western border which was under constant pressure from Libyan invaders. Egypt never gained the same kind of influence in Syro-Palestine after the military encounter at Kadesh.

Sixteen years after the battle of Kadesh in 1258 B.C.E. the two protagonists, Egypt and the Hittite empire, concluded a peace treaty. The treaty was recorded in two versions, one in Egyptian hieroglyphs, the other in Akkadian; fortunately, both versions survive. The interesting point here is what were the reasons for the rapprochement of these two rival super powers. As diplomatic history shows, it is mutually conceived external threat that often unites two former enemies. In the aftermath of the Amarna Period this external threat was Assyria that was seriously threatening Hittite interests in the region. The evidence seems to suggest that the initiative for making the peace treaty came from the Hittites who probably had even more to lose from the rise of Assyria due to reasons of geography. In the treaty the powers essentially divided Syria into Hittite sphere of interest in the north and into Egyptian sphere of interest in the south.

The power hierarchy described above between Egypt and the other great states followed similar patterns in the peace treaty. This becomes explicitly clear in the clause relative to the protection of heirs as it goes in one direction only:

52 For a detailed description of the battle, see Healy, 1993, and an online article: ‘The battle of Kadesh’ [http://www.egyptologyonline.com/battle_of_kadesh.htm].
54 Healy, 1993: 27.
55 Ibid., 88.
"The son of Hattusili III, king of Hatti, shall be made king of Hatti in place of his father Hattusili, after the many years of Hattusili, king of Hatti. And if the people of Hatti commit a sin against him, then Ramesses, the king of Egypt, will send infantry and chariots to take revenge on them."\(^{57}\)

It is telling that there is no reciprocal clause to the advantage of Ramesses. First, it seems that as an usurper\(^{58}\) Hattusili (1267–1237 B.C.E.) seem to have been more preoccupied with the loyalty of his nobility than with the Egyptian troops. More important, however, was the issue of prestige: Ramesses had no problem with his own succession, and even if that had been the case, under no circumstance would he have accepted the idea of being protected by a foreign king and a foreign army.\(^{59}\) This would have been incompatible with Egypt’s self-image as the leading power of the region. The significance of the peace treaty itself between Egypt and the Hittite empire lies in the fact it is the first historically known non-aggression treaty between great powers.\(^{60}\) It brought about an unprecedented peace and prosperity in the region for over 80 years.\(^{61}\) The historical evidence clearly shows that the main reason for concluding the treaty was to preserve the balance of power in the region.

The treaty between Hattusili III and Ramesses shows that the balancing behavior was already visible during the Late Bronze Age and moving towards the ‘associational’\(^{62}\) balance of power traditions that gained importance in later epochs during international history.

### 2.5. The End of the Regional System

The regional system that had existed in Near East for hundreds of years during the Late Bronze Age came to a rather sudden end at the turn of the 13th and at the beginning of the 12th century. This phase in the history of Ancient Near East is known as the second ‘Dark Age’ with same effects as the first one (see section 2.): written documentation diminished markedly and international contacts declined.\(^{63}\) Scholars specializing in Near Eastern history have proposed several reasons for this: outside invasions – attack the so-called ‘Sea Peoples’\(^{64}\) – and migrations, social revolutions, ecological disasters such as the plague have all been suggested as the main causes for the debacle.\(^{65}\) No single cause\(^{66}\) can explain the chain of events and without a doubt,

\(^{57}\) See Beckman, 1999: 98; Van De Mieroop, 2004: 130.

\(^{58}\) Hattusili III had deposed Urhi-Teshub, his nephew and the legitimate heir to the throne. Urhi-Teshub had escaped as a political refuge to Egypt which made Hatti wary of Egypt’s motives.


\(^{62}\) Associational balancing refers to a situation where the actors use balance of power in a cooperative way in view of preserving the general balance and, preferably, peace (Sheehan, 1996: 167–8). See also Little, 1989: 88; Little, 2007: 66–8, 75–6.

\(^{63}\) See Liverani, 2001: 12.

\(^{64}\) The origin of the sea-peoples is unknown although it is believed that they came from the north and the west. Archeological evidence seems to locate their origin to the Black Sea, Anatolia (Asia Minor), Aegean, Sicily and Sardinia (see Braudel, 1998: 261–3; Kuhrt, 1995: 386–93; Shaw, 2002: 321–3; Wilkinson, 2004: 683).


\(^{66}\) Modern scholars put emphasis on societal rather on external factors (i.e. wars, attacks by hostile groups). On
there were major differences within the region: certain areas were less affected than others. Archeological and written evidence shows that the destruction was the strongest in the area of the eastern Mediterranean – the Aegean and Anatolia, coastal Syria and the Levant –. Although it is hard to know precisely what happened, why, and exactly when, there’s a consensus among scholars that the Middle East in 1050 was very much different from what it had been in 1250. The turmoil also had an effect on the great power relations. Hittite empire disappeared completely around 1200, and Egypt’s control of the southern Levant ended. By the early eleventh century it had withdrawn within its own frontiers after losing control over Sinai and Nubia. Later on this would have serious security implications since Egypt was now cut off from Asia making it vulnerable to attacks from the north. In the short term, however, Egypt had to cope with fighting against the ‘Sea Peoples’ in the west which apparently she managed to do albeit there is some controversy over whether Egyptians had real success against the foreign invaders. All in all, the age of independent territorial states interacting closely together with each other came to a close as a result of these events. After this the age of empires – Assyrian, Persian, Macedonian and Roman – would follow.

3. THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN POLITICAL SCIENCE AND HISTORY

“The danger is that political science is moving in the direction of saying more and more about less and less.” - Joseph Nye, Jr.

Obviously, this is not the proper setting to get too involved into the somewhat problematic relationship between history and political science: that would necessitate the writing of another paper. Nevertheless, it is useful to elaborate this question somewhat when dealing with a topic that is so history-laden. Indeed, IR scholars have been quite reluctant to take seriously and see the relevance for the discipline of such remote material as Ancient Near East during the LBA. This is understandable taken the contemporary and Euro-centric background on which international relations as part of political sciences has been founded. Until recent years, ancient diplomacy has received somewhat anecdotal interest among the IR scholarship. Adam Watson, Barry Buzan, Richard Little, Claudio Cioffi-Revilla and David Wilkinson are one of the more prominent modern scholars inside the discipline to have systematically studied states-systems.

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69 Some scholars have boldly suggested that Ramesses III (1184–1153 B.C.E.) merely repeated battle accounts by his predecessor and claimed earlier victories for himself (see Van De Mieroop, 2004: 185). Nonetheless, it is most likely that Egypt beat these invaders back and as a result they were not able to neither conquer Egypt nor seriously threaten her interests in Syria-Palestine (Van Dijk, 2002: 297–8).
70 See Liverani, 2001: 3.
71 Watson, 1992; for a more close chronological description, see Wilkinson, 2004.
73 In the context of the paper, I don’t make a distinction between ‘political science’ and ‘international relations’ and shall use them as synonyms.
outside the European context. But even these researchers show only a fragmentary interest in the Middle East of the Late Bronze Age with the exception of David Wilkinson (2004). Yet, one should not leave this research area only to historians, Assyriologists, and Egyptologists since it has important implications for the contemporary world politics as well.

There have been signs of a change in the IR theory in recent years. One of the reasons for this was the end of the Cold War that constituted somewhat a debacle within the discipline. Universally welcomed as it was, neither of the two main paradigms – neorealism and neoliberalism – had predicted systemic change of this magnitude. John Louis Gaddis, a specialist in Cold War history, went as far as to say that the field had proved to be ‘bankrupt’. Although this was an exaggeration, there’s no denying that the discipline of international relations had become too much occupied with their attachment to untested and deterministic assumptions about great power behavior. Consequently, the research agenda of mainstream IR was excessively interested in questions relating to maintaining superpower stability instead of questions dealing with change or transformation. Lack of historical perspective was clearly becoming a problem for the discipline.

At the beginning of the 21st century the challenges political science faces are still very much on the agenda. So much so, in fact, that an American Senator, Tom Coburn, proposed in autumn 2009 that the National Science Foundation should put an end in funding political science projects for their irrelevance. Critical words are heard also in the academia. Joseph Nye, Jr. from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard feels that “statistical techniques too often determine what kind of research political scientists do, pushing them further into narrow specializations…at the expense of being relevant”. Although the scientific turn is more pronounced in North American research tradition than in Europe, theory-drivenness or the urge to appear scientific has left its mark on a discipline imbued with American scientism.

As a result, the heritage of the positivist approach that has so much dominated the agenda of the discipline has started to make way for a genuine interest in international history (i.e. the history of relations between states and peoples) at the start of the 21st century. Even though the current debate still recapitulates many elements from earlier debates, there seems to be more clarity about the ontological and the epistemological bases of the discipline (Sørensen, 1998: 83, 100).

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75 It is revealing that Watson refers to the Amarna diplomacy with a sole footnote and erroneously mentions Aramaic as the diplomatic language of the region instead of Babylonian (see Van De Mieroop 2004, 32, 127–8; Watson, 1992 31–2). Barry Buzan and Richard Little on the other hand, despite their vast chronological coverage, only implicitly allude to the existence of city-states and empires in the ancient Middle East (Buzan & Little 2000, 167–82).
77 Gaddis, 1992: 44.
78 One illustration of this was Kenneth Waltz’s structural theory, which is according to many scholars too general and too ahistorical to make it useful for historians (see Pelz, 2001: 93).
81 Nye, Jr., 2008: 649; Shapiro, 2002: 601, 605.
Indeed, works by historians and political scientists alike such as William McNeill’s\textsuperscript{82} \textit{The Rise of the West} (1963), Kalevi J. Holsti’s \textit{International Politics: A Framework for Analysis} (1967), Paul Kennedy’s monumental \textit{The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers} (1989), Adam Watson’s \textit{Evolution of International Society} (1992), and Peter Calvocoressi’s \textit{World Politics Since 1945} (1996) are a case in point.\textsuperscript{83} Within the framework of historical sociology and world-systems analysis a major figure is of course Immanuel Wallerstein and to a lesser extent economic historian and sociologist Andre Gunder Frank (Frank 1993a, 1998). Within the discipline of IR itself, it is the English School (ES) of international relations that has most comprehensively embraced the historical approach as a method of study (I will dwell upon this later in the article).

Yet, despite the social scientists’ growing attention to history, the dialogue between history and IR could still be more prolific and constructive. As Evan Luard observes, one reason why there has not been more systematic attempts to draw conclusions from history is that so few historians have been engaged in the discipline of international relations, and when they have been, it has been in almost total isolation from the work of political scientists.\textsuperscript{84} For their part, the students of international relations too often study history just to support their theories instead of being genuinely interested in the historical phenomena. Evidently there’s a need for more constructive interdisciplinary dialogue, for in the words of Jack S. Levy: “history is too important to leave to the historians, and theory is too important to leave to the theorists”\textsuperscript{85}.

Less than forty years ago, a central figure of the discipline, Hans Morgenthau (1900–80) made a valid point by saying that IR theorizing is:

“…abstract in the extreme and totally unhistorical. It endeavors to reduce international relations to a system of abstract propositions with a predictive function…In view of their consistent neglect of the contingencies of history and of the concreteness of historical situation that all these theories have in common, they are destined to share the fate of their progressivist predecessors: They must fail both as guides for theoretical understanding and as precepts for action.”\textsuperscript{86}

Martin Wight (1913–72), one of the founding member of the English School, considered that historical literature offers better explanations of the phenomena of international relations than does systems analysis\textsuperscript{87} in the sense that while offering a coherent structure of hypotheses like

\textsuperscript{82} The latest work of importance by the author was \textit{The Human Web: A Bird’s-Eye View of World History} (2003). In it McNeill makes the case that the general direction of history has been toward greater social cooperation – both voluntary and compelled – driven by the realities of social competition. This book has been, as of 2007, part of a compulsory reading for the entrance examination at the Department of Political Science in the University of Helsinki.

\textsuperscript{83} Puchala, 2003: 33; Buzan & Little, 2000: 52.

\textsuperscript{84} Luard, 1976: 28, 31–3.

\textsuperscript{85} See Levy, 1997: 33.

\textsuperscript{86} Morgenthau, 1970: 40. Harvard professor of political science, Stanley Hoffmann, also shared this view in his classic essay, ‘An American Social Science: International Relations’. Hoffmann is not only critical of the presentist agenda but also of the lack of interest in the study of past imperial systems and of systems of interstate relations outside Europe (Hoffmann, 1977: 237–8).

\textsuperscript{87} Systems analysis is firmly rooted in the behaviouralist tradition, its heyday being in the 1950’s and 60’s. Systems analysis has had a significant impact upon foreign policy analysis and upon the study of international systems. M. A. Kaplan’s work \textit{System and Process in International Politics} (1957) is considered as an early manifestation of an
the latter, it does the job with more judiciousness and modesty by paying closer attention to the record of international experience. Hedley Bull (1932–85), another key figure of the ES, saw the value of historical study in the fact that international politics is always located in time and that in order to understand the phenomena related to it we must know the preceding events out of which they come about. Bull also recognized the pedagogical dimension in the historical study of international relations: the literature of diplomatic history is far more often of higher quality, the results less open to dispute, and the knowledge provided through it more clearly by itself an education than what the theoretical study of IR can offer. Theories also have a tendency to become simplified abstractions that bear no connection to the real world. More important, however, is Bull’s argument, according to which historical and theoretical study of IR essentially complement each other. History is in other words the laboratory of the social sciences because it provides raw material by which theoretical propositions may be verified or falsified.

Barry Buzan and Richard Little in their analytical comparative study on the concept of international systems share Bull’s view: according to the authors world history provides the best way for developing and testing IR theory because the subject-matter of International Relations is by its very nature historical, making thus atemporal approaches to it.

As the above analysis shows, a case can be made that the use of historical approach is somewhat underdeveloped within the discipline of political science to the same extent that there is sometimes a tendency towards theory-drivenness. This has to be seen in the context of how political science became historically institutionalized as an academic discipline. Without entering the great debates problematic, suffice to say that at the core was the scientific turn known as behavioralism in the 1950s and 1960s which left a lasting mark on the field, especially within American context. The heritage of behavioralism is still with us. Illustrative of this is the keen interest in the positivist approach which includes borrowings from macroeconomics. An opposite school of thought – perceivably part of a European and particularly of a British IR research tradition – is the English School (ES) of international relations. The founding figures –
mainly Hedley Bull, Herbert Butterfield, John Vincent and Martin Wight – of the School were highly skeptical of the possibility of a scientific study of IR and were focusing on the concept they termed ‘international society’ involving the study of history, culture, religion and philosophy. Before further analyzing the English School’s contribution to IR theory, it is time to examine more closely the mutually beneficial relationship of political science and history for the study of international history and their different methodological approaches.

3.1. On the Nomothetic vs. Idiographic Divide

The upsurge of the positivist research method in the field of IR has somewhat overshadowed the context in which interstate relations function. Too often the urge to appear ‘scientific’ has been in the way of conveying the message in clear and pertinent fashion. Consider the three definitions below:

a) “An equal distribution of Power among the Princes of Europe as makes it impractical for the one to disturb the repose of the other.”

b) “…a policy aimed at bringing about a certain power distribution; a description of an actual state of affairs in international politics; an approximately equal distribution of power internationally; a term describing any distribution of political power in international relations.”

c) “Considering both the base 50 graphs and the systemic mean graphs there are 110 semi cycles, including 30 dyads and 80 triads… Combining these two variables, balance and strength of bond, we get a good view of the dynamics of the triad over the five time periods. Perhaps the most revealing observation is the fact that this decade of superficial stability underwent a great degree of change. Of the 110 semicycles, 59 underwent a change in balance in the following time period. The number of balanced cycles was 68 out of a possible 110 for a of .62…

Enlarging our analysis to the pentadic level, we find… a dyadic relationship is unbalanced, it signifies that nation X is friendly to Y while Y is hostile to X.”

The above definitions describing balance of power theory – one of the central concepts of IR – illustrate the shift from the classical approach to theoretical one within the discipline (see footnotes 96, 97). The third excerpt is rather extreme case of the way the concept was defined over thirty years ago by two American scholars. In it, balance of power, a concept so much riddled with history, is here essentially reduced to a mathematical equation. It shows to what extent there has been a penchant for the scientific explanation among political scientists after the Second World War. The two scholars seem to have a ‘fetish for measurement’ to paraphrase

99 The tendency towards quantification is illustrated by a recent electoral study (2009) carried out in Finland where the ideological leanings (left-center-right wing axis) of the Finnish MPs were measured through a factor analysis. It is somewhat questionable whether these kinds of affiliations can be measured in a mathematically exact fashion (see Reunanen & Suhonen, 2009: 338–43).
Hedley Bull, who used the classical methodology (i.e. history, philosophy) while studying international relations. This kind of borrowing from the natural sciences has been, until recently, quite common especially in the American scholarly community.\textsuperscript{100} Quite rightly there has been a concern for the scientific bias. Indeed, many historians have accused the students of IR for creating artificial theories and computer models which are out of touch with the real interests of the discipline. For their part, the political scientists have criticized historians for their lack of methodology and for being mere ‘chroniclers’\textsuperscript{101}. What science is and whether IR can or should be a science in the traditional science of the word has been and still is a subject of passionate debate\textsuperscript{102}.

Colin Elman and Miriam Fendius Elman have made a useful distinction between historians and political scientists. Historians according to them construct 1) narrative-based explanations rather than theory-based explanations; historians study the 2) past rather than focus on the present; they seek to understand single 3) unique events (idiographic explanation) rather than generalize about classes of events (nomothetic explanation); finally, historians prefer 4) complex, multicausal explanations to mono-causal explanations.\textsuperscript{103} This classification, although somewhat caricatured since not all political scientists and historians fall into these neat categories, it serves the purpose of showing how parochial the relationship between the two disciplines often is toward one another. As mentioned above, political scientists frequently accuse the historians of lacking any rigorous methodology and of being mere narrators whereas the historians, on their part, criticize political scientists for erecting artificial models that are too far-fetched. This debate is directly related to the question of parsimony which distinctively differentiates political scientists from historians. The former try to explain classes of phenomena such as wars, revolutions, foreign policy decision making\textsuperscript{104} etc., whereas the latter put emphasis on particular or unique instances of these same classes of phenomena ignoring to see common patterns\textsuperscript{105} behind them.\textsuperscript{106} The problem is the lack of balance between these two different ways of approach: too often political scientists lose the perspective of time by concentrating on the contemporary world, and thus ignore the valuable information the past can offer. On the other hand, an argument can be made that scientific history not driven by theoretical assumptions and models is not analytically sound enough\textsuperscript{107}. Ideally the relationship between the two disciplines ought to be more complementary where historical narration or building theories for the sake of theories shouldn’t become the main goal \textit{per se}.

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{100}] Schmidt, 2002: 15; Smith, 2000: 16; Suganami, 2006: 86.
\item[\textsuperscript{101}] See Lauren, 1979: 4.
\item[\textsuperscript{102}] After the Cold War the debate has centered around the positivist (realism, liberalism) – post-positivist (critical theory, historical sociology, normative theory) dichotomy (Sørensen, 1998: 86–7). See also Bull 1966; Hollis and Smith 1990; Reynolds 1973.
\item[\textsuperscript{103}] See Elman & Elman, 1997: 7–11.
\item[\textsuperscript{104}] One example of the use of parsimonious explanation is the way the US sociologist W. I. Thomas’s classical concept ‘the definition of the situation’ has been used in policy analysis to depict a situation – any given situation beyond spatiotemporal limits – in which decision-making takes place. According to the concept individuals react and respond to situations as they perceive them not as they actually are (e.g. the failure to anticipate the attack on Pearl Harbor or the 9/11 terrorist attacks, see Evans & Newnham 1998: 118; Thomas, 1923: 42–3).
\item[\textsuperscript{105}] Historians disagree strongly on whether all historical events are idiographic or recurring and constant, or whether both universal and unique characteristics are evident in each circumstance (see Kuzminski, 1973: 271–73).
\item[\textsuperscript{106}] See Jervis, 2001: 390–3; Schroeder, 2001: 407.
\item[\textsuperscript{107}] Levy 1997: 22, 24, 32–3.
\end{itemize}
However, the relationship between the two disciplines is more complex than just described above. The nomothetic/idiographic\textsuperscript{108} divide is just indicative of the encampment of both fields into their own secure posit. Although there are ideographically-minded political scientists and theoretically-minded historians, they tend to belong to a minority inside their own research communities. There should also be greater recognition that the study of history for its own sake is a worthy business for IR theorists as it empirically links theory to reality. One way to do this is to find a middle ground between historical facts and theoretical interpretation as already stated above. The point here is that political scientists should not use history only as a tool but also to familiarize themselves with the historical phenomena in order to avoid making out of context statements about the past. This has relevance also in the field where policy-makers make historical analogies often in a somewhat superficial manner.\textsuperscript{109} The challenge within both disciplines, then, is to overcome the institutionally confined methodologies and ways of doing research. Indeed, the evidence seems to suggest that interdisciplinary approach is not the kind of research that each discipline most values, rewards, or trains its graduate students to do. Doctoral dissertations that stray from disciplinary identities in this way do not generally advance the academic careers of their author.\textsuperscript{110}

3.2 THE ENGLISH SCHOOL’S CONTRIBUTION TO IR THEORY

The English School of international relations provides a meaningful way to study both globalization and the LBA respectively. Not only is its research agenda diachronic in nature, it is also naturally founded on the problem of relations with the world outside the Euro-centric paradigm. Although it has its limitations (see below), it is the international/world society approach that is at the center of the School’s approach to international relations. In the post-colonial world where the international community comprehends some 194 independent states and where there are increasing pressures to make this change felt at the structural level of the United Nations (e.g. inclusion of new permanent members such as Brazil, Japan and Germany at the UN Security Council to better reflect the new global realities), the English School approach seems most topical, calling into question the unnecessary criticism it has received in the past\textsuperscript{111}. Before going straight to the point regarding the English School’s specific contribution to IR theory, here’s a brief sketch of the School itself.

The English School\textsuperscript{112} of international relations started as an intellectual movement in the late 1950’s at the London School of Economics and Political Science\textsuperscript{113}. Its founding members were

\textsuperscript{108}This dichotomy dates back to the late 19th century when two German philosophers Wilhelm Windelband (1848–1915) and Heinrich Rickert (1863–1936), who belonged to the Neo-Kantian school, made the claim that the idiographic method aims to explain or understand unique sequences of events whereas the nomothetic method seeks to develop explanatory laws (see Levy 2001). Close to the nomothetic premises was also Wilhelm Dilthey (1833–1911) who objected to the pervasive influence of the natural sciences and established a comprehensive treatment of history from the cultural viewpoint.

\textsuperscript{109}Neustadt and May, 1986; see also Nye, Jr., 2008: 651.

\textsuperscript{110}See Levy, 1997: 30.

\textsuperscript{111}Epp, 1998: 57.

\textsuperscript{112}Roy E. Jones was the first scholar to explicitly identify the School in a highly controversial article The English School of International Relations: A Case for Closure (Jones, 1981). Despite the provocative name of the paper, the
The methodology of the School is firmly rooted in the classical tradition (historical and normative paradigm) and is mostly dismissive of the behavioral approach even though some of the younger generation of researchers prefer positivist approaches (among them Barry Buzan and Richard Little). What makes the ES distinctive from other schools of thought inside IR, is its emphasis on normative questions such as obligations, responsibilities, rights and duties of individuals and states. According to Tim Dunne, characteristic to the ES research is 1) an agreed tradition of enquiry; 2); a broadly interpretive approach to the study of international relations; and 3) an explicit concern for the normative dimension of IR theory.\textsuperscript{116} The School can be viewed as a variant of the realist approach where the focus is on the classical themes of the discipline. The name ‘English School’ itself derives from the fact that majority of its researchers come from the English speaking world (Australia, Great Britain, South-Africa) with the notable exception of the United States, and that the pioneering work got started in England.

### 3.3 The English School’s Approach to the Concepts of International Society, Balance of Power and Sovereignty

As mentioned above, the international society or a society of states approach has been the most widely elaborated concept of the ES, its raison d’être. It was eloquently put forth by Hedley Bull who defined it as:

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\textsuperscript{113} On the history of the ES see Wæver (1998: 85–9) and Buzan (2001: 473).
\textsuperscript{114} See Battistella, 2003: 50–1; Buzan, 2001: 474–6.
\textsuperscript{115} See Buzan, 2001: 476.
\textsuperscript{116} Dunne, 1998: 5–11.
"…a group of states, conscious of certain common interests and common values, form a society in the sense that they conceive themselves to be bound by a common set of rules in their relations with one another and share in the working of common institutions."\(^{117}\)

One, however, has to make a distinction between an international society and international system, for the first supposes an inter-subjective agreement, that is shared norms, rules and institutions among the actors, whereas the latter refers only to the interaction of states (see Little, 2000: 408). International system is by definition an environment where:

"States are in regular contact with each other and where in addition there is interaction between them, sufficient to make the behavior of each a necessary element in the calculation of the other."\(^{118}\)

Inside international systems states don’t in other words have to be aware that they are part of a system. From historical point of view, international society is the product of modern times, the European Union and NATO coming perhaps to the closest of meeting its criteria. On the other hand, the states-system that existed during the Amarna period fits in the international system category but, as I have tried to show, it had some overlapping features with the international society framework. The most obvious among these include common diplomatic language akkadian (babylonian) but also crucially the peace treaty between the rivals of Egypt and the Hittite empire.

Hedley Bull was one of the central figures of the ES to have theorized the international society approach. Although scholars are critical about his distinction between a system and society\(^{119}\), Bull’s contribution relates to the fact that he made researchers sensitive to the differences connecting the two concepts. Later on, however, he has been criticized for linking international society with the emergence of modern state in the Westphalian framework, since historical evidence shows that international society existed long before sovereign states.\(^{120}\) What matters here is not the nature of the political entities – be they city-states, empires or states in a modern sense of the word – but whether there is sufficient interaction between these entities in order for them to able to operate independently upon one another.\(^{121}\) This fact has important implications for the subject-matter at hand as it shows that even within the ES tradition there has been excessive interest in the international history restricted to a specific time span and geographical location.

As stated above, balance of power is one of the most pervasive and closely studied concepts within IR theory. The aim here is not to give detailed descriptions of the concept itself (see appendix 4), suffice to say that the idea of it is based on the principle to avoid hegemony of a particular power(s) by forming an alliance against it in view of preserving a functioning states-system.\(^{122}\) What makes the power balancing interesting is the fact that it shows the level of

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\(^{118}\) Ibid., 10.

\(^{119}\) Academics have paid attention to the fact that it is often difficult to make clear-cut demarcations between a states- system and a world society since war and trade for example can create common interests and agreed rules among actors (see Buzan, 2001: 477; Dunne, 2001: 227; Dunne, 2008: 276–277; James, 1993).

\(^{120}\) See Dunne, 2001: 227.


interaction of the actors. One of the key arguments of the paper is that there did exist a pre-modern balance of power in the Ancient Near East during the Late Bronze Age. While it may not have been as sophisticated compared to later epochs in international history – especially in European diplomatic environment where the power balancing was becoming global in the late 18th century C.E. – through the balance of power we can see the systemic dimension in the making as action led to reaction, a challenge to a response and where there was often tensions between dissatisfied and satisfied states.

Undeniably, one of the weaknesses of the ES, until recently, has been its tendency towards a Eurocentric perspective. Illustrative of this is the way the balance of power theory is almost exclusively seen in West European context. Behind lies the assumption that European state-system was somehow superior to those that existed elsewhere. Although the concept itself was first explicitly introduced in Renaissance Europe, the behavior of the state actors to meet its criteria goes back to ancient times. A classical example of power balancing in the Greco-Roman world – and one that does not significantly differ from the balancing act behavior in the Ancient Near East – is that given by Greek historian Polybius (ca. 203–120 B.C.E.) who tells us the way the tyrant of Syracuse, Hiero II, decided to back the Carthage at the end of the First Punic War (264–241 B.C.E.) in order to ensure that his city continued to exist as a balance to Roman power. Indeed, historical evidence seems to suggest that there was no mythical original time period when the balance of power practices came into existence, even though scholars of the discipline disagree on this. Indicative of the logic of the balance of power in the ancient world is the first known non-aggression treaty signed between great powers – that dates back to

123 Pre-modern balance of power becomes clearer when it is compared to pre-modern nationalism (Sheehan 1996: 45). Human beings have professed nationalist sentiments since time immemorial and as such – contrary to a fashionable view – nationalism is not a new phenomenon dating back to 18th century (see Gatt 2006: 496–7).
124 In the eighteenth century context the Seven Years’ War (1756–63) – the first global war in history – is illustrative of this. During the 20th century the balance of power became truly ‘global’ in the Cold War world of proxy wars and superpower rivalry dictated by the domino theory.
125 Little, 2000: 414.
126 Martin Wight and Herbert Butterfield for instance consider that power balancing did not exist in the ancient world and that according to them: “…it was only in the 17th century that the balance of power emerged as a fully fledged institution in Europe’s international society” (Butterfield, 1966: 133, 136–8; Little, 2000: 410; Little, 2007: 149; Wight, 1977: 67). Interestingly enough, at a later stage in his life Butterfield paid some attention to the Ancient Near East when he admitted that the Amarna letters ‘have acquired great fame as early documents of foreign policy’. In the end, however, he did not recognize their significance as he believed that one cannot find in them ‘a trace of the diplomatic craft’ (see Butterfield, 1970: 357). On his part Hedley Bull was somewhat ambivalent with regard to this question.
127 It was supposedly Francesco Guicciardini (1483–1540) who first gave an analytical treatment of the idea of ‘balance of power’ in his Storia Italia that was posthumously published in 1561. In it Guicciardini describes how Lorenzo di Medici as ruler of Florence had taken every measure to ensure that the relations of the Italian states were kept in a ‘state of balance’ (see Anderson, 1993: 151; Evans & Newnham, 1998: 42–3; Luard, 1992: 1).
129 Although there is obviously no written sources to prove this, there is clear evidence from outside observers (mainly missionaries and colonists) that even among hunter-gatherers or foragers, the search for allies, counter-allies, and treachery – the age-old conduct of diplomatic practice – was not uncommon (see Keeley, 1996: 6–7, 179–180; LeBlanc & Register, 2004: 12–13, 122).
130 Rodolfo Ragionieri, Italian political scientist scholar, goes as far as to claim that the balance of power practice did not exist in the ancient Middle East and was only later imported into the region by the Hellenistic kingdoms (see Ragionieri, 2000: 51).
131 See section 2.4. on page 8.
the Late Bronze Age. This has not been recognized inside the ES research agenda. In a more recent publication Little argues that there’s a consensus among the English School scholars that the Greek city-states formed ‘a nascent international society, identified by the existence of Pan-Hellenic institutions, a primitive diplomatic system, and rules of engagement in war and peace, of mediation and of communication’.\textsuperscript{132} A central argument of this paper is that similar kind of system with a degree of sophistication existed in the Middle East during the LBA and during the Amarna period (1365–1335 B.C.E.) in particular. So far this has gone unnoticed among the scholars of the ES. These shortcomings left aside, it is fair to say that the strength of the English School lies in the fact that it has shown the need for a much longer historical viewpoint and the value of comparative case studies so that there can be real progress in the study of International Relations. This comes as a sharp contrast to mainstream American IR tradition where there has been until recently a strongly held view that history and theory are incompatible.\textsuperscript{133}

A visible sign of the globalized world we live in at the beginning of the 21\textsuperscript{st} century is the growing interdependence and the erosion of sovereignty. This central concept and one of the organizing principles of world politics has been under intense scrutiny among political scientists. While it is true that its development is closely related to the birth of the European states-system in the 16\textsuperscript{th} and 17\textsuperscript{th} centuries with its anti supra-sovereign stance (especially the fighting against papal power and against universal monarchy), the importance of the concept for IR theory lies in the two consequences that came about as a result of it: international anarchy and the aspiration for equality (the latter being never fully attained, of course). The absence of world government or universal authority over states is commonly seen as perennial structural dimension of international relations. International anarchy is not, then, temporally limited to a certain age or geographical area. One of the arguments of this paper is that in the Ancient Near East there existed relatively sophisticated anarchical system before the beginning of imperial hegemony that followed at the beginning of the Iron Age (1200 B.C.E.). The second corollary of sovereignty, equality, is another quintessential feature of interstate relations. Powers – small and great – strive for it as they want to be recognized by the international community. Statehood recognition, nuclear know-how technology, or the urge to belong to a specified exclusive group – be it EU-membership (for Eastern European countries) or membership in the G-7/G8 (for Russia) – are just few examples of how we can explain the foreign policy goals and behavior of state actors. In the Ancient Near East state recognition especially on the part of a great state was considered essential for the status of other major players.

Naturally, we cannot approach sovereignty through the lenses of the 21\textsuperscript{st} century premises with its strict codification and recognized status in international law. In the Ancient Near Eastern world, however, where sovereignty often existed together with suzerainty\textsuperscript{134} it has to be seen as an important feature of proto-globalization. Contrary to the modern states-system, where sovereignty can in a sense be considered as part of the problem for supranational cooperation, in

\textsuperscript{132} Little, 2005: 54; Watson, 1992: 50. 
\textsuperscript{133} Buza & Little, 2000: 29. 
\textsuperscript{134} The term ‘suzerainty’ was originally used to describe the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and its surrounding regions. It differs from sovereignty in that the tributary has some (limited) self-rule. A suzerain can also mean a feudal lord, to whom vassals must pay tribute. In the Ancient Near East suzerainty (e.g. Egypt/the Hittite Empire vs. vassal states in the area of Syro-Palestine) and sovereignty (brotherhood between great states, mainly between Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria) coexisted at the same time. Nonetheless, power hierarchy was more markedly sovereign during the LBA.
In a larger context, this paper is about how to tell better stories in world politics. This is well illustrated by the fact that IR has generated almost no significant public debate outside the academia, in comparison with the work of historians such as E.H. Carr, William H. McNeill, Paul Kennedy, or sociologists such as Immanuel Wallerstein, Michael Mann, or Anthony Giddens. Samuel Huntington achieved some public prominence for his controversial ‘clash of civilisations’ thesis, and earlier, Henry Kissinger and Zibgniev Brzinski became widely known figures outside the academia primarily because they held high political office. But ‘big names’ in IR theory such as Hedley Bull, Hans Morgenthau, Robert Gilpin, Stephen Krasner, Robert Keohane, James Rosenau, and Kenneth Waltz are virtually unknown outside the discipline.138

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135 For an overview on the rise and fall of the great powers of the region during the LBA, see Wilkinson, 2004: 666–89.
136 The exact chronology varies according to sources but the first known state entities an empires and (see e.g. Cioffi-Revilla, 2006: 83; Kuhrt, 1995: 27–38; Van de Mieroop, 2004: 39).
137 See e.g. Wilkinson, 2004: 655.
138 This paragraph is largely based on a provocative article by two prominent scholars of the English School Barry Buzan & Richard Little, 2001: 21.
Too often the disciplines of history and political science ignore the strong points they could offer to scholars of both fields. Too often the approach is either too narrative-based or obsessively theoretically-minded. The problem here is not so much with the methodologies themselves for academic diversity approach-wise is naturally a precious thing. It’s rather a question of finding the right kind of balance in order to better understand the diverse phenomena international history offers. This is perhaps even more true for the students of international relations since international politics being always located in time, world history provides the best way for developing and testing IR theory which in any case study similar kinds of phenomena as history. The lack of historical consciousnesses within the field of international relations is evident in the ‘snapshot-like’ manner in which scholars sometimes do their research. As a result, theoretical explanation is often quite thin and the general approach is based on presentist framework. Implicit argument of the paper, then, is that the above development together with the positivist tradition goes a long way toward explaining the rather anecdotal interest of IR theorists in ancient history. To paraphrase Robert Jervis, historians and political scientists should be ‘friends and in some cases allies’.

The first seeds of globalization were sown thousands of years ago in the Ancient Near East. Balance of power, common diplomatic language, prestige and sovereignty were the principal attributes that tied this regional states-system together. A thorough analysis in this paper has been given to the concept of balance of power for it enlightens in a precise manner the way the states-system in the region functioned. It may not have been as sophisticated as in later epochs but the logic of it was there: alliances were formed and broken up as dictated by changes in the relative strength of the powers. The small vassal states were particularly sensitive to these changes in power acting as ‘barometers’. Naturally, obvious differences existed between the Amarna period and our contemporary world. To begin with, the speed of communication was very slow by modern standards, the roads were bad and dangerous, and the diplomatic immunity was wanting as the local king could refuse to give permission for an envoi to return home (EA 3, 7, 28, 29, 126). Another major difference was the fact that there were no permanent embassies with resident ambassadors which is a hallmark of modern diplomacy, observable for the first time in Renaissance Italy. However, if defined as representation and communication, the origins of diplomacy can be traced much further than fifteenth century Italy. As to the famous peace treaty between Egypt and the Hittite empire, it is a clear indication that...
during the Late Bronze Age there existed, on a rudimentary level, a states-system. Of course, conditions were not met for the international society model but some aspects of the Amarna system include intersubjective agreement in the sense expressed by the ES scholars. Among these shared norms, rules and institutions were the use of Akkadian as a common diplomatic language. Another feature overlapping with the international society type was sovereignty. Even though the actors were not states in a modern sense of the word, the fundamental point here is that they were interacting with each other paying jealous attention to be recognized as independent; this kind of conduct was typical especially among the great states. A third essential feature of the international system in the Ancient Near East was, finally, prestige\textsuperscript{146}. It was present in all the dealings whether the Great Kings were exchanging gifts, wives, commercial goods etc.

Westphalia-based states-system is not only incapable of explaining the pre-modern international systems, but it is unable to answer, or in many cases even address, the most important questions about the modern international system.

\textsuperscript{146} Great Powers’ foreign policy goals based on prestige transcend cultural and spatiotemporal limits. To cite just two recent manifestations of this: Russia’s bid to become a member in the G-7 in the 1990’s, and the Indo-Pakistani nuclear rivalry.
APPENDIX 1

The Ancient Near East ca. 1350 B.C.E.

APPENDIX 2

Egypt’s sphere of interest in Western Asia

APPENDIX 3
Map of Egypt and the Levant, showing the limits of incursions into the Near East between the reigns of Ahmose and Amenhotep III (c. 1550–1352 B.C.E.)

**APPENDIX 4** The workings of power balancing

(After Hakovirta, 2002: 223)

A. **ADVERSAL BALANCE OF POWER**

1. Starting point of the balancing behavior in multipolar environment
2. A and E form an alliance creating an upset in the general balance
   
   Example: Europe's alliance system 1879–1914

B. **ANTI-HEGEMONIC REACTION/ASSOCIATIVE BALANCE OF POWER**

1. Starting point of the balancing behavior
2. A’s force and power increases in a way to threaten the general balance. A aims for hegemony.
   
   Example: The hegemonic position of Spain and France during the 1500th and 1600th centuries

C. **BALANCING BEHAVIOR OF THE BALANCER**

1. Starting point of the Balancing behavior
2. Formation of alliances that upset the general balance
3. D avoids entangling alliances and prepares to throw its weight on the side of the losing side

Example: Hiero of Syracuse during the Punic wars/England during the 17th and 18th centuries
APPENDIX 5
Battle of Qadesh circa 1274 B.C.E.
(After Marc van de Mieroop, 2007: 131)
APPENDIX 6
The Qadesh peace agreement—on display at the Istanbul Archaeology Museum—is believed to be the earliest example of any written international agreement of any kind.

Source: The Archeological museum of Istanbul
REFERENCES


Abstract

This paper contributes to the sociological study of social movements by using secondary source data to identify several facets of the contemporary anti-smoking movement, including its major players, its purpose, its tactics and its successes in shaping current anti-tobacco policy and legislation in the United States. Following Salmon, Post, and Christensen (2003), I categorize the anti-smoking movement as an elite movement that has waged a highly effective campaign intended to mobilize the "public will." Public will campaigns are defined as "organized, strategic initiatives designed to legitimize and garner public support for social problems as a mechanism of achieving policy action or change" (Salmon et al., 2003, p. 4). In addition to identifying two critical lynchpins upon which the continued success and fate of the movement turns, I highlight the disproportionate representation among current tobacco users of certain racial-ethnic and marginalized groups as well as those with less education and low incomes, arguing that the creation of public support for punitive tobacco control measures raises an important diversity issue. The implications of these tobacco control policies are discussed.
THE POLITICS OF SMOKE: WHY ANTI-TOBACCO POLICY AND LEGISLATION IS A DIVERSITY ISSUE

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Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to further rectify what one reviewer recently described as an “embarrassing gap” in the sociological literature by showing that, in the case of tobacco use, the factor that best explains the treatment of the science linking smoking to disease, as well as the use of this science in shaping public health policy, is the unprecedented success and power of the contemporary anti-smoking movement (Lowe, 2004). I use secondary sources to identify several aspects of this movement, including its major players, its purpose, its tactics, and its remarkable successes in shaping anti-tobacco policy and legislation in the United States.

Following Salmon, Post, and Christensen (2003), I view the anti-smoking movement as having waged a “public will campaign,” where such campaigns are defined as “organized, strategic initiatives designed to legitimize and garner public support for social problems as a mechanism of achieving policy action or change” (p. 4). I examine the implications of public buy-in to the anti-smoking movement cause by concentrating on two identifiable movement lynchpins: 1) the credibility of the claims-makers and the validity of their claims, particularly as they relate to the dangers of environmental or “second-hand” smoke, and 2) the simultaneous framing of smoking as both an addiction and lifestyle choice (for a review and explanation of the framing perspective, see Benford and Snow, 2000 and Snow et al., 1986). These two factors, I argue, comprise the apparatus for the construction of a financially exploitable “pariah class,” which draws disproportionately from
certain racial-ethnic and marginalized groups as well as from the less educated and poor. As a result, current tobacco policy and legislation must be understood as a diversity issue centrally implicated in perpetuating significant and long-standing health disparities in the United States.

**Study Highlights**

**Players, Purpose and Tactics:**

The modern anti-smoking movement is an elite movement, driven almost exclusively by a coalition between the major health voluntaries, key government entities, and well-funded interest groups, many of which either represent or have indirect ties to the pharmaceutical industry (see e.g., Snowdon, 2009a). In its decades-long effort to “denormalize” or alter public opinion about smoking, this elite coalition has advanced the twin claims that “passive smoking kills” and that tobacco use is “costly to society” (Chapman and Freeman, 2008; Cook, 2009; Lemieux, 2000; Stuber, 2005; United States Department of Health and Human Services [USDHHS], 2000). Post-Master Settlement Agreement (which covers the past twelve years), anti-smoking advocates have used these twin arguments to justify three movement tactics. These include: 1) increasing state and federal excise taxes on tobacco, purportedly to recoup medical expenditures and fund prevention efforts, 2) passing what are professed to be “excess” health care costs directly on to smokers in the form of higher health insurance premiums, and 3) imposing city or state wide smoking bans that prohibit smoking in a much wider range of public places (for example, in public parks and on public beaches) than has been the case previously and in privately-owned establishments such as bars, hotels, and restaurants as well.

**Movement Lynchpins:**

The success of these efforts has hinged on two movement lynchnpins. The first is the legitimacy of anti-smoking claims-makers and the validity of their claims, particularly as they relate
to the science supporting the dangers of environmental tobacco smoke (ETS), otherwise known as “passive” or “second-hand” smoke. Although pro-smoker and civil libertarian groups have been challenging the validity of this science--or more precisely, its presentation--for years (e.g., Bast, 2006; Williams, 2007), an increasing number of researchers and health professionals, some of whom are anti-smoking advocates, are breaking ranks with the anti-smoking establishment, decrying what they see as a campaign of misinformation based on exaggerated scientific claims (e.g., Marlow, 2009; Siegal, 2007; Snowdon, 2009b; Ungar and Bray, 2005; Whelan, 2006).

The second, more important lynchpin rests on the simultaneous framing of tobacco use as an addiction, which implies that smokers have little or no control, and a lifestyle choice, which implies that they do have control. Despite the fact that health professionals have long recognized nicotine as an addictive agent and smoking as an addiction (Nathanson, 1999; USDHHS, 2000), the medicalization of tobacco use has proceeded apace with the social costs argument, thus allowing public health officials, including health insurers, to insist, upon penalty of higher health insurance premiums, that smokers seek medical treatment for their “bad choices.” The contradiction is important because, with the exception of insurance-based wellness programs designed to promote healthy behaviors, it is illegal to discriminate against persons in the provision of health care (by charging higher health care premiums, for example) on the basis of a legitimate “health factor” such as “nicotine addiction” (Conway, 2007). The convenience to the health industry’s pocketbook of a contradiction that targets the so-called choice to smoke as a health condition requiring medical intervention and treatment has been largely lost on the general public.

**Impacted Populations:**

National smoking prevalence statistics vary widely according to the source primarily as a result of different methodologies. Centers for Disease Control (CDC) estimates, derived from the National Health Interview Survey (NHIS), suggest that approximately 20.6% of the population, or
about 46.0 million persons aged 18 and older are current cigarette smokers (CDC, 2009a). Results from the 2006 National Survey on Drug Use and Health (NSDUH), however, suggests that 25.0% of the population, or approximately 61.6 million persons aged 12 and older are current cigarette users (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Service Administration [SAMHSA], 2007). These differences notwithstanding, virtually all sources report that cigarette smokers are disproportionately poor and less educated (see e.g., Stuber, Galea and Link, 2008). The CDC suggests, for example, that 31.5% of those below the poverty level smoke cigarettes, compared with just 19.6% of those at or above the poverty level (CDC, 2009a).

Certain racial-ethnic minorities, most notably American Indians and Alaska Natives (AIAN), also have a higher prevalence of current tobacco use. The CDC finds that 32.4% of AIAN are current cigarette users compared with 22.0% of non-Hispanic whites and 21.3% of blacks, while the NSDUH suggests that 42.3% of AIAN currently use tobacco compared with 31.4% of non-Hispanic whites, and 29.1% of blacks (CDC, 2009a; SAMSHA, 2007). The NSDUH also includes data for multiracial individuals, which are excluded from CDC estimates, indicating that 34.2% are tobacco users (SAMSHA, 2007). A comparison of data from these sources is included in table 1.

Table 1: Comparison of Tobacco Use Prevalence by Race/Ethnicity and Source

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race/Ethnicity (CDC estimates)</th>
<th>Race/Ethnicity (NSDUH estimates)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White, non-Hispanic</td>
<td>22.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black, non-Hispanic</td>
<td>21.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Am. Indian/A. Native</td>
<td>32.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian, non-Hispanic</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two+ Races</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>31.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>29.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>24.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natives</td>
<td>42.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two+ Races</td>
<td>34.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to a United States Department of Health and Human Services summary report from the 2002 National Conference on Tobacco and Health Disparities, smoking prevalence is also 6 times higher among lesbian and bisexual girls than among heterosexual girls and 1.5 times higher among the disabled than among the nondisabled (USDHHS, 2005). Moreover, 80% of

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1 These NSDUH estimates include current use of cigarettes, chewing tobacco, snuff, cigars and pipe tobacco.
schizophrenia, bipolar disorder, and alcohol or drug dependent patients smoke (USDHHS, 2005). These numbers illustrate that although the anti-smoking movement is orchestrated by elites, its impact is born disproportionately by poor and marginalized groups, thus exacerbating already existing health disparities. Indeed, some scholars have questioned the wisdom of smoking bans when it comes to the provision of treatment among the mentally ill and noted the negative effect of stigma as a component of care among lung cancer patients, regardless of patients’ smoking status (Chapple, Ziebland and McPherson, 2004; Warner, 2009).

More disturbing still is that various national estimates indicate a leveling off in smoking prevalence or a decline in survey response rates (CDC, 2009a; 2009b), which may indicate that, in response to increasing discrimination and social stigma as well as draconian anti-smoking policies that make it illegal for business owners and health professionals to accommodate smokers, tobacco users are going underground. It is not unreasonable to conclude that smokers would increasingly refuse to self-identify as tobacco users and hide their smoking status, if the consequences are higher life and health insurance premiums, interventionist wellness programs, poor or inaccessible medical care, punitive segregation policies, and even discrimination in employment opportunities (for a discussion of the latter, see Siegal, 2009). This should give the public pause with respect to the question of whether or not the anti-smoking movement has been as successful as it purports to be in decreasing smoking prevalence nationwide.

Implications:

Unlike Stuber (2005, p. 4), who defines “denormalization” as the outcome of three decades of anti-smoking activism, I suggest that denormalization is more appropriately viewed as a self-conscious, strategic attempt on the part of activists within the anti-smoking movement to “frame” smoking and smokers in such a way as to mobilize bystanders to enlist in the anti-smoking cause (Benford and Snow, 2000; Nathanson, 1999; Snow et al., 1986). This framing, by transforming and then harnessing the public will, has been remarkably successful (Salmon et al., 2003). As Stuber
(2005, p. 4) notes, "denormalization aims to convinc[e] nonsmokers that it is in their best interest to support smoking bans, which penalize, isolate, and restrict the activities of smokers in the name of public health. In effect, non-smokers are deputized to enforce the state’s regulation of smoking behavior. And in the process, individuals who partake in this behavior, because they are in violation of new norms, increasingly invite personal humiliation and embarrassment" (see also Basham and Luik, 2009; Chapman and Freeman, 2008).

It is well within the scope of sociological analysis to examine the implications of the construction by society’s elites of a socially marginalized and financially exploitable “pariah class” in the effort to promote the public health. My examination of its lynchpins reveals that the anti-smoking movement: 1) pursues tactics that, consistent with the idea of choice, “blame the victim” for what is simultaneously and conveniently treated as a genuine medical problem and 2) provides a rationale, buttressed by the legitimacy of “second-hand science,” that not only segregates smokers but forces them to compensate society for their own and others’ illnesses and deaths before these deaths actually occur. Indeed, to characterize the demand that smokers “pay to die before they die” as extraordinary is to downplay in the extreme the significance of what the anti-smoking movement has accomplished. While the movement’s achievements may have secured its position as among the most successful social movements of our time, its victories may have simply added to the misery of the disadvantaged, who are disproportionately represented among the targeted group.
References


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Bridging the Digital Divide for Thai Elderly

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Abstract

In recent years the population of elderly people and their use of computers and the Internet have been growing at extraordinary rates. However, among Thailand’s 15 million Internet users, there are only 5.2 percent in the age group 50-59 years, and only 0.9 percent that are over the age of 60 (NECTEC, 2008).

Thailand has implemented many policies to promote elderly quality of life, as well as the use of ICT among disadvantaged segments of society. However, Thai elderly are not likely to benefit from such policies. The purpose of this article is to extend author’s earlier research on “The Digital Divide among Thai Elderly People” by examining Thailand’s government policies to promote ICT diffusion and Internet use among Thai elderly people. The author concluded that the strategy for overcoming the digital divide is not only to provide physical access to computers and the Internet, but also to promote material and skills access. Thailand needs stronger legislative measures to promote the use of ICT and Internet among the elderly. The resources to bridge the digital divide including digital resources, human resources and social resources should be considered seriously. It is the responsibilities of all sectors in Thai society to help bridge the digital divide among the Thai elderly in order to prepare the country for aging society, and moving the country towards sustainable development in the near future.
Introduction

In Thailand, the proportion of older persons and the median age of populations increases rapidly. Proportion of older persons increased from 4.8 percent during the period before 1970, to 10.5 percent in 2005, and likely to be 21.4 percent by the year 2030, while the median age of Thai population has increased from approximately 18 years to 30.5 years and will be up to 38.8 years for each same of time. Based on the international standard, any country having 10 percent of its population being 60 years old or more, or having the median age of population from 30 years onwards, shall be deemed as the aging society (Ministry of Social Development and Human Security, 2007). Therefore Thailand has already become an aging society.

Over the past 10 years, the population of elderly people and the use of computers and the Internet have been growing at extraordinary rates. In the United States, 40 percent of people whose ages are 66 and older go online, increasing from 29 percent in 2000 (Annenberg Digital Future project, 2009). However among Thailand’s 15 million Internet users, there are only 5.2 percent in the age group 50-59 years, and only 0.9 percent that are over the age of 60 (NECTEC, 2008).

Thailand has implemented its 2nd National Plan for Elderly (1992-2011) aiming at promoting Thai elderly to be self dependent and increasing quality of life. Additionally, the Information Technology Policy Framework 2001-2010 has its vision towards a Knowledge-Based Economy, and aims to provide all Thai people the opportunity to equitable access and utilization of information technology. Under the e-society policy, the information technology is to be developed in order to support social and environmental development for all Thais including senior citizens. However, Thai elderly Internet users still much lag behind their younger counterparts. This will cause a major problem in Thailand’s aging society in the near future. This
article aims to discuss the digital divide among Thai elderly people, and Thailand’s policy to bridge the digital divide among them. This article may help assess the government policy in digital divide, and may lead to possible strategy to bridge the digital divide among Thai elderly, and empower them to live independently and maintain a good quality of life in the aging society.

Understanding the Digital Divide

The term digital divide refers to the gap between people with effective access to digital and information technology and those with very limited or no access at all. It includes the imbalances in physical access to technology as well as the imbalances in resources and skills needed to effectively participate as a digital citizen. In other words, it is the unequal access by some members of society to information and communication technology, and the unequal acquisition of related skills. The term is closely related to the knowledge divide as the lack of technology causes lack of useful information and knowledge. The digital divide may be classified based on gender, income, and race groups, and by locations (Rice, 2002). In the late 1990s, the metaphor of a digital divide has become very popular in the United States. It is a simplification of the phenomenon of inequality of access to digital technologies. Traditional development literature also showed that there is a direct link between age, gender, income, educational level, availability of personal computers and the digital divide (OECD, 2001). However Van Dijk (2005) found it appeared to be very successful in putting the issue on the agenda of social, political and scholarly discussion. He also made the observations about the digital divide. The first observation is that those emphasizing the digital divide as a big social problem are most often driven by a kind of technological determinism. Some suppose that people not using digital technology are missing many opportunities and will be totally
excluded from future society. In fact, it still has to be demonstrated that people cannot live as normal citizens in current modern society without using digital technology, and that digital technologies really are improving their activities in daily lives.

A second observation is the distinction between the old and the new kind of inequalities. The old inequalities including income, education, employment status, age, gender and ethnicity are usually considered as the background variables of all kinds of digital divides. While new inequalities would be differential digital skills like the information and strategic skills or a disparity in access to positional goods, information goods and network positions in an information and network society.

However, Warschauer (2003) suggested the term ‘social inclusion’ as a more positive way of approaching this digital divide. According to Warschauer (2003), social inclusion refers to the extent that individuals, families and communities are able to fully participate in society and control their own destinies. Social inclusion is enabled by the existence of demand for knowledge that can be activated through knowledge networking. Communities on the Internet enable social inclusion to be achieved and sustained through the creation of social capital. Thus there is more to social inclusion than equal access to resources, and even wealthy individuals may be excluded because of discrimination based on gender, race, sexual preference or disability, or political persecution.

**The Multifaceted Concept of Access**

The first obstacle in the discussion on digital divide is the multifaceted concept of access. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2001) measured the digital divide by many factors. In addition to communications infrastructures, important indicators appear to be computer availability and potentially the availability of alternative access through TVs or
mobile phones and Internet access. Van Dijk, (1999) has distinguished four kinds of access: 1) mental access: lack of elementary digital experience caused by lack of interest, computer anxiety and unattractiveness of the new technology; 2) material access: no possession of computers and network connections; 3) skills access: lack of digital skills caused by insufficient user-friendliness and inadequate education or social support; and 4) usage access: lack of significant usage opportunities or unequal distribution of them.

Since the most common meaning of digital divide in the context of digital technology is the possession of a computer and a network connection, public opinion and public policy are strongly pre-occupied with the second kind of access (material access) mentioned by Van Dijk (2005). Many people think that a basic strategy for overcoming the digital divide has been to provide physical access to computers and the Internet, and they usually neglect other kinds of access. Usually it is not seen as being of any importance to social and educational policies as differential usage is presumed to be the free choice of citizens and consumers in a differentiating post-modern society (Van Dijk, 2005).

Van Dijk’s notion is congruent with Warschauer (2003)’s on the three aspects with regard to resources to bridge the digital divide: digital resources (material made available online); human resources (in particular literacy and education) and social resources (the community, institutional and societal structures that support access to IT).

**Internet Use among the Elderly**

As of December 2009, only 38 percent of U.S. adults age 65 and older go online, a significantly lower rate of internet adoption than the U.S. general population (74 percent). Among adults age 50-64 years old, 70 percent use the Internet. Moreover,
just 26 percent of U.S. adults age 65 and older have home broadband access, compared with 56 percent of adults age 50-64 years old and 60 percent of all adults. (Pew Internet, 2009). In Thailand, there are approximately 15 million Internet users in which 5.2 percent is in the age group of 50-59, and only 0.9 percent is in the age group of 60 and above (NECTEC, 2008).

In developed countries where many elderly have to live alone at home, the Internet can benefit the elderly for many purposes. A survey conducted on “Access and Usage of Internet in the Elderly” showed that the elderly can learn to use computers and are looking for methods to stay connected and be informed (Liu & Tseng (2009). A new survey of American centenarians revealed some surprising trends when it comes to technology and aging. Three percent of 100 centenarians surveyed said they use Twitter at least once a week to keep in touch with family and friends. Ten percent of them send emails regularly, while 12 percent share photos over the Internet (Chow, 2009). The results of the survey disproved the stereotype that as people age, they become more disconnected from cultural and technological trends. The results of the study also affirm beliefs that longevity could be based more on lifestyle rather than genetics.

Ford and Ford (2009) carried out a study of over 7,000 elderly retired persons by evaluating the role of Internet use on their mental well-being. All procedures indicate a positive contribution of Internet use to mental well-being of elderly Americans, and estimates indicate that Internet use leads to about a 20 percent reduction in depression classification. Meanwhile, researchers from Semel Institute for Neuroscience and Human Behavior at the University of California-Los Angeles found that surfing the web for only a week stimulated areas of the brain that control
decision-making and complex reasoning in middle-aged and older adults with little Internet experience (Lauer, 2009)

In 2009 the author conducted a research on “The Digital Divide among Thai Elderly People” to examine the digital divide and factors affecting Internet use among elderly people in Thailand. Using the interviews of 42 respondents who were aged 50 and older, the study found that the Thai elderly Internet nonusers showed an interest in using the Internet for e-mail; searching for news and some information relevant to their studies and career. Some of them wanted to chat and play games. The elderly Internet users also reported a number of reasons for using the Internet. These included: to check e-mail and search for information; to keep up with current events and their children; for work and entertainment. The research also found that the barriers to the Internet use among Thai elderly people encompassed the lack of Internet access at home, lack of computer literacy and instructor, cost of computers and Internet access, and their health problems (Anantho, 2009).

Policies to Bridge the Digital Divide among Thai Elderly

The aging population of Thailand has been continually increased, it was estimated by the National Economic and Social Development Board that in 2020, the number of aging population in Thailand will be increasing to 10.8 millions (16.8 percent of the total population). To cope with a rapid mobility of the population aging, the Thai government has been working on policies and initiatives to promote the quality of life among elderly people. The current policies can be explained below:

1. The 10th National Economic and Social Development Plan (2007-2011),

The 10th national plan also put a focus on the development of policies and programs to support older persons. Some successful program activities are highlighted
as follows: (a) promoting a positive attitude towards elderly persons, (b) promoting health for the elderly, and (c) social protection for the elderly.

2. Older Persons Act of 2003

The act ensures the elderly people to access chance and security of their benefits and protection including:

- Rights to access to social welfare services and other facilities
- National Management Mechanism on Older Persons
- Tax deduction for people who take care of his/her elderly parents
- The Elderly Fund


In 2002, as the United Nations organized “the 2nd World Assembly on Aging” in Madrid, Spain, “the Madrid International Plan of Action on Aging 2002” was adopted to be the United Nations guidelines for aging implementation in three areas: 1) Older Persons and Development, 2) Advancing Health and Well-being into Old Age, and 3) Ensuring Enabling and Supportive Environments. In the same year, Thailand has formulated the “2nd National Plan for Older Persons” (2002-2021)” as an indicative master plan, identified integrated strategic framework on development and protection for the older persons. The provision of this plan is in line with the development goals for older persons in “the Madrid International Plan of Action on Aging 2002.”

Thailand’s 2nd National Plan for older persons (2002-2021) has set up five implementation strategies for older persons as follows: 1) preparation for quality aging, 2) promotion well-being in older persons, 3) social security for older persons, 4) management system and personnel development at national level, and 5) conducting research for policy and program development support, monitoring and evaluation to
the 2nd National Plan for Older Persons. The Plan is being successfully implemented and progress has been made at many levels towards building an aging-friendly society.

4. Thailand IT Policy Framework 2001-2010 (Vision towards a Knowledge-based Economy)

Thailand has a variety of public policies involving ICT development. The government developed guidelines, which are directly or indirectly related to information and communication technology including: Internet Tambon, OTOP (one tambon one product), national health insurance scheme, development of education technology and information networks, promotion of e-commerce, promotion of ICT in the manufacturing sectors and applications. These guidelines benefit all Thai people including the elderly. Under Thailand’s Vision towards a Knowledge-Based Society, the development strategies can be classified into five flagships: e-Government, e-Commerce, e-Industry, e-Education, and e-Society.

5. The 2nd Thailand Information and Communication Technology Master Plan (2009-2013)

The 2nd National Information and Communication Technology Master Plan (2009-2013) is a national development plan that follows on from the IT 2010 plan and the first ICT master plan. It was updated with new policies to keep up with the changes in technology, economics and society. The 2nd plan aims at developing Thailand as an intelligence-based society and at least 50 percent of people would be able to access the ICT by 2013. The development of information and communication technology in Thailand will help the country become "Smart Thailand" equipped with "Smart People" and a "Smart Government" in the next five years.
**Conclusion**

Even though the Thai government has addressed the policy to bridge the digital divide and the solution offers significant personal and societal gains, Thai elderly are not likely to benefit from such policies. The implementation of ICT related policies in Thailand in recent years usually aim at promoting physical access to the computer and the Internet among the younger generation. According to the author’s study on “The Digital Divide among Thai Elderly People” in 2009, the digital divide are not limited to material access. Consequently, metal and material access should also be seriously taken into consideration.

The elderly people will have to rely more on their technological skills in order to cope with their every day activities, such as contacting their children and relatives, shopping, getting health information, and life-long learning, but Thailand’s policy on the elderly mostly focuses on some other social problems and overlook the potential of ICT for developing their quality of life. In the United States, Section 508 of Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) makes it mandatory for Federal agencies to provide equal access to information to all, including disabled and elderly. This legislation is proving to be quite effective in raising awareness about the issue of universal accessibility of web content. ICT suppliers to the government, educational institutions and ‘sensitized’ corporates are now adopting standards to ensure that web content is easily available to the disabled and other least skilled users (like elderly). Such legislation has a positive spiral effect of making information (read knowledge) available to all. Therefore Thailand needs stronger legislative measures to promote the use of ICT and Internet among the elderly. As stated by Warschauer (2003), the resources to bridge the digital divide include digital resources, human resources and social resources. Therefore the elderly segment may require special ICT training
course that helps them pursue their hobbies or interact with their children, and friends. The social resource is also a crucial factor since the elderly need support from their family, community and social institutions. Only when the elderly see ICT useful in their daily lives, will they be willing to adopt technology. In conclusion, it is the responsibilities of all sectors in the society to help bridge the digital divide among Thai elderly people. Bridging the digital divide will prepare the country for aging society, and moving Thailand towards sustainable development in the near future.


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Swiss education policy-making is a least likely case for IO induced change for three reasons. First, it is not a member in the European Union (EU) and is hesitant when it comes to international involvement. Second, cooperative federalism as well as its direct democratic settings proved to be highly able to obstruct reforms, as they not only prolong decision processes and involve many veto players in the domestic sphere, but also handicap coordination with international organizations and other countries. Third, the policy field of education is traditionally closely linked to the nation-state, more than any other policy field. However, far-reaching transformations in the field of higher and vocational education were pushed in Switzerland in the last decade by two prominent examples of legally non-binding but voluntary international initiatives: While since 2002 the EU’s Copenhagen Process has made vocational education systems in Europe comparable by establishing measures such as the European Qualifications Framework, the intergovernmental Bologna Process of 1999 aims to harmonize European higher education. How did these soft governance initiatives and the federalist structure impact on convergence of a country that exhibits extremely reform-hindering conditions?

To assess this research question, the case study uses qualitative empirical methods of document analysis and semi-structured expert interviews with the Directorate-General for Education and Culture of the European Commission as well as with Swiss policy-makers. Against the theoretical background of convergence theory combined with actor-centered
institutionalism, I show that both the federalist organization and the EU with its initiatives played an unparalleled role in modifying education policy-making in Switzerland. Derived from the theories, the main arguments underline that, on the one hand, Swiss federalism played a facilitating part for initiating overdue reforms after the backlog since the 1980s, as the plethora of cantonal veto players used the two international initiatives to achieve their policy aims. On the other hand, the international mechanisms of legitimization, norm diffusion, and economic pressure were able to trigger convergence. First, the EU’s fulfilled a legitimizing function by providing academic arguments for domestic policy-makers vis-à-vis the cantonal level regarding the introduction of controversial or past-due reforms. Second, the expert networks of the EU and its international initiatives served as platforms for transnational communication and policy learning and thus were capable to spread norms that pushed reforms in Switzerland towards the international aims. Finally, by enhancing comparability, Bologna and Copenhagen furthered the competition of education systems and thus put Switzerland under economic pressure to adjust its systems to the surrounding EU countries to provide its students access to the EU labor market.

This study contributes to research on policy convergence and European integration of non-EU members and fills the research gap of a dynamic perspective on multilevel policy making: It investigates the role of the newly emerged, but ever more influential educational actor “EU” as a promoter and of federalist Swiss players as both supporters and antagonists of educational reforms, as well as their complex interplay by which international imperatives are translated into the domestic politics of a federal state.

The structure is as follows: I elaborate first on the theoretical framework of convergence research and actor-centered institutionalism, as well as on the conceptual dimensions of convergence. Second, I investigate the Swiss reforms induced by the interaction of exogenous forces – namely the EU with the Copenhagen Process and the Bologna Process – and domestic federalist forces, while comparing higher and vocational education. Third, I analyze the underlying mechanisms of legitimization, transnational communication and economic pressure that caused Switzerland’s education and training systems to converge with or diverge from the international model of Bologna and Copenhagen proposed by the EU. I conclude by outlining the importance of identifying the sources of convergence to further the adaptation of Swiss education and training systems to the international “best practice” models of Bologna and Copenhagen.
1. Title of the submission.—

Vodou – A Heritage of Power

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Vodou – A Heritage of Power

by

Susheel Bibbs, Ph.D.

Abstract

Today, we have witnessed the strength and faith of the Haitian people. Yet, many have misunderstood or disparaged their national religion – Vodou, an Africana religion of the New World that has proved a major source of their strength and devotion for Haitians and for others in the Americas. In this workshop Susheel Bibbs, Ph.D., author of a Chapter on the empowerment of Vodou for a recently published volume: Women and African and Africana Religions, demystifies Haitian vodou –its beliefs, tenets, and mandates -- and explains the way in which that faith has empowered several great women of the Americas since the 19th century.

Disciplines –world religions, women’s studies, American history, women’s history

Note: A special feature of the workshop session will be the screening of an award-winning PBS documentary film by Dr. Bibbs, based on the life of Mary Pleasant, a Vodou initiate, who is now called “The Mother of Civil Right in California.”
INTRODUCTION: WHAT IS VODOU?

Even after more than 200 years in the Diaspora and the Americas, the religion called Vodou remains the object of controversy. On the one hand, many American films and the popular press of the 19th and 20th centuries have described it in purely pejorative terms. For example, writer Touissant Dessosier of New York called it “an amalgam of imagination” in the 1970’s.” Conversely, recognized scholar/practitioners, such as former Harvard scholar Wande Abimbola, assert that Vodou is not the practice of evil hexes and spells depicted in the horror movies of the 1930's, 40's, and 50's, but rather a shamanistic religion of the African Diaspora, with a solid core of belief. Despite such opposing views, Vodou overtime has brought empowerment to its initiates (mambos and houngans) and through them, to the public at large. But what is Vodou?

Vodou: A Religion

Vodou is a religion. The core beliefs (tenets) of the faith unify its vision, and along with several other elements, make it more than “hoodoo” – a collection of magical practices or the collection of associated cults that some have described. In fact, today Vodou is the national religion of Haiti. It is a religion because it shares the common elements of all religions: A priestly lineage, a traditional initiation, an ordered ceremony, as well as specific core beliefs.
First, Vodou has a priestly lineage in that it has a proscribed set of rituals for initiation. Thus, although in Haiti, becoming an initiate can be inherited, elected, or mandated, each person must still undergo an initiation with a similar set of rituals to become a priest officially: First, *Lave Tet* (dedication to a particular *lwa* through a head-washing ceremony), secondly, *Marriage* (a wedding-like ceremony that forges a relationship between the initiate and a particular spirit) and finally, *Couche*, which itself has stages—kanzo (alignment as an official member of a congregation), *sou pwen* (alignment with one’s primary spirit or “met tet” and entry into the priesthood), and asogwe (receipt of the rattle of a priest with extra priestly duties). A more esoteric way of coming to initiation in Haiti exists, which involves being claimed and removed by a spirit for a proscribed period, but this unusual kind of initiation must follow a pattern to be accepted and still is often followed by formal rites. Even becoming a Vodou queen (high priest among priests), as reported in 19th century New Orleans, involved selection by a committee and the initiation of a priest.

Secondly, Vodou is a religion because it has a proscribed order of ceremony, which resembles that of other religions. In fact, enslaved Africans could discern elements in Catholic ceremony similar to those of the ancient African rituals, and so related well to participating in the Church for this reason. Table 1 shows one such set of similarities in the opening processional of both religions.
Table 1. Similarites between Vodou and Catholic Ceremonial Openings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vodou opening</th>
<th>Catholic opening</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The vodou priest enters with attendants</td>
<td>The Catholic priest processes with attendants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The priest cleanses the space with herbal or tobacco smoke and spray</td>
<td>The priest cleanses the space with incense smoke and flings holy water as a cleansing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>herbs or liquor as a cleansing and to establish communication with</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spirit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The priest and attendants salute the four directions</td>
<td>The priest makes the sign of the cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The vodou priest invokes spirit</td>
<td>The Catholic priest speaks opening invocations and prayers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>During ceremony, the priest facilitates wisdom-sharing in ceremony</td>
<td>The Catholic and Lay priests share wisdom in ceremony through scripture and homily and responsive song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by praising Lwa, which includes responsive song</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, Vodou is a religion because it has specific core beliefs as do all religions. One such belief is that there is one God who is everywhere. According to scholars, such as Laennec Hurbon, members of the faith hold that all spiritual forces (Lwa) are governed by one God, a supreme being or power, who is omnipresent and is entreated as Bon Dje (from the French Bon Dieu), meaning “the good or High God.” Thus Vodou devotee’s also appreciated the focus of the worship services of the Catholic church, it being dedicated to the most high “God,” (Bondye). Similar ritual elements along with this appreciation help explain the ease with which members of the faith adopted Catholicism during slavery when required to do so, why they continue to resist eliminating Catholic elements from their liturgy, and why they continue to practice both faiths in tandem today.
However, the belief in one supreme being, which is shared by many faiths, enables a unique appreciation among Vodouissants (devotees). Since God is seen as everywhere, its Vodouissants feel that they not only must revere the Most High God (Bon Dje) anywhere, but they see no contradiction in parallel African-Catholic religious practice. In fact, they find such practice desirable because the Catholics have ceremonies for Bon Dje, which they do not. They see the lwa (spirit forces) as “God’s department heads,” who can assist them daily with aspects of their lives, and as the Catholics do with the biblical archangels and saints, Vodouisseants entreat various lwa to do “God’s” bidding on their behalf. On the other hand, they see Bon Dje as the over-arching, ultimate power.

One scholar, Michael Rock, explains this way, “Bondje is distant from his/her/its creation though, and so it is the spirits . . . that the vodouisant turns to for help, as well as to the [spirits of the] ancestors. The vodouisant worships God and serves the spirits.”

Awolalu, a scholar-priest of the related Yoruba tradition called Ifa, explained that, although they sometimes refer to these lwa (spirit forces) as “the gods,” these worshippers understand well that there is one “god principle.” This fact is often misunderstood about Vodou.

Similarly Vodou incorporates a high level of appreciation for the ritual and practices of other faiths, but the reason for this differs from having merely a random habit of assimilating the practices of others, which some scholars have presumed. According to Palero and author Carlos Montenegro, in African traditions, every spirit of every faith, if discovered, is to be revered and honored. Thus, Vodou, through its basic tenets, makes acquisitions from other faiths a way of enhancing their understanding of spirit and the spiritual development and wellbeing of its people. This makes the criticism that Vodou is
diluted by such acquisitions a misunderstanding of a basic belief of faith -- a vision of inclusiveness and respect; its assimilations are part of the faith and should be seen as no more diminishing than new formularies are to a pharmacy.

**A Few Core Beliefs of Vodou**

Thus, it’s important to understand the few core beliefs of the faith listed below:

1) One follows God’s laws through constant communion with spirit-beings and through ancestor spirits.

2) One must propitiate and praise spirit in ceremony and utilize them and the principles of nature (magic) to affect mankind's destiny and to ward off evil – but not usually to conjure it.

3) The criterion for pure exchange is always practical. "What works" to solve problems is used despite differences in language and customs or race.

4) One should adapt dynamically to any new environment and honor the spirit forces there.

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**Many Roles**

African-Diaspora traditional religions influence every aspect of the lives of their participants -- the many roles one plays in life. They do so because the roles we play each day are seen as fields for achieving spiritual growth, which is said to proceed from developing good character and balance in every daily endeavor. In my life I play many roles: Professionally I am known as a University lecturer in academia; years prior, I was born a Christian, but in 1977 became a first-level initiate-teacher of Vedanta (Indian scriptural teachings) and later followed spent many years as a student of Ìfà, a Nigerian
tradition. In the arts, I have been a professional classical singer and actress for forty years, an author/researcher in African-American history, and an independent filmmaker. In 1998 I added the role of a student of Vodou during my research on Mary Ellen Pleasant, a woman now called the Mother of Civil Rights in California.

My teacher was by Alourdes Lovinsky, the Haitian woman known the world over as a Gros Mambo (High Priestess) “Mama Lola.” “Mama” is a respectful, priestly designation that, similar to “Iya” of the Yoruba, means mother. Lola is derived from her first name – Alourdes. Lola is mobile; many of today’s mambos travel all over the world, and, as is usual, incorporate other religious traditions into their prescriptives and Vodou practices. Mama Lola exemplifies both mobility and the inclusiveness of mambos: She lives in Brooklyn, but has practiced in New Orleans, Haiti, the San Francisco Bay Area, and in other parts of the United States and in Benin, W. Africa.

After having researched the faith for six years, my personal journey with Vodou began during one of Lola’s trips to Oakland. There she was holding sessions to help promote the book written about her (Mama Lola), and not surprisingly, attending Santeria rituals (an Afro-Hispanic faith), and giving private readings. Through my reading with Lola, the Lwa Damballah (a spirit of Vodou) suggested that I -- an African American, Christian, Vedantian, Ifa devotee -- would enriched through the practice of Vodou. I began to experience this faith in depth.

However, this article, rather than describing my experience, will present a model of the way in which Vodou can enrich the lives of its practitioners. For this I will use subjects of my primary research --Mary Ellen Pleasant (my research subject since 1991) and “Mam’zelle” Marie LaVeaux -- Pleasant’s mentor and New Orleans’ most famous
“Voodoo” queen, whom I have studied since 1996. I hope that in detailing their accomplishments, the way in which one of them passed on the faith to help the other, and the ways in which each interpreted its mandates, I will help others understand Vodou and why for its mambos (female priests) it provides “a heritage of power.”

THE ROLES OF THE MAMBO

Before examining Vodou’s empowerment in the lives of two great mambos, I need to explain what a mambo is. A mambo is a female initiate (priestess) of Vodou. A male priest is called an hougan. Both share similar duties and respond to similar mandates of the faith, and both receive similar benefit from it. I simply will confine my discussion here to some female models.

The mambo’s role is to execute the goals of the faith and is far-reaching. It is not necessarily to preach, but to serve spirit, to facilitate the spiritual growth and service of others, and to protect those whom she defines as “her community.” The roles of the mambo are thus 1) to serve spirit, 2) to communicate with spirit and help others do the same, and 3) to bring growth, inspiration, peace, and protection to her chosen community in an innovative way. These roles, mandated for the mambo by vodou, are revealed in the three meanings of the word “Vodou” itself – 1) spirit forces, 2) that which follows divination, and 3) that which brings cooling and peace.

According to scholar Patricia Blier and others, the word “Vodou” originates in the language of the Fon-Ewe people of old Dahomey, West Africa--now called Benin. There it is often spelled Vodun or Vodou, while in the “New World,” it is most often spelled phonetically--“Voodoo.” However, that spelling, according to Marie LaVeaux scholars
Carolyn Morrow Long and Ina Fandrich, began to appear during the occupation of Haiti by American marines and has a pejorative connotation. Therefore, this article will not use that spelling. Rather, it will use the “Vodou” spelling regardless of the locale or time-period being described.

Service to Spirit

The word “Vodou” has two roots, vo and dun/du. Scholars and practitioners agree that the first meaning, derived from the first syllable, is “spirit.” In Vodou, “spirit” refers to revered ancestor spirits and countless spirit forces (divinities) called lwa/loa, whom devotees believe can be found everywhere. Reflective of the many constituent groups that originally formed the faith, the word “lwa” comes from one constituent group -- the people of the Congo, but the concept of spirit forces (divinities) that support the creation is shared by all originators of the faith. Thus, as mentioned, similar visions enabled them to form one very flexible faith.

Some lwa simply provide support to human beings, whereas others, somewhat like the archangels of Christianity, govern various dominions, natural forces, or elements such as the wind, the sea, the ocean, the rivers, thunder, iron, etc. However, each force relates to concepts, such as change, strength, or courage, that affect humankind.

In Vodou, each person at birth also reflects the traits of and is guided by a given lwa (called a designated-head spirit, or met tet). Devotees share that spirit’s traits, and their “head spirit” can help them hone the best of those traits (such as integrity, focus, peacefulness, honesty, balance, fortitude, fertility, justice, and transformative power) to reach their highest human potential. Damballah-Aida Wedo is my met tet -- the Haitian Lwa that symbolizes the enlivening and unifying force of life and ancestral memory –
our DNA. Author (and mambo) Karen McCarthy Brown explains, for example, that those whose met tet is the spirit of iron (Papa Ogou, who symbolizes fortitude, justice, and loyalty, etc., can gain that spirit’s assistance in developing those traits so that they can move towards a more balanced life. And balance and good character are seen as the goals of each life. The mambo’s mandate, therefore, is also to help devotees gain Lwa’s assistance towards achieving these goals.

Through initiation, the mambo is aligned with the spirit world to receive direct guidance from her met tet, and she is to use that “direct connection” in service to spirit—in her own unique way to help herself and others receive their lwas’ assistance. Through direct messages, collective ritual, and prayer, a mambo moves and guides devotees of spirit towards a better life.

This does not mean that all mambos function as ritual priests. Each initiate is elevated by the experience of initiation and is free to use it as she pleases. For example, Zora Neale Hurston used her initiate status to elevate the language and folk lore of rural southern African Americans, while Katherine Dunham used hers to establish social services in Haiti as she elevated Afro-Caribbean dance world wide. No matter how they define their role and set of service, each gives service in behalf of lwa and, using her unique talents, defines her mode of guidance, her community, and service uniquely, albeit within guidelines. The dynamic female initiates described in this article—Pleasant and LaVeaux—employ/employed Vodou a source of empowerment, uniquely interpreting it through their special talents and a direct connection with spirit. In so doing, each left a unique legacy to the world.
Guidance from Spirit

The second meaning of Vodou refers to the “du” part of the word vodou, which refers to Odu Ifa, a West African system of divination. The meaning is “that which comes after divination.” Divination put simply is the use of some tool to communicate with the divinities. So, this meaning puts the mambo’s ritual and religious activities in perspective – They come after her consult with spirit. It does not suggest that all priests must consult Ifa. Rather it enjoins them to use some tool to consult spirit so as to regarding ceremony, healing, and creating formularies. Thus, in service to her community, the mambo does not act merely from supposition or imagination. Through her direct connection with spirit, born of her initiation, she does receive direct messages, especially during ritual, but she also divines to gain direct messages and to direct her own life and talents to their highest potential. Her divination (consult with spirit) may employ cards, candles, or cowery shells -- old or new systems -- but a guidance system is used to “ask the source.” Like the Native American shaman, she also consults spirit forces through implements in serving her chosen community.

The Mandate to Innovate

A third meaning of the word “Vodou” is “One draws water for rest,” and according to Benin scholars, the words for rest here mean for cooling or to find peace – the state that leads to reaching ones highest destiny, which is the goal of all African/Diaspora faiths. Du says, "oniwa funfun" -- One with good character is guided by light—meaning that one who is balanced and peaceful or “has a cool head” (ori tutu) can perceive the road and teachings that lead to good character. And, one (devotee or a priest) with a cool head can
glean the best that Lwa have to offer in any given situation and, thereby, can receive the blessing of that situation. In Vodou the blessing of such spiritual alignment is expressed in concepts of the *gros and petit bon ange* —as the balance of her heavenly body of thoughts and feelings with her individual one. This alignment allows a devotee to possess the “stillness” to fulfill his or her highest potential and destiny on earth.

The third mandate of a mambo derived from the word Vodou also means to bring “coolness” (innovation) to the community. Thus, the mambo herself must be “cool” (balanced and creative) and this requires “coolness”—the dexterity to innovate for her community. In African culture, being cool means being able to master the basics of something such that (as in jazz) one can freely embellish (add critical difference) to those basics. Thus, devotees revere their priests as "consecrated people," and they expect them to demonstrate mastery by showing innovation and divine inspiration. This is the primary reason that mambos improvise freely in discharging their duties within the confines of service and spiritual guidance. The two mambos discussed below served spirit uniquely, sought guidance for that service, and employed vodou, which one passed to the other, innovatively.

**PLEASANT AND LAVEAUX**

Another Yoruba proverb says, *We stand on the shoulders of those who come before us.* The shoulders of Mary Ellen Pleasant and her mentor Mme. Marie LaVeaux exemplify the first two mandate of a mambo — service of Lwa through community and the use of guidance to serve them uniquely. I came to study Vodou in 1994 through my research on Mary Ellen Pleasant. Studying Pleasant inspired me to research the life of her mentor,
Mme. Marie LaVeaux, New Orleans’ most famous Vodou queen. Ultimately, studying the lives of these two women required an in-depth study of Vodou itself.

Mary Ellen Pleasant (1817-1904) was an activist and a successful entrepreneur. Despite her published 1902 claim that she was born free in Philadelphia in 1814, my research shows that she was probably born a slave near Augusta, Georgia circa 1817. This second account of her origins also came from Pleasant. In a pre-1900’s, unpublished memoir that she dictated to a young scribe named Charlotte Dennis Downs, Pleasant claimed to be the illegitimate daughter of an enslaved Haitian mambo and a Virginia planter’s son, John Hampden Pleasant. In a subsequent memoir and in a census, she gave 1817 as her year of birth (Kaiser 1997. California census, 1869).

These versions seem better supported by facts and to correlate better with historical record than the date Pleasant gave and published in 1902. If true, Pleasant came to Vodou the traditional Haitian way—through inheritance. That is, in Haiti, if the mother is a priest, the child of the next generation often is expected to become a priest. According to Downs, Pleasant said that her mother (a Haitian slave also named Mary) was flogged to death as a penalty for leading Vodou ceremonies on the Georgia plantation where Pleasant was born. At the time, Pleasant was about nine -- certainly old enough to have had opportunity to observe her mother’s “spirit work” and to learn something about the faith and its mandates from her mother before she died. It is significant that Mary remembered and spoke about what she thought caused her mother’s murder. The trauma of the tragedy and associated rituals must have been seared into the young daughter’s psyche so as to nurture antislavery sentiments and her belief in using the religion in service to community.
According to one of Pleasant’s unpublished memoirs, a planter purchased her when she was between the ages of nine and eleven and placed her in New Orleans’ Ursaline convent for a year. Later, her purchaser, fearing criticism for helping a slave, said Mary, placed her into the trust of his friend, a Cincinnati businessman named Lewis Alexander Williams, with the stipulation that she would serve his wife and eventually be freed (Davis 1901). However, by that same account, after a conflict with Mary over his mistreatment of his wife, Williams instead placed Mary into indenture for nine years with one of his clients—a Quaker storekeeper, Mrs. Hussey of Nantucket Island, Massachusetts.

The Hussey family and their Quaker abolitionist associates—the Gardners—became like family. They helped to unshackle Mary’s mind from the bonds of slavery and fueled her desire to fight it. However, the progress of this early life did not enable her to pursue her inheritance as a mambo. The stark contrast between life as a Quaker and her memories of communal ritual and practice as a slave must have caused Mary to wonder deeply about the source of her mother’s vibrancy and self-empowerment, and at least one source says that she practiced her own rituals after leaving the Quakers. Based on this reasoning, it is hardly surprising to learn that Pleasant eventually became a mambo.

After her indenture, she married in Boston. Later, she upon the death of her first husband, James W. Smith she became a wealthy widow. Smith was an abolitionist and slave rescuer on the Underground Railroad. By 1852 Pleasant had become a slave rescuer too, had married a man named John James Pleasance (Pleasants), and sailed to San Francisco to escape persecution for her own slave-rescue work on the Underground Railroad.
On arrival there, she had placed herself in service to young, wealthy businessmen, and their tips helped her invest her inheritance wisely. The business acumen that Pleasant had gained in Nantucket supported that process. A woman of financial substance, Mary would continue to fight slavery. She would later rescue escaped slaves in San Francisco and open new jobs for them. She would eventually return East to aid the abolitionist John Brown in his raid on the federal arsenal at Harper’s Ferry, VA, after collecting funds in San Francisco. She would journey to Chatham, Canada to strike blows for civil rights.

By 1863, Pleasant was acknowledged as a community leader in the newspapers -- She became a veritable Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, and Rosa Parks combined-- A Martin Luther King because she could love across boundaries of race and class without losing sight of her goal (liberty for herself and her people), a Malcolm X because she fostered self-determination and opened new jobs for blacks and believed that slavery had to be ended by any means necessary, and a Rosa Parks because she scored remarkable gains for people of color on the San Francisco streetcars.

To test the new civil-rights laws of 1863—ascribed to her diligence--Pleasant orchestrated and fought court challenges for herself and others against local street car companies. In and out of court, these cases established the right of blacks to ride the street car system in San Francisco without harassment. Most importantly, one of these cases (Pleasants vs. North Beach and Mission Railroad, 1868) set precedent in the California State Supreme Court and was used in 1982 by Attorney David Oppenheimer to gain the first punitive and compensatory damages in a California discrimination lawsuit.
Pleasant’s case thus changed California law and left modern-day civil rights a priceless legacy.

**The Marie LaVeaux Model**

But how did Pleasant accomplish these things? Legend says that Pleasant was a student of Marie LaVeaux (called by the endearments “Mam’zelle” and “Vodou queen” in New Orleans). My research has been the first to show how Mary Pleasant fulfilled her destiny as a mambo by studying with Marie LaVeaux and to document that she did so intentionally to use it in her civil-rights work in California.

Marie LaVeaux is revered in New Orleans. Whether through her shaman-like ritual work or her social leveraging practices, she was empowered (Times Picayunne 1881. Teish 1985). Pleasant gained empowerment through the unique social and religious model that Mam’zelle LaVeaux passed to her. According to Pleasant’s scribe, Charlotte Downs, Pleasant studied with LaVeaux in New Orleans just prior to moving to San Francisco in 1852. This implies that by then she had become a mambo, the only way she would have been able to do this.

For many years I had known of reports of Pleasant’s study with LaVeaux through the papers of author Helen Holdredge in Los Angeles and in the San Francisco Library’s History Room; however, the reports had always come indirectly from Pleasant and, thus, needed additional corroboration. For example in 1930, Downs told Holdredge, “Hardly known was that "mammy" [sic -- Pleasant] learned Vodou from Marie Laveau in New Orleans .... Mammy's" husband was in some way connected with the man that Marie was living with at that time…” However, I knew that Downs was merely reporting what Pleasant had dictated to her.
I only became convinced of this association, when in 1997, after locating the estate of author Helen Holdredge (author of controversial biographies on Pleasant in the 1950’s), I found a ledger with remarkable, transcribed interviews conducted by Holdredge with a member of LaVeaux’s family. In this ledger, Holdredge not only interviewed the ninetieth some year-old Downs about Pleasant’s first unpublished memoir, but she also recorded sixteen interviews with a 95 year-old woman named Liga Foley. Foley claimed to be Marie LaVeaux’s “lost” granddaughter – some one mentioned in stories about LaVeaux--and, most importantly, Foley said that she had seen Pleasant in New Orleans studying with LaVeaux in the 1850’s. Liga further claimed that she herself had fled New Orleans to San Francisco because she did not want to succeed her grandmother (LaVeaux) in the religion and that she had met Pleasant in San Francisco during the 1860’s, while she (Foley) was in hiding. Foley was hiding from anyone who knew LaVeaux, and so she spoke only French while there and identified herself as an Indian named Anaria. This meant that she could not have known Pleasant’s other associates, such as Downs. Yet Foley told Holdredge,

“I know what Mrs. Pleasants look like. I saw her . . . (course, she was named Pleasance then, her man being related to Marie’s man, Christophe Glapion, and the both of them attached to Emperor Christophe in some way). Marie was teaching Mrs. Pleasance Vodou so she could use it in some way.”

This was the type of eye witness account that I had long sought for documenting Pleasant’s association with LaVeaux–an account from one who did not claim to have gotten her information from Pleasant. Later my research supported key aspects of Foley’s story, making it so credible that in 1997 the New Orleans Historical Museum invited me to report my findings.
One value of Foley’s story is that it confirms Pleasant’s study with LaVeaux, but another is that it reveals a connection between that study and Pleasant’s work in California. LaVeaux’s work followed the mandates of a mambo to serve and protect her community, and Pleasant came to LaVeaux to receive her “heritage of power” – the religion and LaVeaux’s methods of using it to effect social change and to protect her people. LaVeaux’s way of doing this, which author/practitioner Luisah Teish once named “The LaVeaux Model,” enabled Pleasant to become “The Mother of Civil Rights in California.”

Before Marie LaVeaux became its “Queen,” Vodou in New Orleans was fractionalized and was oppressed as a religion. Mam’zelle LaVeaux is credited with unifying Vodou in New Orleans under her leadership and with helping it to become a powerful social force against Americans who oppressed the indigenous Creoles and her faith at the time after the Louisiana Purchase. The Americans were taking over in New Orleans, taking the lands of the Creoles, LaVeaux’s people, and persecuting Vodouissants. Pleasant gained access to techniques from LaVeaux as a means to protecting black people in California.

Marie LaVeaux was born in New Orleans, according to scholar Ina Fandrich, in 1801, and she died there in 1881. She descended from the French speaking, prosperous gens de couleur—the Free People of Color of New Orleans. These people (of mixed black-Creole) heritage, who designed and developed much of what we call the French Quarter of New Orleans, were social activists in whatever religion they followed. LaVeaux’s mother was a black woman of color named Marie D’Arcantel and her father, Carlos Laveau, a mixed-heritage son of Charles Laveau Trudeau, an influential French-Creole New Orleanean. 21
Some say that LaVeaux’s work had impact worldwide; however, she consciously defined her “community” as the Creoles (both black and white) of New Orleans who were being oppressed by the Americans, her various devotees, and Congolese slaves of New Orleans, who were allowed to dance in Congo Square each weekend.

Mam’zelle met requests from Creole landowners to intervene in court cases and in prisons and of the slaves and from devotees to stop police harassment of the slaves from nearby plantations whose only moments of freedom were during their weekend dance ceremonies in Congo Square. Her response was the so-called LaVeaux Model. It involved intervention via the special leveraging techniques that she passed to Pleasant. In this model, LaVeaux most probably used her Trudeau family connections, but definitely gained secrets from her work as a hairdresser and from informant-devotees planted as employees in the homes of wealthy Americans to gain secrets she could use to relieve her people from many types of oppression. With her “secrets” and her skill in ritual, LaVeaux helped win court cases, secured releases from prison, and stopped harassment.

Certainly Mam’zelle brought “cooling” and “peace” to the dancers in Congo Square when she used her techniques and political clout to prevent the police from stopping their dancing. In so doing, certainly she empowered the dancers in Congo Square, giving them a sense of awe, protection, and pride. One devotee of New Orleans Vodou interviewed during the 1930 Federal Writer’s Project, who was familiar with the legend of LaVeaux in Congo Square, confirmed LaVeaux’s success by saying, “When the police come messin’ around she would holler at em’ ‘Shut the goddam door!’ There wasn’t no door
when they was out there in the open, but that meant for them to go away because they wasn’t wanted. And they used to get out.”

Clearly LaVeaux effected the mandate to empower and protect her people through her “Model.” Another part of the “LaVeaux (socio-political-religious) Model” included running a matchmaking house called La Maison Blanche. There she (or her daughter) could gain additional personal secrets to use as leverage for her community. LaVeaux passed the full “Model” and the ways of Vodou ceremony to Pleasant. Table 2 below confirms that Pleasant’s activities in San Francisco reflected those of LaVeaux.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actions of LaVeaux in New Orleans</th>
<th>Actions of Mary Pleasant in San Francisco</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Buying and manumitting slaves</td>
<td>1. Rescuing slaves and getting writs to keep them in CA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Serving the rich with readings and rituals, which assist them personally</td>
<td>2. Serving as an advocate for black citizens with City and State luminaries whom she had aided personally</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Using domestic servants to gain secret</td>
<td>3. Using domestic servants to gain secrets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Leveraging secrets for gains in civil rights</td>
<td>4. Leveraging secrets gains in civil rights</td>
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<tr>
<td>■ Le Placage</td>
<td>■ liaisons/matchmaking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>■ La Maison Blanche</td>
<td>■ Geneva cottage</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Marie LaVeaux was successful as a mambo/social advocate overall. In addition to her public involvement in New Orleans, her obituaries assert that she helped improve the public’s perception of Vodou through so-called “decoy (staged) rituals” in Congo Square.
She also divined and provided formularies for people all over the world. Legend says that clients included the Emperor of China and British royalty. LaVeaux allowed homeless devotees to reside on her simple property, and she served as a nurse during at least two New Orleans’ cholera epidemics. Located below sea level and oppressed by humidity, the City was infested with mosquitoes and was called “a damp grave.” For 21 years until she was too elderly to do so, LaVeaux also ministered to the imprisoned whom she could not otherwise assist. Historian Dr. Fandrich also asserts that LaVeaux bought slaves whom she then manumitted—a practice that could have attracted the Underground Railroad slave rescuer, Mary Pleasant, when she fled to New Orleans to avoid capture in the East for her slave-rescue activities. So profound was her service, that today people journey to the gravesite of Marie LaVeaux in St. Louis Cemetery No. 1 to entreat her protection and assistance as an elevated ancestor. The do so by leaving offerings and by marking her tomb with an “X,” which symbolizes the crossroads of communication (through Esu-Papa Legba, the spirit of communication) between man and spirit.

Innovation is, marked by dexterity and mastery in any arena that benefits the people. Marie LaVeaux’s innovative use of leveraging for favors, of ritual and formulary to secure releases from prison or litigation, and informants in homes to preserve the dancing in Congo Square was derived from this understanding. Acclaimed dance innovator, anthropologist, and educator Katherine Dunham, who became a fully initiated Haitian mambo in 1967, once referred to the importance of the dance in the troubled times of slavery saying, “They [slaves] had sense to know that if they kept their drums and rituals, they would be saving themselves.” She meant, as dance scholar Yvonne Daniel puts it, that “When permitted…, Africans and African Americans danced, sang,
and drummed ancient knowledge to the present…”; that is, they “received nonverbal
guidance within dance/music performance,” embodied that guidance, and used that
process to integrate all of their intuitive and acquired knowledge. Thus preserving the
dance is tantamount to “saving oneself” because dance is a means to and integration of
ones inner knowing (konnessance) and the growth that follows. Every mambo fosters
that “konnessance” of dance within ceremony – knowledge that helps the devotee to
integrate all forms of knowing and that brings the wisdom of Lwa to a Vodou ceremony.
With this understanding, LaVeaux devised unique, innovative plans to protect the dancers
in Congo Square and in so doing “saved” her people.

MOVING FORWARD

Mama Lola, my mentor, has a world presence that is preserving Vodou all over the
world. She was sent to Benin, West Africa in 2000 to represent Vodou in the Diaspora–
the first to be so honored. Her peristyle (Vodou temple/center) in Haiti (Mama Lola
Voodoo Miwa) provides ritual, food, and clothing there; her Brooklyn home serves the
Haitian community there, and (since 2001) her work in the Vodou community in New
Orleans has made her an important leader there. Lola has continued to run charities in
Haiti and to cross the country to Oakland at least once a year. The book about her work
by Dr. Karen McCarthy Brown, entitled Mama Lola, has become a classic in scholarship
on Vodou.

However, most important, is that she lives the Vodou belief in the unity of spirit. When
we met, I had already studied Ifá, another African tradition under expert practitioners–
Iyanifa Fajembola Fatunmise (author Luisah Teish), Nigerian Chief Bolu Fatunmise,
author Awo Fa’Lokun Fatunmbi, Iyanifa Fakayode—for many years, so her obvious command of divination and prescriptives impressed me, and I benefited so greatly each time I worked with her.

At this writing, in addition to lecturing at the University level, I currently serve “my community” as an performer, writer, and filmmaker who discusses the meaning of Vodou in forums and in print and depicts the civic activism of Mary Pleasants and those like her in film. Clearly the multi-talented, innovative mambos celebrated in this article have inspired me, and I will certainly continue to integrate the Diaspora faiths I have studied into my life. The mambos I described brought cooling (innovation) to their chosen fields, and I look forward to “standing on shoulders” and to developing my vision of Vodou as a Heritage of Power.
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1. Title of the submission.—

Mary Ellen Pleasant -- A Friend of John Brown

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Short Abstract

Mary Ellen Pleasant -- A Friend of John Brown
by
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Abstract
The life of Mary Ellen Pleasant, known as the Mother of Civil Rights in California, holds national and international significance. However, her life has been surrounded by myth and distortions, not the least of which involve her early life and her interaction with abolitionist John Brown. Before her death in 1904, Pleasant revealed a secret to her final biographer, Sam P. Davis – that, many years prior, she had assisted the abolitionist John Brown financially and personally before his raid on the Federal Arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. Knowing that, without advanced preparation, slaves would not automatically join Brown in his plan to set up a free zone and a vanguard army in the Virginia hills, Pleasant claimed to have given $30,000 of her own money to Brown in support of his planned raid on the arsenal at Harpers Ferry, VA, to have purchased land in Chatham, Canada West (Ontario) for a slave refuge in support of Brown’s plan, and to have ridden on horseback onto key plantations in southern Virginia shortly before Brown’s raid to boast support among slaves in that area for his plan. However, many historians doubt the veracity of these claims and consider them simply part the mystery surrounding Pleasant’s colorful life. Therefore, using commentary, film, and Power Point, this article first 1) examines the myth and truth of Pleasant’s life, demystifying several of the mysteries that surround it and revealing the methods used, and then 2) presents research on Pleasant’s interaction with Brown. (248 words)
**Mary Ellen Pleasant -- A Friend of John Brown**

by

Susheel Bibbs, Ph.D.

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**PROLOGUE**

The life of Mary Ellen Pleasant (1817-1904), now known as the *Mother of Civil Rights in California*, holds national and international significance. However, her life has been enshrouded by myth and distortions, not the least of which involve her early life and her interaction with abolitionist John Brown. A few years before her death in 1904, Mary Ellen Pleasant revealed a secret to her final biographer, Nevada Controller and editor Sam P. Davis – that she had assisted the abolitionist John Brown in advance of his raid on the Federal Arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. Specifically, Pleasant claimed 1) to have given $30,000 or her own money to Brown in support of his planned raid on the arsenal at Harpers Ferry, VA, 2) to have purchased land in Chatham Canada West (Ontario) for a slave refuge in support of Brown’s plan, and 3) to have ridden on horseback onto key Roanoke-area plantations shortly before Brown’s raid to boast support among slaves in that area for his plan.

Pleasant provided Davis with names, places, and a letter with directions to enable him to confirm her story. This he did, and he published his findings in an article entitled *How A Colored Woman Aided John Brown* in Maine’s *Comfort Magazine* in 1903. The article was quoted and reprinted as late as 1940, and although Davis’s account was compelling, some historians still dismissed him and his article, and many who never saw it continued to consider the story one of the many mysteries of Pleasant’s colorful life. (Davis 1903. Conrad 1940. Warr 1975:4. Moss 2007.). This

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article re-examines Davis’s findings and key parts of Pleasant’s claims regarding John Brown.

Indeed, mystery has long obscured Pleasant’s life and accomplishments, and one part of this “clouding” is the result of scurrilous press by her detractors, such as Teresa Bell (a former protege), James E. Brown, Jr. (a former lover), and Senator William Sharon (an enemy); another part of the distortion was Pleasant’s own “spin doctoring” in her interviews and memoirs to counter their accounts; still another part has been the selective quoting and reportage of these accounts given by 20th and 21st-Century social historians and authors, such as Caldwell Dobie, Herbert Asbury, and Helen Holdredge. Therefore, before examining the story of Mary Pleasant and John Brown, this paper will briefly examine the myth and truth of Pleasant’s life and contributions. In so doing, it will demonstrate the way in which her life and contributions can be documented and reveal new research. Next it will dispel some of the myths surrounding both Mary Pleasant and John Brown, the man whom Pleasant said cast “the first blow at the root of the tree of slavery.”

BACKGROUND

Seeking Mary Pleasant

Before the story of Pleasant and John Brown can be told, Pleasant’s life and contributions should be documented. One way in which Pleasant engaged in “spin doctoring” to counter her critics was in writing three memoirs – circa 1883, 1887, and 1901. Only a small portion of the final one, which was highly fabricated, was ever published. Pleasant’s scribe for the first of these was Charlotte Dennis Downs, the daughter of one of her closest cohorts George Dennis. Charlotte, along with two other young people – John Allen Francis, Jr. and William Willmore, Jr., were in and out of Pleasant’s house throughout much of her life. Charlotte said of Pleasant’s first
memoir, “The writing of her autobiography was the way she kept track of so much. I
wrote it for her.(HH24. Downs)”

In all, Pleasant dictated three full, but contradictory memoirs, and she also issued
letters about them. Thus, given the level of distortion by and about her in the public
record, any reliable version of “who Pleasant was” cannot rely solely on published
sources, but must correlate Pleasant’s unpublished letters and memoirs, archival and
historical records, and the testimony her closest associates.2

Pleasant’s Story

After having done this correlation over the last 20 years, my best correlation
indicates that Pleasant was most probably born a slave of mixed race near Augusta,
Bancroft manuscript ca. 1887). Pleasant’s father seems to have been John
Hampden Pleasants, a Virginia governor’s son, and her mother, a slave named Mary
from Santo Domingo (now called Haiti). According to Charlotte Downs, the mother
was moved from Virginia to Georgia, where her daughter (also named Mary) was
born. “Little” Mary was freed from slavery in her youth, but was quickly indentured
by her caretaker with a Quakeress in Nantucket for nine years, where she grew to

As a young adult, Pleasant moved to Boston and married a wealthy contractor
named James W. Smith. Smith was a mulatto, passing as Cuban, and an operative on
the Underground-Railroad. When Smith died a few years later, Pleasant (who

2 * Unfortunately, not all of these writings are publically held or willingly shown by their owners, but I have
been given permission to present portions of them in my work. The Downs memoir now seems to be lost,
and only privately held interviews on its content survive. Although their owners do not now readily show
them, I viewed them years ago, in some cases copied them, and in all cases have gotten the owners’
permission to use them in my work. The inability to copy them for others hinders future research. However,
fortunately, key testimony by those who knew Pleasant well is publically preserved in witnessed, transcribed
interviews by author Helen Holdredge in the San Francisco History Room and by historian Sue B. Thurman
in her book. These were recorded from the 1930’s through the 1950’s, and I present some of them here.
inherited his estate) also became an operative -- a slave rescuer-- in the Boston-
Nantucket-New Bedford branch of the Railroad movement (Pleasant letter fragment,

However, the pressure of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 on slave rescuers drove
Pleasant into hiding in New Orleans, where she studied social leveraging tactics with
the renowned voudou queen Marie Laveau (Bibbs 1998. Downs, 1930. Pleasant
Letter fragment, undated.). John A. Francis, Jr. reported the following account of
Pleasant’s departure, which he received both from Pleasant and his father, one of
Pleasant’s associates and occasional employees,

She got into trouble over her abolition activities. She fled to New Orleans, and
Mme. Laveaux got her passage...She came aboard a sailing vessel from New Orleans,
and my father John Allen Francis, Sr. was aboard. They got here in April 1852

Indeed, ships passage records corroborate Francis Jr.’s account, and Pleasant’s third
memoir, written in 1901 well after her association with Francis had ended,
embellished a similar story: Pleasant says that she married John James Pleasants, a
friend and plantation foreman of her first husband circa 1848, journeyed around Cape
Horn circa 1851, got stranded in Chile, switched boats, and finally arrived in San
Francisco in April of 1852 to meet her husband, who had preceded her there (HH24:
J. Francis, Jr. 1938:50. Davis manuscript 1901. San Francisco Ships Passage Records
1852).

Within five years after arrival in San Francisco, Mary Smith Pleasants had become
a successful entrepreneur and civil-rights activist (HH26: Willmore, Jr. 1938). She
covertly rescued slaves who sought refuge in California, while successfully using the
leveraging tactics she had learned from Marie LaVeaux to pressure San Francisco
“luminaries” into assisting her people (Thurman 1949). Pleasant came to define “her
people” as African Americans and ex-slaves in California. So, she harbored secrets about the City’s wealthiest young men and “suggested” that they assist her in helping that community. (Foley 1930. Teish 1985). That help was needed. Said Francis Jr., “People in the West couldn’t get used to Negroes – there were so few here – less than sixty in 1852. Mammy [sic] brought a lot of them out over the Underground Railroad….”³

Some modern commentators have labeled the tactics that Pleasant used as “blackmail,” but in the tradition of Marie LaVeaux, Pleasant held the respect and trust of these men as one who had cooked and cared for them in their early boarding house days in San Francisco. So, at least part of their “solicited” compliance was gratitude. Said John Allen Francis, Jr. of her kindness to them and their fondness for her in the early 1850’s, “They were only too happy to give her anything she demanded. No one else in San Francisco had a cook like her.”⁴ She always had hot drinks waiting for them when they came in from fighting fires (HH25: Francis, Jr. 1952: 2/18/15).

Legend says that Pleasant functioned under a dual identity in those early days. This is true and can easily be explained. In 1852, around the time of her arrival in San Francisco, a strong version of the Fugitive Slave Law had come to California, and slave catchers were wresting people of color off of the streets and into slavery. No person of color without manumission papers was safe from extradition or false enslavement. Pleasant was a free woman in a rough and tumble town with no

³ This version of Pleasant’s story to this point is akin to the version found in the Helen Holdredge’s work on Pleasant, minus some distortions. To her credit Holdredge, the only other person to have seen all of the documents mentioned, recounted some parts of the story correctly; however, even amidst this account, she mixed excellent, credible research with broad hearsay accounts, thereby distorting her full accounting of Pleasant’s life and the historical perception of Pleasant.

⁴ Some scholars have forgotten that Pleasant arrived in San Francisco a wealthy woman. Thus, they have simply reported that Pleasant worked as a cook in San Francisco on arrival. In fact, she did not work there for six months after arrival. However, when she did work, she served wealthy boarding houses so as to learn the secrets and investments strategies of the young merchants there. Her duties were those of a steward to the young men, and they included cooking, helping them feel at home, and supervising other workers, but-- she demanded -- no dish washing.
“freedom papers,” so she fought covertly for the rights of her people. According to those who knew her, she functioned among white San Franciscans under her first husband’s surname as Mrs. Ellen “Smith (“white” boarding house stewardess and cook) and in the “colored” community as Mrs. Pleasants, “colored” activist-entrepreneur and wife of John James Pleasants, a steward on coastal steamers (Willmore, Feb., 1938. Downs 1930). Willmore, Jr.) William Willmore, Jr., the son of Pleasant’s most long-term employee corroborates,

“All the people knew she’d worked with slave running in Massachusetts were prospering, and they had no idea she was colored. But the Negroes knew. Secretly they called her Madame Pleasants, but they were always very careful to address her by her first husband’s name [Smith] (HH26: Willmore Jr. Mar. 1938:6/13-15/21).

Pleasant’s 1950’s biographer Helen Holdredge found that, during this time, Mrs. Pleasants was considered “white” and listed as Mrs. Ellen Smith at 638 Folsom – the home of Sen. Milton Latham for whom Pleasant worked as a steward and later, a freelance planner-caterer for many years (HH26. author’s note. Feb. 1939, p. 10/10/21. HH Estate: Foley interview. 1930). John Francis, Jr. explained,

She didn’t use the name of Pleasants in those days…. She was married to Pleasants but that is something she didn’t reveal. She had no paper to prove she had been freed so she decided to be cautious and not reveal her name... (HH24: Francis, Jr. 1950.50. HH25: Francis, Jr. 1952: 2/18/15).

**What did Pleasant do?**

Keeping slaves who might work the gold mines to unfair advantage, out of California had been the California’s goal in becoming an “anti-slavery state.” Thus, even though it was officially a “free” (anti-slavery) state, many California judges sympathized with the South and so allowed a master covertly to import slaves. They simply looked the other way as slaveholders entered the State and attempted to put their slaves to work. After all, the term “anti-slavery State” merely meant that many whites in those states wanted land free of blacks and slavery, not that they opposed
the institution itself. These states, therefore, enacted laws to discourage slave holders from bringing in or hiring out their slaves. One such law set a slave free who was found to have worked for wages (HH26. Willmore, Jr. Mar. 1938). However, this statute was often ignored. States also enacted restrictions (so called "black laws") to discourage slavers and people of color from settling in their state. Under these black laws, free blacks often paid some miscellaneous taxes and could not serve in the militia or testify in court. Black people (slave or free) thus remained unprotected from all-too-prevalent theft, claim jumping, and assault -- They were disenfranchised.

Before Pleasant’s arrival in San Francisco Miflin Gibbs, a free black who was later to become the first black US ambassador to Madagascar, had gathered abolitionist cohorts from New Bedford and other places, both white and black, to form an activist group called the Franchise League. Its primary purpose was to use the law to oppose the black laws and this disenfranchisement in California. To this end, they circulated petitions for the right to testify in court (right of testimony), and they sponsored several "Colored Conventions" (1855, 56, 57, and 65) -- meetings to determine the needs and best direction for their community. They also forged The Mirror of the Times, the first "colored" newspaper in California as a voice for their people and secured lawyers and writs for slaves who were to be taken from California back into slavery. Although historians have been unable to connect Pleasant to the “Colored” Conventions” because their rolls did not record the names of women, William Willmore, Jr. could connect Pleasant to these events via his father’s accounts --

*There was the law against Negro testimony and so Mammy [sic] Pleasant] saw that there had to be an organization with everyone a member to which Abolitionists would contribute money if legal fees had to be paid. So Mammy, [David] Ruggles, and Allen Francis, Sr. got together and saw to it that every Negro belonged. I think it was called a “convention,” and there were meetings... usually scheduled at a time when Mammy could attend.”*(HH26: Mar. 1939. pp. 6/13/21-6/15/21)
Willmore admitted that he and other close associates only referred to Pleasant as “Mammy,” a nickname she detested, after her death. Despite this usage, their accounts are important.

So, in the 1850’s Mary Pleasants covertly supported and worked with the Franchise League, and the repeal of the black laws, the support of ex-slaves in California, and the opening of jobs became her field. Said historian Sue B. Thurman (the first to call Pleasant "Mother of Civil Rights in California") conducted interviews in the 1930’s, 40’s, and 50’s with elders who remembered Pleasant or held family remembrances, "Negroes” who remember her... will tell you about how many times she went out into the rural part of the country to rescue slaves who were being held illegally by masters recently come to California... will mention the vigorous role she played during the Negro’s fight for the Right of Testimony...[and] say they saw little of her until some oppressed member of her group got into difficulties. Then she would put all her privilege and prestige at his disposal  (Thurman 1949).

In the 1850’s Mrs. Ellen Smith Pleasants (who eventually dropped the “s” from her surname) also personally helped many blacks establish their own businesses, employed others in her many enterprises, and smuggled escaped slaves into the State. Pleasant invested in everything. She valued land and held enormous amounts of it (Delaca: Pleasant Insolvency Papers.). However, in her first 10 years in San Francisco, she primarily held lateral (support) enterprises for her boarding house businesses -- tenant farms, dairy farms, a saloon, a livery stable, laundries. In fact, she once listed herself as “Mary Pleasant, capitalist” (Downs 1935, Willmore, Jr. 1938, SF City Directory 1865).

During the 1850’s, Pleasant also owned bordellos, but she was never a madam as some have alleged. Rather, her bordello businesses were run by a famous “madam” named Victoria Perritt, and Pleasant used them as part of her civil-rights plan -- to compromise rich men to gain favors for her people (HH24: Willmore, Jr. 1934).
These businesses were not as successful as many of her others, and later she tried an exclusive, $500-a-plate rendezvous haunt called Geneva Cottage to do the same. Continuing the LaVeau model, she also removed girls from the City’s seedy Dupont St. bordellos, educated them, and made Placage-like (contract) matches for them with wealthy young men, hoping to gain support for her causes from within their families.

As a result of her personal influence and leveraging, Pleasant opened many opportunities for her people. Sought as a caterer and party planner for the rich, she opened the first catering jobs for “negroes” in homes by including them as her assistants. She began this practice at the influential house parties of Senator Milton Latham (who was not sympathetic to her causes). Regarding this minor “coup,” Latham’s housekeeper, Liga Foley, told author Helen Holdrege,

Mrs. Pleasant worked plenty to get Negroes in on these, and they floated to the surface – being satisfactory. I mean Latham didn't like it much, but he needed her knowledge about such affairs…. (Foley 1930)

For many years, Mary pressured other wealthy “friends” similarly, securing jobs for blacks in hotels, on Minturn coastal steamers, and on the railroad. According to historian B. Gordon Wheeler, Pleasant’s responses to the appeals of her people and the amazing changes in opportunity that resulted soon earned her the nickname "The Black City Hall.” Said Willmore, Jr. of this,

Right from the beginning when she was working for some men who owned a commission house [Case-Heiser] ...she got some men she’d worked along with in the Underground back in New Bedford. She’d send messages around to their offices and the action would be very fast. (HH26: Willmore, Jr. Mar. 1938).

Colored citizens did not know how, but when Pleasant acted in their behalf, things happened! (Wheeler 2001) In effect, Mary Ellen Pleasant became a one-woman community-development system.
By 1858, after the European immigrations had taken some of the opportunities Pleasant and others had opened in San Francisco and a great depression had created a new climate of oppression against San Francisco’s “colored” population, Pleasant’s work took on a national face. In an undated letter fragment, known only as the “Letter dictated to Mrs. S,” Pleasant explains that she felt impelled to help abolitionist John Brown, although she found his plan to end slavery somewhat risky. She says that she had met Brown previously in Ohio, but had determined to support him only after a letter from Mrs. Dunn, her former sister-in-law, informed her that Mr. Dunn had been forced into slavery under the Fugitive Slave Act (Willmore Jr. 1938. p. 10/3/21).

At that time, since businesses and the entire population of San Francisco were declining, public sentiment risen the “colored” community and amongst them unrest had surfaced over unfairness in the courts and in the California legislature. The outcome would later be the disheartening exodus of Miflin Gibbs and others in the San Francisco’s civil-rights movement, including Archy Lee. Most migrated to the new gold-discovery in Fraser Valley (Victoria, Canada). In this oppressive climate Mary and her husband John James also went to Canada, not to stay, however, but to free Mr. Dunn and to help John Brown end slavery by any means necessary! They left on April 5, 1858 (Delaca: Letter to Mrs. S. Pleasant unpublished memoir 1901.)

At least one scholar has expressed doubt that Pleasant left California on that date because of a report that Archy Lee stayed at Pleasant’s home a week or so later
Lee was the slave of a Mississippi school master named Stovall, who had allowed Lee earn wages in California. Lee was put through three trials after (with black community support) he declared himself free by law. In one memoir Pleasant said that she assisted in hiding Lee between trials in the home of one of her employers, Selim Woodworth (Bancroft manuscript 1887). In 1858 after two of the trials had failed to settle the matter, Lee was tried for being a Fugitive slave and was finally set free on April 14, 1858.

The clarification needed regarding Pleasant having housed Lee after his release was that he stayed at Pleasant’s boarding house – a public lodging, not in her home, after his final verdict (Doyle 1998. Lapp 1987:11-13. Lapp: 152. Broussard 2000). Thus, Lee’s stay would not have required her presence. However, her ex-sister-in-law’s husband and John Brown’s plans clearly did, and they impelled Pleasant to New York and on to Canada on April 5, 1858 (Pleasant memoir 1901. Katz 1973: 92-170).

The Chatham Donation

Pleasant reports, not one, but two trips to Canada, and these seem confirmed by corroborating testimony and letters. Pleasant’s first claim is that she met Brown in Canada and gave him $30,000 to $40,000 of her own money, which she had wired to Nantucket in advance of her trip:

*I was informed that there was a man, John Brown, who had a plan to free all the slaves with help…I met John Brown. I found him stopping with one son at a boarding house on King St. kept by a man named Barbour…I went to Nantucket for the money, it being on deposit there… after which I met him in Philadelphia* (memoir 1901. Letter dictated to Mrs. S.)

Did Pleasant really give $30,000 to Brown? Other letters show that, she did not go to Nantucket that a personal gift is unlikely. Did Pleasant intend to donate her own money to Brown? -- very likely. According to a letter from the recipient of her draft in Nantucket, Pleasant did send at least that much and did request it in the Fall of
1858. This can be inferred through the recipient’s response to her request. The man was William C. Gardner, the elder son of Pleasant’s early Nantucket guardian Capt. Edward Gardner. Before traveling back to San Francisco in December of ‘58, Pleasant requested her funds of Gardner. However, in reply, Gardner made clear, with profuse apology and shame, that he had “lost” her funds (Gardner Dec.7, 1858).

Said Gardner,

_When I received your money from Mr. Kelly [Pleasant’s San Francisco agent] I was worth at least $30,000 and no more thought of there being danger at not having it whenever you might want it than I thought of some other improbable thing._

This loss must have hurt Pleasant deeply, for as late as 1901 she claimed to have donated that amount to Brown for his cause.

Compelling testimony does, however, exist for Pleasant having a considerable amount to Brown and that it was given in 1858. In 1903 Sam Davis published this compelling account in Comfort Magazine,

_John Brown still had some children living in California.... I hunted up Jason Brown.... When I stated my mission, he received me very cordially, “Yes,” he said in response to my questions, “It is true my father went to Chatham in ’58 and met a colored woman who advanced him considerable money. I don’t know her name. I found Susan Brown, a daughter of John Brown living near Los Gatos.... She said that her father had met a colored woman in Chatham, Canada, and received considerable money from her to further the cause of emancipation, but he never disclosed her name..._ (Davis 1903).

In the 1930’s William, Jr., Charlotte Downs, and J. Allen Francis, Jr. each corroborated that report, assuring Helen, that before leaving for Canada in the Spring of 1858, Pleasant collected money from San Franciscans to give to Brown and that she wired it east before her trip (Beasley 1919). Holdredge interviews Ledgers 24-26). Said Willmore, “She turned the money she had collected from Negroes into a draft before she set forth for Canada.” (HH24: Willmore, Jr., Mar. 1938). Thus, Pleasant most probably donated some of those funds to Brown and used the rest to support his cause in another way.
Chatham Land

In the Fall of 1858, Pleasant said that she purchased land on which Mr. Dunn could act as caretaker and some participants of Brown’s Virginia insurrection could take refuge (Pleasant letter Mar. 1901). William Willmore was able to support Pleasant’s second claim concerning John Brown, “She kept back half of the money and gave it to her husband to purchase several lots at Chatham, Canada in order to set up a hostel to receive escaped slaves.(Willmore, Jr. 1938. p. 10/2/21). Most importantly, the deed to the property that she, through her husband, is still available. The Pleasants bought four lots with houses in Harwich (now in Chatham, Ontario) on Sept. 7, 1858. In her letter dated March 12, 1901, Pleasant guided Sam Davis to that land, and that same letter was used in 1993 by this author to locate is deed (Deed: Kent Land Registry via fax 1993).

In addition, the deed plus a document in the Ripley Abolitionist Papers in Canada support Pleasant’s purpose for buying the properties (Ripley Document 73 1986). The Riply document shows that the Pleasants participated on the Chatham Vigilance Committee, a group best known for an effort to stop a young slave named Sylvester Demerest from being transported from Canada by train into slavery. Most importantly, the witnesses who signed the Pleasant’s Deed (Chairman William Day and Thomas Carey) were key members both that Committee and of John Brown’s Chatham Convention – the gathering place for supporters of Brown’s famous plan (Ripley Document 73. Chatham Conference listing). Those signatures on her deed show that Pleasant, while in Chatham was part of the small inner circle of Brown cohorts, and they concretely support Pleasant’s claim that her purchase was related to John Brown’s plan (Chatham Deed: Kent Land Registry 1858).
John Brown’s Plan

Brown’s “plan” has been much mis-understood and is often thought to have been impetuous or ill conceived. Said Brown scholar Jean Libby, “He’s called ole John Brown, crazy John Brown.” Certainly Frederick Douglass would not lend his support to the plan because he considered the chances of its plan’s success limited. However, according to Brown scholars Jean Libby, Louis DeCaro, and Hannah Geffert, Brown planned his raid on the Federal Arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virgina, and its greater purpose carefully. Said Decaro, “He was certainly not crazy” (Decaro interview 2003. Libby interview 2004. Geffert 2002:594).

Having studied insurrections all over the world, Brown sought to raise a vanguard army (militia) of freed men and slaves in the foothills of the Appalachians (Jefferson County, VA). According to historian Hannah Geffert, he had studied various areas in the country in preparation for his planned insurrection and had chosen the Harper’s Ferry cite because of it permitted the best access to an escape route to the North. In 1894, Brown’s friend, writer James Hamilton, put it this way,

He had for many years been studying the guerilla system of warfare adopted in the mountainous portions of Spain and the Caucasus, and in a ruder manner, by the Maroons of Jamaica[sic]... He thought he could with a small body of picked men inaugurate and maintain a negro insurrection in the mountains of Virginia – more successful than the Roman Spartacus, and cause so much annoyance to the United States government, and dread in the minds of slaveholders that they would ultimately be glad to “let the oppressed go free.” (Hamilton 1894: 11).

According to Brown scholar Jean Libby, few understand why Brown determined to capture the ninety-to-one-hundred thousand rifles at the Federal Arsenal, but it was because those repeating rifles would magnify the force of any small vanguard army (Libby interview 2004. Libby et al. 1999). Further, according to Geffert, Brown had other objectives -- He knew that slaves in rebellion would lose much of their value and thus that a slave insurrection would deal Virginia an economic blow. He also

Pleasant says that Brown planned to ferret some of his insurrection participants back to Canada West where she and others had purchased that land. Historian Geffert, Brown corroborates that Brown did plan to ferret many slaves from the insurrection in Virginia along Harriet Tubman’s Appalachian escape route called The Great Black Way to Canada West, thereby damaging slavery by creating a “bleeding” of slaves from Jefferson County (Geffert 2002: 594).

The Virginia Ride

Pleasant’s final claim with regard to John Brown was that, after returning home in December of 1858 to secure her business interests in California and to get more funds, she returned East in the Fall of 1859 to ride in advance of Brown’s October 17 raid to alert plantation slaves in the Roanoke area of southern Virginia of Brown’s coming. Large groups of slaves were concentrated in that area, and so Pleasant felt that their participation would be key to Brown’s success (Letter dictated to Mrs. S. Davis article 1903). She says that, aided by a white abolition cohort who pretended to be her owner, she rode onto plantations disguised as a jockey (as she had in her early slave-rescue days) to encourage the cautious slaves to support John’s plan. Without her preparation and alert, she feared that they would not risk participating in such an insurrection (Pleasant unpublished memoir, 1902. Letter dictated to Mrs. S). Of course, John acted sooner than expected, and even though at least 300 slaves and freed men in the Harpers Ferry area still participated in the plan, Pleasant expressed frustration that her efforts her were in vain (Letter dictated to Mrs. S. Geffert. 2002:602).
To help Sam Davis investigate this part of her account, Pleasant gave him the names of plantations at which she stopped and of their owners. Davis reported these in his Comfort Magazine article in 1903, and later research has confirmed the existence of these sites and the owners that she named (Bracey 1977: 271. Smith emails 1998). Further, according to Lloyd Smith, the grandson of Mark Alexander, one of those plantation owners named by Pleasant, the area that she targeted in Mecklenberg County was then the racing capital of Virginia. Pleasant should have known this through life in Charles Town, Virginia where her first husband owned a “freedman’s” plantation. Smith speculates that Pleasant and her first husband may even have traveled South to horse-racing activities in Mecklenberg (Smith email 2/04). Given this, the story of her using a “jockey” disguise to enter these plantations becomes credible. The person Mary trusted most was Mary, and it appears that this successful entrepreneur bravely once again entered the grassroots of abolition personally (letter dictated to Mrs. S—undated. Pleasant letter 3/1902).

Historian Rick Moss, Director of the African American Museum and Library at Oakland, CA, put magnitude of Pleasant’s action in perspective when he said, “I see no reason for her to have done that. Given the comforts of mulatto society in her day… she could have been content to donate funds or even to give flowery speeches, but she wasn’t.”

Of course, Brown’s plan was thwarted and his supporters (black and white) killed or scattered. Brown was hung, and Mary Pleasant, whose note promising more funds was found on Brown’s person, was forced to flee for her life! Still, in her letter fragment, Pleasant lauded Brown’s efforts as she wrote that (to her mind) he, not Lincoln, might be considered the “Father of our Land” because “his was the first blow
at the root of the tree of slavery,” (Letter dictated to Mrs. S). In another letter to Sam Davis she explained in seriousness, but with humor,

*John was a good man, but John said too much, and John wrote too much, and there is nothin' that men live to regret more as what they write and set their names to... but I never regretted what I did for John Brown or for the cause of liberty for my race* (Pleasant letter Mar. 1902)

Pleasant’s appreciation of her experience with John Brown is also reflected in the inscription that she requested on her tombstone – It was to read, “A Friend of John Brown,” and those words, now on a tablet there, speak to the special place he held in her life – a place, more likely than not, history can now support (Conrad.1940. Thurman 1996. *SF Call* 1904).

**EPILOGUE:**

**The Legacy**

When John Brown’s plan failed, Pleasant was deeply disappointed, but this experience seemed to have fueled her efforts. After her return to California in December of 1859, Pleasant became openly more active with the Franchise League, and during the Civil War, participated in expelling secessionists from California (Downs Wheeler 2003. Pleasant letter dictated to Mrs. S.). After the Emancipation Proclamation, Pleasant declared her race openly and stepped forward overtly with League members to wage her boldest battles -- testing The California Civil Rights Laws of 1863, which granted people of color the right testify in court (SF City Directory 1865). Pleasant (with the Franchise League) waged and orchestrated test cases on the right of blacks to ride public conveyances in concert with groups all across the land (Oppenheimer interview 2003). One of Pleasant’s cases (Pleasants vs. Omnibus 1866) was settled out of court, but one (Pleasants vs. North Beach and Mission Railroad 1866) was appealed to the California State Supreme Court. In going
to the high court, this case became useful to posterity, and almost 100 years later, civil-rights attorney David Oppenheimer cited Pleasants being denied damages for pain and suffering to influence the justices of that same court to give a favorable verdict in a new case -- Commodore-Holmes, 1982. Oppenheimer won those “punitive” damages for his defendants–enabling this case to establish new California law on punitive damages. Thus in 1982, Mary Pleasant’s case helped change civil-rights law. It is her Pleasant's most enduring legacy (Oppenheimer interview 2003).

**Remembrances and Memorials**

In the 70’s Pleasant and her partner, Thomas Bell, went on to amass a $30,000,000 fortune, which they shared generously with the less fortunate. The local newspapers, such as the *Pacific Appeal* and the *San Francisco Examiner*, are filled with stories of Pleasant's philanthropy, and in 1949, Sue Thurman, recorded many remembrances of Pleasant and her efforts for human rights,

> These things they [citizens] can remember perhaps – because the people who fight for freedom, for human rights, are always held in long and loving memory (Thurman 1949).

Pleasant’s husband passed on in 1877 and following her partner’s death in 1892, Pleasant began to suffer from heart disease. Just before her death in January 1904, a former teacher from Napa, CA, Olive Sherwood, came to Pleasant’s aid. Sherwood, who lived in the Bay Area with her husband, a patent attorney, habitually cared for the ill and shut in of San Francisco. When Pleasant declared insolvency to shelter what remained of her estate and became confined to her Webster Street apartment, Sherwood visited periodically and ultimately took her in. Pleasant promised to will the Sherwoods some of her estate in return for care and a Christian burial. The Sherwoods rendered those services. They owned a family plot Tulocay Cemetery in Napa, and so at the time of Pleasant's death, Sherwood sang the two hymns that Pleasant had requested and then had her buried in the family plot at Tulocay. The
uplifting sculpture on the grave site there is by Robert Allen Williams, an African-American, San Francisco-based sculptor, and its marble tablet holds the inscription "She Was a Friend of John Brown."

This tablet was placed at the gravesite circa 1965 by a committee of historians from the San Francisco African American Historical and Cultural Society, spearheaded by Sue Bailey Thurman (Thurman 1996). Thurman was acting based on her own research indicating that Pleasant wished to have this inscription (SF Call 1904, Beasley 1919). Even though she had held her association with Brown in secret for so many years, it was the part of her life of which she was most proud (Thurman 1996. Pleasant letter fragment undated). Visitors will notice a small plaque imposed on the main tablet, which has cracked the original. It reads “Mammy Pleasant.” This was placed there by E Clampus Vitus, a lampoon society, and is considered a blight on the gravesite. Efforts are in progress to remove or alter it. It is certainly not the way in which Pleasant deserves to be remembered.
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**Brief Bio: Susheel Bibbs, Ph.D.**

Filmmaker, scholar, performer Bibbs currently teaches at U.C. Berkeley and holds a Ph.D in the Mass Communication of African-American/Diaspora History. Since 1991 Bibbs has researched Mary Pleasant on whom San Francisco Supervisors have dubbed Bibbs “world’s foremost authority.” She has authored books, a DVD archive, articles, and three documentaries on Pleasant and has created chautauquas--now programs of the NPS Network to Freedom. In media, Bibbs has received a national Emmy in TV production, and her film documentaries have garnered international festival awards -- among them Best Director of a Documentary and the Hawaii International Film Festival’s Kahuna Award for Distinguished Filmmaking. One film was broadcast on 43% of all PBS stations, in Canada, and at The Cannes Film Festival. Bibbs’ web site is [www.mepleasant.com](http://www.mepleasant.com). (125 words)
Title: Gender mainstreaming and corporate social responsibility: Reporting on gender equality in selected Malaysian companies

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Abstract

Gender mainstreaming and corporate social responsibility: Reporting on gender equality in selected Malaysian companies

By

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Women’s participation in the labour force comprised 47.3% in year 2004 (9th Malaysia Plan). For the first time, Malaysia’s development plan, the Ninth Malaysia Plan (2006-2010) set a target of achieving 30 percent of women in decision-making positions in the government. With the expanding role of the private sector in national development, increased employment opportunities for women and growing recognition of gender rights, this paper would like to examine how gender equality is reported through corporate social reporting by best practice companies.

Gender equality is about human rights which should not depend on whether one is born female or male. As defined by the Council of Europe (1998, p. 7-8), “is not synonymous with sameness, with establishing men, their lifestyle and conditions as the norm… (It) means accepting and valuing equally the differences between women and men and the diverse roles they play in society”. An approach to achieving gender equality is gender mainstreaming which is a systematic examination of gendered implications of all policies and practices in order to assess the differential impact on women and men. It is applied by United Nations organizations as well as the European Union. It is apparently an official policy in more than a hundred countries (True and Mintrom, 2001). So far, gender mainstreaming seems to be a clearer agenda for government and civil societies than it is for the corporate sector. Gender mainstreaming goes beyond female-male quotas. More importantly, there is a need to change deep-rooted gendered policies and practices. Gender mainstreaming involves changes in order to mainstream policies, programmes and resource allocation to benefit women, men and most importantly, the whole organization.

Several authors (Dickens, 1999, Rees, 2004, Grosser and Moon, 2005) concluded that one of the ways to advance gender equality in the corporate sector is through the combination of legal compliance, social regulations such as through pressure from non-government organizations and the business case wherein investors, employees and customers are concerned with a firm’s corporate reputation based on the social values of justice and fairness. Well-know organizations that have spear-headed gender mainstreaming include the UK Opportunity Now (2004) and in USA, Catalyst(2004) and Calvert(2004). They have incorporated programmes to enhance gender equality in all areas of management policies, practices and evaluation.

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Several studies recorded an increase in corporate social reporting but low coverage on gender. More recently, Grosser & Moon's (2008) study of twenty publicly listed UK companies, found improved reporting on gender. However, the study also showed that most reports were still limited as there was little reference to impact of policies and activities on gender.

This paper will discuss the corporate reporting of gender equality at workplace based on a content analysis of seven Malaysian companies that had won the ACCA best corporate social responsibility award. The framework used to evaluate gender reporting was based on the Calvert Women principles and social responsible investment guidelines. The categories on reporting that we look for include employment and compensation, work-life balance, health and safety, management and governance, business supply chain and marketing practices, civic and community engagement. In general, the study showed that the companies were more concerned about environmental than gender issues. Reports on gender mostly pertained to employment and recruitment. There was a general lack of disclosure, not only regarding gender, about employment compensation, work-life balance, management and governance and business supply chains. Reports of multinational organizations provided more gendered information that the local companies. The paper will discuss the reasons for the low disclosure on gender information and provide recommendations for increasing voluntary reporting on gender equality in Malaysia.
The Ideal Teaching Models and Norms: 
A ‘China English’ Perspective in the Context of World Englishes

Proposal submitted to 
The 9th Annual Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences 
On 2 to 5 June 2010, Honolulu, Hawaii, United States 

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ABSTRACT

This article explores the question of whether the norms based on native-speakers of English (henceforth NSs) should be kept in English teaching in an era when English has become World Englishes. This is an issue that has been keenly debated in recent years, not least in the pages of the educational journals. However, ‘China English’ in such debates has been given lesser attention, and the voices of English learners and teachers in China have not been adequately reported. This article serves as such an attempt in the context of China having the largest English-learning population in the world. The present study drew comprehensive data from 984 college students and their teachers at four universities in different parts of China. With three cross-validated research methods (questionnaire survey, matched-guise technique, and focused interview), this article argues that the NS-based norms and models are the most desirable in China’s English classroom at tertiary level, which could be supplemented by the well-codified and successfully-promoted features of ‘China English’.
The Ideal Teaching Models and Norms: A ‘China English’ Perspective in the Context of World Englishes

Modern technology has turned the world into a small village. The Internet can carry English, the world language, to every corner of the world. However, classroom teaching still remains the major means for people to learn English (Horwitz, 2008). As former full-time classroom teachers of English and present researchers of English education, we are sure that we are not alone in finding it perplexing to follow the appropriate norms and models for the classroom. The issues of deciding on the most appropriate pedagogic models and norms are of special significance in China because of at least two reasons. First of all, China has the largest English-learning and using population (e.g., Bolton, 2003; Crystal, 2008; He & Li, 2009; Jiang, 2002). Secondy and even importantly, these people are used to speaking ‘China English’ with their own features due to the cross-linguistic influences from Chinese, their mother tongue (Du & Jiang, 2001; He, 2007; Hu, 2004; Jiang, 1995, 2003; Jiang & Du, 2003; Li, 2007).

For many years, the standard varieties of British and American English were accepted and promoted as the only internationally acceptable pedagogical models for English language teaching (ELT) (Adamson, 2004; Bolton, 2003; Lam, 2002; Zhang, 2003). In recent years, however, this has been challenged by World Englishes scholars such as Kachru (1985, 1988, 1992a, 1992b, 1993, 2005, 1992c), Jenkins (1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2006a, 2006b, 2007), Kirkpatrick (2000, 2002, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2007a, 2007b; Kirkpatrick & Xu, 2002), and Seidlhofer (1999, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2006; Seidlhofer & Jenkins, 2003). Within this framework, the question of which variety of English (i.e., native vs. non-native models) should be selected as the pedagogic model in outer and expanding circle countries (Kachru, 1985) then arises, which has been a subject of debate for nearly two decades (e.g., Bamgbose, 1998, 2001; Davies, 1999; Kachru, 1992c; Seidlhofer, 1999; Starks & Paltridge, 1996; Widdowson, 1997). For example, Timmis (2002) echoed the frequently voiced concern that, amidst the diversity, there should be a workable model of comfortable intelligibility for international purposes. By investigating the attitudes of teachers and students towards the NS norms, Timmis (2002) argues that native varieties of English are probably the best starting point for such a model although some applied linguists argue against the predominance of NS models and cultures in ELT. For instance, Alptekin (2002, p. 63) challenges the NS norms and points out the need for a new pedagogic model of English in the context of English as International Language (EIL) by arguing that:

…[t]he conventional model of communicative competence, with its strict adherence to native speaker norms within the target language culture, would appear to be invalid in accounting for learning and using an international language in cross-cultural setting. A new pedagogic model is urgently needed to accommodate the case of English as a means of international and intercultural communication.

1 In his article in ELT Journal, Timmis (2002, pp. 248-249) said that “It is possible, even likely, that if this survey were repeated in ten years’ time, the results might be quite different, with increased awareness of the issues involved”. This study is a response, in some degree, to his call for more research in this area in China.
DIVERSIFIED PEDAGOGIC MODELS

Among the prestigious scholars concerning the pedagogic models of English in the description of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF)², Kirkpatrick’s work deserves special attention here. He has conducted research on the model of English that should be used in classrooms for many years, especially in the contexts of Asia and Australia (e.g., Kirkpatrick, 2000, 2002, 2006b, 2006c, 2007a; Kirkpatrick & Xu, 2002; Kirkpatrick & Zhang, 1995; Scollon, et al., 2000).

Kirkpatrick (2006c) discusses the advantages and disadvantages of three different potential pedagogic models of English in East Asia and Australia: an NS model, a nativised model, and a lingua franca model³. He concludes that the last one is the most sensible one in the contexts where English is mainly used to communicate between non-native speakers of English (NNSs). What is more, he believes that this last model also closely approximates Kachru’s (1992a) idea of a ‘polymodel’ approach to English teaching since it neither imposes rigid ‘correct’ norms nor adheres to a single model. Nevertheless, he also points out that the various stakeholders⁴ (especially the teachers and learners) will still have to choose between the first two models until applied linguists are able to supply the teachers and learners with adequate linguistic descriptions of lingua franca models.

Considering the development of English in China, Kirkpatrick (2006c) argues that the nativised and lingua franca models might not be the right choice because of China’s traditional and strongly-held attachment to standards and correctness (Kirkpatrick & Xu, 2002; Watson, 1967). Therefore, it was suggested that for the time being, an NS model (most probably American English) is the choice of all stakeholders in China (Kirkpatrick & Xu, 2002). However, it should not be neglected that this suggestion is based only on a survey of students’ attitudes towards varieties of English conducted at one university in Beijing. In addition, several other investigations also suggested that ‘China English’ should stand alongside British English, American English and other ‘World Englishes’, and that Chinese students do not inherently aspire to an NS model; instead, it is the lack of opportunity to access updated information on

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² In this article, ELF refers to the approach to English that tends to theorize and investigate interaction in international contexts without (in most cases) or with the participation of NSs or L1-users of the language. ELF is represented by the works of scholars like Jenkins (1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2006a, 2006b, 2007) and Seidlhofer (1999, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2006; Seidlhofer & Jenkins, 2003), among others. However, according to Jenkins (2006a) and Prodromou (2007), English as an international language (EIL) can be used to convey the same meaning of ELF, but it also refers to the use of English in international contexts, including interactions between native and non-native speakers of English. Thus, compared with ELF, EIL is more inclusive in scope and configurations of speakers. In this study, however, EIL is used interchangeably with ELF (cf. Jenkins, 2006a).

³ An NS model takes Standard English as the norms for teaching, while a nativised model considers a nativised variety of English as the pedagogic models and norms (e.g., Indian English in India), and a lingua franca model is like what Graddol (2006, p. 87) believes that “[t]he target model of English, within the ELF framework, is not a native speaker but a fluent bilingual speaker, who retains a national identity in terms of accent, and who also has the special skills required to negotiate understanding with another non-native speaker”.

⁴ Such as the education policy makers and implementers at different governmental levels, English language teachers and learners at different levels, parents of these learners, textbook publishers, examination providers, and even some leaders of the enterprises which might need their employees to be proficient in English.
World Englishes that has led to this blind adoration of the NS model (e.g., Hu, 2004, 2005; Jin, 2005). This resonates Rubdy and Saraceni’s (2006, p. 6) argument that the choice of NS models to be taught in the classroom is, in many cases, “in fact not a real choice but a result of a lack of alternatives”.

Kirkpatrick (2006c) identifies five reasons why the NS models remain the most popular, which can be briefly summarized as:

• They benefit from the commercial promotion provided by the publishers and international ELT institutions alike;

• They have been well codified;

• They are looked upon as standard varieties of English through their codification;

• They represent power, and this power works in more than one way whether it comes to be media, publishing and/or language teaching interests; and

• They have, more or less, historical authority. This, together with their codification, allows people to argue for their inherent superiority as models over more recently developed nativized varieties.

By disputing these reasons one by one, he argues that the adoption of NS models will only be advantageous for a tiny fraction of the total number of teachers and learners. Specifically, only the NS teachers will benefit from these models since they are “seen as providing the correct model, the source of the standard” (Kirkpatrick, 2006c, p. 73); and only the learners who learn English mainly for the purpose of communicating with NSs and understanding the native speaking culture that they are interested in will benefit from choosing them as models (Kirkpatrick, 2007a). But again, it must be pointed out that the teachers and learners mentioned above account for just a tiny minority of the number of people who teach and learn English in China today.

While the choice of an NS model is appropriate for only a minority of English teachers and learners, this choice brings disadvantages to the majority of them. First of all, Kirkpatrick (2007a) argues that the NS model is unattainable for the learners. The reason he proposed is that the EFL/ESL learners can sound American or British only if they go and live there for a comparatively long time or are taught completely by native-speaking English teachers (NETs), which will be impossible for most of the English learners in China. As a result, the learners’ unwillingness to use the language will be unavoidable since they will “become frustrated by setting themselves what is, in effect, an impossible target” (Cook, 2002, p. 331). Secondly, the choice also undermines the position of local teachers because of their being required to teach a model which does not representative their own abilities (Kirkpatrick, 2007a), and which will, in turn, severely reduce their sense of self-confidence and self-respect (Medgyes, 1994).

In addition to Kirkpatrick’s arguments, Prodromou (1997) estimated that up to 80 percent of global communication in English takes place between NNSs and hence questioned the corpus insights: “what does the grammar of informal spoken English mean for the non-native speaker of English, and what is the pedagogic relevance of this particular variety of English in the context of English as an international language?” (Prodromou, 1996, p. 88). Prodromou (2006, p. 52) further argues that “[t]he non-native teacher’s authority also suffers in the native-dominated
scheme of things because it is precisely in the area of the learners’ culture that non-native teachers are at their best”. Cook (1999, p. 185) also asserts that “the prominence of the native speaker in language teaching has obscured the distinctive nature of the successful L2 user and created an unattainable goal for L2 learners”. By contrast, we stand a better chance of convincing EFL/ESL students that “they are successful multicompetent speakers, not failed native speakers” if we can “acknowledge that L2 users have strengths and rights of their own” rather than concentrating primarily on the NS norms (Cook, 1999, p. 204). Besides, ever since the 1980s several studies (e.g., Jenkins, 2002; Kachru, 1993; Kirkpatrick, 2006c; Li, 2006; Seidhöfer, 2001; Sridhar & Sridhar, 1986) have questioned the claim that the goal of learning and teaching English in non-native settings is to aim toward a native variety of English.

Based on the above arguments, we might safely arrive at the conclusion that an NS model will not work well in China and to insist completely on this model may not only be less useful but also a hindrance to teachers and their learners (cf. Graddol, 2006). Since we are talking about teaching and learning English as a Foreign Language in China, it is conceivable that we can combine select features of ‘China English’ into the NS model, which can be termed either as an ‘institutional bilingual model’ as suggested by Kirkpatrick (2006b), or as ‘Standard English plus’ as proposed by Li (2006), since the great majority of China’s English learners are L1 Chinese speakers who develop English skills in schools taught by L1 Chinese teachers. This ‘new’ model might solve the problems mentioned above. Firstly, it is attainable and relevant to the learners. Secondly, local English teachers (LETs) also become the role models for learners now since they possess the linguistic background and resources of the learners’ L1 and they are now teaching a language they have learnt as a foreign language. Their learning experience gives them an understanding of the potential difficulties their students might have and an empathy with their students (Medgyes, 1994). While thinking of the appropriate model(s) to follow in ELT in China, it struck us that it would be significant to investigate, against the experts’ opinion discussed above, whether and how far English learners and their teachers want to follow an NS model in the field of pronunciation and grammar, their attitudes towards Standard English (e.g., British or American English) and ‘China English’, and their preferred pedagogic models.

**METHODOLOGY**

For the purpose of exploring the appropriate models and norms to be followed in ELT in China’s classrooms, this article reports the findings of an empirical study conducted with non-English majors and teachers of college English in China. It draws on three research instruments: questionnaire survey, matched-guise technique, and focused interview.

**Participants**

Altogether 1,030 participants (820 students and 210 teachers) took part in the questionnaire survey and the matched-guise experiment. A total of 984 valid questionnaires were collected (795 students, 97%; 189 teachers, 90%). One-tenth of the participants (N = 103) were interviewed (82 students and 21 teachers). To make the participants maximally representative of

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5 For example, lack of weak forms for function words, some China-specific words and expressions like Putonghua and ‘effort halved, result doubled’ (shì bàn gōng bèi, 事半功倍), and the Chinese way of inductive structure in passage writing (i.e., the most significant point tends to be delayed until a considerable amount of background information has been presented).
their respective groups, varying academic levels and geographic regions were taken into consideration when selecting these participants of non-English majors and their teachers. To be specific, the participants were from four universities (one key university and three second-tier universities) located in eastern, western, northern, and central China respectively. There are two main reasons for excluding English majors in our study. First, English majors in China are expected to graduate with near-native proficiency in English. Second, perhaps more importantly, since non-English majors constitute the absolute majority of potential English-speaking and -using population in China, we believe the choice of a pedagogic model of English should be geared towards the needs of this group.

With regard to the three research instruments used, various factors were taken into consideration when selecting participants:

- Student participants: age, gender distribution, disciplines and Years of study
- Teacher participants: academic qualifications and ranks

Although some of the participants speak Chinese dialects as their first language, all of them reported to speak Putonghua as their everyday language.

Specifically, all the 795 student participants are homogenous Chinese, aged from 17 to 25 ($\bar{x} = 20.6$). Among them, 51.7% (411) are male and 48.3% (384) female. They came from four discipline areas: Arts (196), Law (194), Business (174), and Engineering (231). In terms of the year of study, 344 (43.3%) were freshmen, 251 (31.6%) sophomores, 77 (9.7%) juniors, and 123 (15.5%) seniors. The student participants were representative of non-English majors studying in China’s universities. An overview of the year of study, discipline area, and gender distribution of the student participants is shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Year, discipline, and gender distribution of student participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Freshmen</th>
<th>Sophomores</th>
<th>Juniors</th>
<th>Seniors</th>
<th>Arts</th>
<th>Law</th>
<th>Business</th>
<th>Engineering</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

As for the 189 teacher participants, 77 (40.7%) are male and 112 (59.3%) female. Their age ranged from 22 to 65 ($\bar{x} = 34.4$), and they had five months to 42 years of English teaching experience ($\bar{x} = 10.6$). In terms of the highest academic qualification attained (all majoring in English), three (1.6%) of them held doctorate degrees, 150 (79.4%) master’s degrees, and 36 (19%) bachelor’s degrees. Their academic ranking also varied considerably, with two (1.1%) being professors, 69 (36.5%) associate professors, 73 (38.6%) lecturers, and 45 (23.8%) teaching assistants. Up to 113 (59.8%) of them taught non-English majors only, while 76 (40.2%) taught both English majors and non-English majors. Table 2 gives an overview of the gender distribution, academic qualification and ranking of these teacher participants.
Table 2: Gender, academic qualification and ranking of the teacher participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Doctor</th>
<th>Master</th>
<th>Bachelor</th>
<th>Prof</th>
<th>Associate</th>
<th>Lecturer</th>
<th>TA</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>79.4</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: TA – Teaching Assistant.

Methods

To optimize validity and reliability, three different instruments were employed in this research in accordance with the general observation that “interpretations which are built upon triangulation are certain to be stronger than those which rest on the more constricted framework of a single method” (Denzin, 1997, p. 319). Specifically, questionnaire survey data are cross-validated with data obtained from interviews and the experiment using the matched-guise technique (MGT).

The survey questionnaire consists of 2 items adapted from Timmis (2002); Item 1 is on pronunciation and Item 2 on grammar as shown below. To ensure the best comprehensibility of the questionnaire, it was translated into Chinese, the participants’ L1. Therefore, prior to the pilot test with the questionnaire, back-translation, a technique regularly used for assessing translation quality, was utilized to check the item-compatibility between the Chinese and English versions of the questionnaire. In the actual course of data collection, the participants were asked to make choices first and then provide their reasons on the space below each item. The primary objective of the questionnaire is to tap into participants’ desirability of incorporating salient features of ‘China English’ into the existing teaching model of college English in China, which may, in turn, help to identify their preferred teaching model of college English.

Item 1

Student A: ‘I can pronounce English just like a native speaker now. Sometimes people think I am a native speaker.’

Student B: ‘I can pronounce English clearly now. Native speakers and non-native speakers understand me wherever I go, but I still have the accent of my country.’

Please fill in the blank with A or B; I would prefer (my students) to be like Student _____.

Your reasons: _______________________________________________________________

Item 2

Student C: ‘I can say everything that I want to say. Native speakers and non-native speakers understand me wherever I go, but I use English my own way and sometimes I say things which native speakers think are grammar mistakes.’

Student D: ‘I know all the grammar rules I need so that I can say anything I want. I use these rules correctly, but sometimes English people use grammar that isn’t in the grammar books and I don’t want to learn this.’

Student E: ‘I use all the grammar rules that native speakers use, even the informal grammar native speakers use when they speak to each other.’

Please fill in the blank with C, D or E; I would prefer (my students) to be like Student _____.

Your reasons: _______________________________________________________________
The purpose of conducting the matched-guise experiment is to elicit the participants’ spontaneous reactions towards Standard English and ‘China English’. In MGT experiment, the respondents first listened to one voice reading a paragraph out loud with two different accents: one in a typical ‘China English’ accent, and the other in a more or less native-like accent. However, they were told that the readings were done by two different speakers. It was the first author’s voice which was projected in the tape-recording. For quality assurance, the ‘native-like’ accent had been played to seven professors (four NETs and three LETs) prior to implementation, of whom five were convinced that the accent sounded sufficiently native-like. The respondents were instructed to give their ratings of ‘the two speakers’ on a response sheet with regard to the 16 traits as shown in Table 5 in the section of Results and Findings. The rating was based on a 5-point Likert scale: 1 = the voice does not match with the given trait at all; 2 = the voice does not match with the given trait so well; 3 = I do not know whether the voice matches with the given trait or not; 4 = the voice matches with the given trait well; and 5 = the voice matches with the given trait very well. In this way, the elicited responses are considered stereotyped attitudes toward the language (i.e., Standard English or ‘China English’) and its speakers, rather than toward the voices as such (see also Edwards, 1994; Wikipedia, 2007).

In order to triangulate these quantitative data, 103 informants were interviewed either individually (18 of 21 teachers) or in small groups (82 student participants and three teachers; group size ranged from 3 to 9) by the first author. To ensure that all interviewees would speak their minds in a language familiar to them, they were interviewed in Putonghua. The interview data were transcribed verbatim into Chinese before being translated into English. Both the transcriptions and translations were carefully proofread and checked independently by the authors. In the process, stylistic inconsistencies were minimized and discrepancies thoroughly discussed and resolved by agreement. This proved to be an extremely time-consuming process, but in the interest of assuring high-quality data, the resultant gain in reliability and validity made it a completely worthwhile procedure (cf., Kvale, 1996).

RESULTS AND FINDINGS
Questionnaire Survey

On pronunciation. It can be seen from Table 3 that 55.4% (545) of the participants would prefer (their students) to be like Student B, which suggests that more than half of them did not mind (their students) speaking English with the accent of their mother tongue as long as they (their students) can communicate clearly in English with others. Almost 83% (660) of the students and 43.9% (83) of the teachers provided reasons for their choices. Some of them wrote more than one reason for one or both of the two questions.

Approximately 50.1% (273) of the 545 participants who chose Student B argued that English is just a tool for communication, therefore it is unnecessary for them (or their students) to pronounce English like an NS as long as both NSs and NNSs can understand them. Besides, many others (34.9%, 190) explained that they have a strong language identity, in other words, they want (their students) to be identified as Chinese while communicating with foreigners in English. The third main reason for choosing Student B (18.3%, 100) is the belief that English learners’ pronunciation cannot be free from the cross-linguistic influences of their mother tongue, Chinese. These results seemed to suggest that it is possible to incorporate select features of ‘China English’ into the existing pedagogic model based on Standard English.
Table 3 Response frequencies (in percentage) for Item 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Missing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I would prefer (my students) to be like Student A/B.</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>56.6</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>58.2</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td>55.4</td>
<td>.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: S: students (N = 795); T: teachers (N = 189).

On grammar. Table 4 tells us that 46.1% of the informants preferred (their students) to be like Student E, which implies that nearly half of them hoped that they (or their students) could master English grammar well, including the informal grammar.

Among the 454 participants who selected Students E, 248 (54.6%) believed that speaking English like Student E can guarantee free/better/more effective communication since knowing more informal grammar can help avoid misunderstanding or embarrassment on certain occasions. In addition, 74 (16.3%) insisted that they hope (their students) to learn Standard/perfect/good English if they have to learn it.

Table 4 Response frequencies (in percentage) for Item 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Missing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I would prefer (my students) to be like Student C/D/E.</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>24.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: S: students (N = 795); T: teachers (N = 189).

Matched-guise Experiment

On the whole, the findings of the MGT as displayed in Table 5 are found to be consistent with the findings of the questionnaire survey reported above. It can be seen from Table 5 that MANOVA revealed significant differences between ‘China English’ and Standard English in the means on fifteen out of the sixteen traits. To be more exact, Standard English was given significantly higher ratings than ‘China English’ on nearly all the positive traits except the one (i.e., patient) showing no significant difference. Nonetheless, Standard English was given markedly lower ratings than the latter on the two negative traits. Such results indicate that the participants are far more affirmative of Standard English than of ‘China English’. However, in spite of their preference of Standard English, it should be also noted that the MGT participants are far from being negative toward ‘China English’ since their means on all of the fourteen positive traits of ‘China English’ are above ‘2’ and close to the median ‘3’, and the mean on the trait ‘patient’ (‘3.13’) is even higher than the median and that of Standard English (‘3.04’; see Table 5 for details). These results indicate that the subjects’ attitudes toward ‘China English’ are not so negative. This is compatible with the questionnaire survey results that select features of ‘China English’ may be accepted as part of the teaching model in China.

Table 5 Means and differences of ‘China English’ and Standard English on the sixteen traits

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traits</th>
<th>Means</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘China English’</td>
<td>Standard English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>Score</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Friendly</td>
<td>2.94/3.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Intelligent</td>
<td>2.83/3.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Educated</td>
<td>2.88/3.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Competent</td>
<td>2.80/3.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Industrious</td>
<td>2.93/3.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Sincere</td>
<td>2.99/3.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Approachable</td>
<td>2.78/3.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Considerate</td>
<td>2.85/3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Trustworthy</td>
<td>2.92/3.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Wealthy</td>
<td>2.77/3.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Trendy</td>
<td>2.72/3.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Powerful</td>
<td>2.75/3.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Confident</td>
<td>2.79/3.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Patient</td>
<td>3.13/3.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Correlation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4. Arrogant</td>
<td>3.01/2.61</td>
<td>.40**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Aggressive</td>
<td>3.04/2.66</td>
<td>.38**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: ** p< .01, * p< .05.

**Interview**

The findings of this qualitative method are generally consistent with those of quantitative methods. Specifically, 87.4% (90) of the informants (N = 103) reported that they were not satisfied with their (or their students’) English learning effectiveness (see Question 1); however, 62 (about 60.2%) of all the interviewees did not regard the present pedagogic model as a reason for their (or their students’) less-than-satisfactory learning effectiveness (see Questions 2 and 3). Therefore, it is natural that 81 (78.6%) out of the 103 interviewees would insist on adopting Standard English as the pedagogic model for college English in China (see Questions 4 and 5). It should not be ignored that about 21.4% (22) of the interviewees still argued that it was unnecessary for them (or their students) to adopt Standard English as the target of their (or their students’) English learning as long as they can communicate freely in English with others (see Questions 4 and 5). As a result, the interview found that the desirable pedagogic model of English for students in China should be Standard English supplemented with the well-codified and promoted traits of ‘China English’ (see Question 6). The following are the interview questions and some of the typical answers from the students and their teachers:

**Question 1:** “Are you satisfied with your (students’) English learning effectiveness?”
Some typical answers were: “No”; “Very unsatisfied”; “Certainly not”; and “Not satisfied, especially with oral English”.

Some representative answers to the other questions were:
Question 2: “If not, what are the reasons for your dissatisfaction?”

“Firstly, I am not interested in English from the beginning. Besides, there is not such an environment that can cultivate my interest in English learning. Thirdly, English listening and speaking were not tested in the national university entrance examinations, thus we did not practice these skills; instead, we just learnt for exams, which made English learning very boring. Fourthly, I do not think it is very important to learn English since we will not use it much if we do not go abroad.” (SFB2K)

“We use English mainly in English class and rarely use it out of class. That is to say, we have too little chance to use it, so when we want to say something in English, usually, we cannot remember the words.” (SFB2K)

Question 3: “Is pedagogic model a reason for your (students’) low learning effectiveness? Why or why not?”

“No. I seldom ask my students to arrive at a certain standard and I think few students, consciously, work for the target of Standard English.” (TMBL)

“No, because we are always taught according to such a standard and we are trying to arrive at this target. Besides, I think I like NSs’ English a lot, especially when I watch English movies.” (SFL2)

Question 4: “Is it necessary and practical if we go on adopting British or American English as the model for teaching of college English in China? Why or why not?”

“Yes. If we have to learn English, we still hope to learn Standard English although it is difficult.” (SME4)

“Yes, because we need a standard, and ‘China English’ is not a well-established and promoted variety of English and it needs to be fully codified.” (TFBT)

“No, we do not need to attain the level of Standard English as long as we can communicate in English with others.” (SFA1)

Question 5: “If you can choose the pedagogic model for teaching of college English in China, which one(s) would you choose: ‘China English’, the standard British/American English, or the Lingua Franca English? Why?”

“I will still choose Standard English because China is different from India and Singapore where English exists as one of the official languages used by many people and thus it is possible to form their own English varieties. English teaching and use in China, however, are still at a very low level, so it is hard for China to form her own English variety.” (SMA1)

---

6 The following factors were identified from the interviewees’ response as the most frequently mentioned reasons (arranged in decreasing order of numerical significance): learning English just as a subject for exams rather than a tool for communication; having little chance to put what they have learnt in English class into practice; learning too much about grammar and vocabulary while overlooking the importance of oral English; a lack of conducive environment and atmosphere to practice English skills, particularly speaking skills; having low intrinsic motivation for English learning; the large class size; the fear of speaking English; and having no clear purpose in English learning.

7 The codes of the interviewees contain the following information in turn: Identity (S – student, T – teacher); Gender (F – female, M – male); Discipline for students (B – business, L – law, E – engineering, A – arts) or academic qualification for teachers (B – bachelor, M – master, D – doctor); Years for students (1 – Year-1; 2 – Year-2; 3 – Year-3; 4 – Year-4) or academic rank for teachers (T – teaching assistant, L – lecturer, A – associate professor, P – professor); and University: if the interviewee comes from the key university, the letter “K” will be added to the end of the code, e.g., “SFB2” refers to a female Year-2 business major from a second-tier university, and “TMBL” refers to a male lecturer whose highest academic qualification was the bachelor’s degree when interviewed.

8 All interviewees were explained the difference of these three models before they answered this question in a way like what is expressed in Note 3 in case they were not clear about the difference.
“[I choose] Standard English, for ‘China English’ might hinder effective communication. Besides, a pedagogic model should be something that students can arrive at only with very hard work. The model will be meaningless if the students can easily attain the target, say, ‘China English’.” (TMMA)

“I will choose ‘China English’ since it might be easier for Chinese learners. But first of all, ‘China English’ must be well codified and promoted.” (SM147E4)

Question 6: “What would be a more desirable model of English for students in China in your opinion?”

“Personally, I think it might be a better choice if we can combine Standard English and ‘China English’ together. That is to say, we will consider Standard English as the target of our teaching, but we can also accept students’ Chinese way of English speaking, including their pronunciation and some phrases and expressions they use, since it is really hard for them to speak English totally free from the cross-linguistic influences of the Chinese language. Of course, their Chinese way of English speaking, or ‘China English’ as you said, must be well-codified and accepted internationally to some degree. One of the merits of this model lies in the fact that ‘China English’ might be easier for China’s English learners to acquire. Besides, students will be more self-confident and relaxed when speaking English if they know they do not necessarily need to speak it as rigidly as in Standard English just like American or British people, and it is ok for them to speak in a Chinese manner.” (TFBL)

**DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION**

Given the methodological design, the scope of investigation, the targeted participants, and the quality of results obtained, the present study has reported both similar and different findings compared to the study by Timmis (2002). Four hundred questionnaire participants from 14 different countries were involved in Timmis (2002), but his 15 interviewees cannot be regarded as representative of his survey sample as a whole.

Timmis (2002) reported that 67% of his student respondents and 27% of his teacher respondents preferred (their students) to be Student A. However, 32% of the students and 39% of the teachers preferred (their students) to be Student B. The rest, 34% of teachers, chose “no preference” (this choice was not provided for Timmis’ student participants, nor did we include it in our questionnaire). The percentages of the students who preferred Student A and Student B in this study were 42% and 58% respectively, and those of the teachers were 57% and 43%. The differences between the results of these two studies (see Table 6 for a summary) suggest that increasingly Chinese students, as they argued in the reasons for their choices (see the examples in ‘Results and Findings’ concerning ‘Interview’), no longer set themselves a target as high as Standard English for their pronunciation as long as they can communicate freely with others in English. Nonetheless, most of the teachers in the present research still hoped that their students can acquire a native-like pronunciation. All in all, both Chinese students and teachers in this study expressed rather different expectations of English pronunciation from those of the participants in Timmis’ study.

Table 6 Differences in participants’ preference of English pronunciation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Student A</th>
<th>Student B</th>
<th>No preference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timmis’ participantsa</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participants in this studyb</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: a. N = 580 (400 students and 180 teachers); b. N = 984 (795 students and 189 teachers).
In addition to pronunciation, Timmis (2002) also tried to find out to what extent students wanted to conform to native-speaker grammatical norms. He found that respectively 14%, 14%, and 68% of the students preferred to be Student C, Student D, and Student E. About 22%, 5%, and 54% of his teacher respondents preferred their students to be Student C, Student D, and Student E in turn, and the rest of the 18% selected “no preference” since they wanted to let their students make the decision for themselves (again, this choice was not provided for Timmis’ student participants and the participants in this study). The results of this study were quite similar to Timmis’ (2002) in that the participants showed a clear preference to NS norms (see Table 7 for more details).

Table 7 Differences in participants’ preference of English grammar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Student C</th>
<th>Student D</th>
<th>Student E</th>
<th>No preference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Timmis’ participantsa</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participants in this studyb</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: a. N = 580 (400 students and 180 teachers); b. N = 984 (795 students and 189 teachers).

Chinese participants in this study displayed some differences from the participants in Timmis’ (2002) study in the preference of English pronunciation but some similarities in the preference of English grammar. In this study, the students and teachers demonstrated similar attitudes towards English grammar, while in terms of pronunciation the students displayed more willingness to accept ‘China English’ than their teachers. This may be an indication that, to encourage Chinese students to communicate orally in English, acquiring a native-like pronunciation should not be over emphasized; rather, some Chinese accents should be considered acceptable so long as the students can express themselves fluently in English, although Standard English is still regarded as the teaching model of listening and speaking. At the same time, to ensure their upward and outward mobility, the norms of reading and writing should still be based on a Standard English model. This is, in a way, similar to the ‘Standard English plus’ model proposed by Li (2006).

In sum, the findings of this study are different from some of the previous ones since they either claimed that ‘China English’ can and should be used as pedagogic models and norms along with Standard English (e.g., Hu, 2004, 2005) or advocated the NS-based norms and models at present in China (e.g., Kirkpatrick & Xu, 2002). On the other hand, this study agreed with other previous ones (e.g., Kirkpatrick, 2006b; Kirkpatrick, 2006c; Li, 2006, 2007) that teaching of college English in China should still adopt Standard English as the teaching model, since an NS model “serves as a complete and convenient starting point, particularly with its social-cultural richness” (Kuo, 2006, p. 220). In addition, ‘China English’ could also be included as part of the model if it were codified and implemented systematically. However, little academic research has been done to study intensively the linguistic features of ‘China English’ in the arenas of pronunciation and grammar. Therefore, it is recommended that future research in this area can focus on the systematic codification of ‘China English’ for its wider educational acceptability and further incorporation of its features into the pedagogic model. Further, the
findings in this study also suggest that both the teachers and learners themselves should be more tolerant of college students’ Chinese accents in order to encourage them to speak English more, since the most serious problem they are facing is their poor communicative competence in English.
REFERENCES


Kirkpatrick, A. (2006b). *Setting attainable and appropriate language targets in multilingual settings* (Paper presented at Hong Kong Association for Applied Linguistics Meetings on Nov 6, 2006 in English Department, Hong Kong Polytechnic University).


In Thai society, the hegemonic discourse of female sexuality is a product of middle-class ideology. It is based on a conceptual belief that Thai women should not have sex before marriage. This conceptual belief is exaggerated to the point that physical contact between women and men is believed to cause sexual contamination for women. My ethnographic site at a dance floor in Chiangmai, Thailand offers important perspectives to examine the intersections of gender ideology and class formation in Thai society. My informants, middle-class women dancers, strive to situate themselves in the world of lee laad in the hierarchical Thai society. In order to acquire membership in the middle-class social stratum, these Thai women must observe a “civilizing” discourse of rak nuan sa nguan tua and “proper” body language. The Thai state and the mainstream Thai society regulate female sexuality; however, Thai women’s self-interpretations of practices opposing the regulation are customary. The intersections among the sociopolitical regulation of female sexuality, the discourses of female sexuality expressed in the mass media, and Thai women’s individual interpretations of their behaviors are conjunctures of negotiations over female sexualities and social class formation. My study explores the formation of sexual norms of middle-class women; perceptions and interpretations of rak nuan sa nguan tua among women in Thai society; relationships between “civilizing” practices and middle-class women engaged in the sexually appealing activities of lee laad dance; and the women’s expression of their female sexuality as well as their desires to discipline themselves for class upward mobility.
A Theoretical Justification of the Box-Cox Test in Data Analysis

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Abstract

In economics, sometimes the derivation of a theoretical model leads to different approximations that are both justified, depending on different approximation methods. Hence the only way an economist can make decision as whether to use a log-linear model or a linear model hinges on applied econometric methodology. In this paper, we develop a theoretical model of consumer maximization problem. Once the first order condition is written, we show that there are two theoretical models that can be obtained from this single first order condition, depending on whether a linear approximation or a log-linear approximation is used. This justifies the use of the Box-Cox test to distinguish the more likely model from the less likely one. We then perform the test using a historical data set as a demonstration.

JEL Classification: E21

Keywords: Model specification, approximation, Box-Cox test.

Introduction

Data analysis is an important aspect of studying economics in verifying a certain economic model. However, the derivation of a theoretical model might lead to different approximations that are both justified, depending on different approximation methods. Hence the only way an economist can make decision as whether to use a log-linear model or a linear model hinges on applied econometric methodology. In this paper, we develop a theoretical model of consumer maximization problem. Once the first order condition is written, we show that there are two theoretical models that can be obtained from this single first order condition, depending on whether a linear approximation or a log-linear approximation is used. This justifies the use of the Box-Cox test to distinguish the more likely model from the less likely one.

This paper is organized as follow: in Section 1, we derive a theoretical model. In Section 2, we discuss the Box-Cox test. In Section 3, we perform the test using a historical data set as a demonstration. Section 4 concludes.
1. **Theoretical Model**

Consider a representative consumer who

\[
\text{Maximize } E_0 U = E_0 \left\{ e^{-\rho t} u_t \left[ K_t(C_t) \right] \right\} dt \tag{1}
\]

subject to

\[
A_t = w_t - K_t - \delta K_t + r A_t \tag{2}
\]

and

\[
K_t = -\delta K_t + C_t \tag{3}
\]

where \( E_0 u \) is the expected lifetime utility at time zero, which is the expected utility of the society for as long as it shall exist at time zero, \( u_t \) its instantaneous utility with the usual properties of \( u' > 0 \) and \( u'' < 0 \). \( K_t \) the stock of durable goods and \( C_t \) the flow of durables expenditures, \( A_t \) the asset, \( w_t \) aggregate wage income, \( r \) interest rate, \( \rho \) the social time preferences, and \( \delta \) depreciation rate. This is a combination of the Ramsey-Cass model and Mankiw (1982) model. If the depreciation rate is one, then we return to the case for consumer nondurables and services as in Hall (1978).

From (3)

\[
C_t = K_t + \delta K_t \tag{4}
\]

Combining (2) and (4) yields

\[
A_t = w_t - C_t + r A_t \tag{5}
\]

Thus, the current Hamiltonian is

\[
H_c = E_0 u \left[ K_t(C_t) \right] + \lambda \left( w_t - C_t + r A_t \right) \tag{6}
\]

The first order condition is

\[
\frac{\partial H_c}{\partial C_t} = 0 \rightarrow E_0 u'(C_t) = E_0 u'(K_t) \frac{\partial K}{\partial C} = \lambda \tag{7}
\]

\[
\dot{\lambda} = -\frac{\partial H_c}{\partial A_t} + \lambda \rho \rightarrow -\frac{\dot{\lambda}}{\lambda} = r - \rho \tag{8}
\]

and the tranversality condition

\[
\lim_{t \to \infty} A_t u'(C_t) e^{-\rho t} = 0 \tag{9}
\]

From (7)

\[
\lambda = E_0 e^{\ln u'(C_t)}
\]

assume that \( \ln u' \) is normally distributed with mean \( E_0 \ln u' \) and variance \( \nu \), then
\[ \lambda = e^{E_o \ln u'(v/2)t} \]

(10)

\[ \ln \lambda = E_o \ln u' + \frac{v}{2} \]

\[ -\frac{\dot{\lambda}}{\lambda} = -E_o \frac{u'' C \dot{C}}{u'} \left( \frac{v}{2} \right) = \theta E_o \frac{\ddot{C}}{C} - \frac{v}{2} \]

Combining (8) and (10) yields

\[ \theta E_o \frac{\ddot{C}}{C} = \frac{v}{2} + r - \rho \]

\[ E_o \frac{\ddot{C}}{C} = \frac{1}{\theta} \left( \frac{v}{2} + r - \rho \right) \]

(11)

Assuming that \( \ln u'(C) \) is normally distributed with mean \( E_o \ln u'(C) \) and variance \( v \), the first order condition for the maximization problem is: 9

\[ E_o \frac{C}{\theta} = \frac{1}{\theta} \left( \frac{v}{2} + r - \rho \right), \quad \text{where } \theta = -\frac{u'' C}{u'} \quad (12) \]

That is, \( \theta \) is the agents’ consumption elasticity of marginal utility, and \( \frac{1}{\theta} = \phi \) is the agent’s consumption elasticity of intertemporal substitution.

Let \( \frac{1}{\theta} \left( \frac{v}{2} + r - \rho \right) = \alpha, \) a constant.

Now if we use linear approximation, then

\[ E(C_{i+1}) = \alpha + C_i \rightarrow C_{i+1} = \alpha + C_i + e_i \]

(13)

Now if we use log-linear approximation, then

\[ \ln C_{i+1} = \beta + \ln C_i + v, \quad (14) \]

2. The Box-Cox Test

Since theoretically, both models are correct, only Box-Cox test can solve the problem of model specification. The Box-Cox test itself is only one tool in a set of evidence that we use to strengthen our case.

Concerning the model specification tests, there are three different types of transformations for data regression: the Box-Tidwell, the original Box-Cox, and the extended one. The Box-Tidwell transformation allows a different transformation parameter for each independent variable. These
make the models rather complicated and suffer from sensitivity to changes in sample sizes or changes in starting and ending points. For these reasons, this test is rarely used in econometrics. The Box-Cox test is used to test whether an empirical relationship is best described by a model is linear or log-linear form. In the original Box-Cox model, only the dependent variable is transformed. This makes the model overly simple and its robustness might be questionable if the data set suffers from serial correlation, which happens quite often in time series models. In the extended Box-Cox model, both dependent and independent variables are transformed: 

$$Y^{(\lambda)} = X^{(\lambda)} \beta + \epsilon,$$

where

$$Y^{(\lambda)}_t = \frac{Y^\lambda_t - 1}{\lambda} \quad \text{if } \lambda \neq 0,$$

$$= \ln Y_t \quad \text{if } \lambda = 0.$$

$$X^{(\lambda)}_t = \frac{X^\lambda_t - 1}{\lambda} \quad \text{if } \lambda \neq 0,$$

$$= \ln X_t \quad \text{if } \lambda = 0,$$

$$= X_t - 1 \quad \text{if } \lambda = 1.$$

In this paper, we perform the extended Box-Cox test, which allows for auto-correlation, and therefore, is more robust. Since an additive error term results in a linear model and a multiplicative error term a log linear one, the procedure amounts to see whether an AR(1) in log form is more appropriate than an AR(1) in linear one. The log likelihood ratio to test the null hypotheses, $H_0: \lambda = \lambda_h$, is:

$$2 \left[ \ln(\lambda_{\text{max}}) - \ln(\lambda_h) \right] \chi^2_{(1)},$$

where $\ln(\lambda_{\text{max}})$ is the maximum log likelihood value, and $\ln(\lambda_h)$ is the log likelihood value for the hypothetical form. Under the null hypotheses, the ratio is distributed as chi-squared with one degree of freedom, whose critical values at 1% and 5% significance levels are 6.63 and 3.84, respectively.

3. Demonstration
We perform the Box-Cox test for the AR(1) model as an approximation to Equations (13) and (14). For durables expenditures, the sample size and starting point is the same as in Mankiw’s (1982). For nondurables and services expenditures, the sample size is the same as in Hall (1978), which includes 117 observations, but the starting point is from 1955.1 to avoid the Korean War and to compare to the durables expenditures result. Table 1 reports the test results.
From this table, the Box-Cox test rejects the linear models in favor of the log linear models for both durables and nondurables expenditures at 1% and 5% significant levels (shaded areas). Hence, the log linear AR(1) model appears to fit the data better than the linear AR(1) model.

**Table 1 Results from the Box-Cox Test**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Durables expenditures</th>
<th>Nondurables Expenditures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Likelihood value</td>
<td>$\chi^2$ stat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Log</td>
<td>-475.535</td>
<td>0.432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linear</td>
<td>-481.82</td>
<td>13.002**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximum Likelihood value</td>
<td>-475.319</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The * and ** indicate five and one percent significance levels, respectively.

One might ask the question as to why a log linear model might be better than its linear counterpart in this case. Theoretically, time series models usually suffer from autocorrelation, heteroskedasticity, and nonnormality of the error terms. If one of these problems occurs, the classical assumptions of OLS are violated, and the test results are no longer valid. While taking the first difference can eliminate autocorrelation problem, this strategy cannot reduce the consequences from other two. Taking the logs of each variable reduces the volatility, and therefore, may correct the heteroskedastic problem, while also making the error terms closer to normal. Empirically, since data for consumer expenditure on durable goods are exceptionally volatile, taking the logs will make the model fits the data better than its linear counterpart.

4. **Conclusion**

In economics, the derivation of a theoretical model might lead to different approximations that are both justified, depending on different approximation methods. Hence the only way an economist can make decision as whether to use a log-linear model or a linear model hinges on applied econometric methodology. In this paper, we develop a theoretical model of consumer maximization problem. Once the first order condition is written, we show that there are two theoretical models that can be obtained from this single first order condition, depending on whether a linear approximation or a log-linear approximation is used. This justifies the use of the Box-Cox test to distinguish the more likely model from the less likely one.

This paper derives a theoretical model and show that there are two sub-models from the original one depending on which approximation is use. We then discuss the Box-Cox test and perform the test using a historical data set as a demonstration. Since our focus is on the theoretical justification of the Box-Cox test for the consumer maximization problem, the issue of modeling other variables are left for future research.
References


A New View on Improving Deception Detection Training Programs

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When it comes to law enforcement, the interactions that take place in the interrogation room are probably the most critical to the process of criminal justice. Law enforcement officers use a variety of interpersonal communication skills to gain the necessary information to fit the puzzle of a crime together. Whether they are trying to gain useful knowledge from a reluctant witness or attempting to determine the guilt or innocence of a potential suspect, the ability to detect deceptive communication behaviors is crucial to doing their job well. However, according to evidence from research studies, the majority of law enforcement officers are not much better than a layperson at detecting deception (Colwell K., 2007; Colwell, Hiscock, & Memon, 2002; Ekman & O'Sullivan, 1991; Frank & Feeley, 2003; Vrij & Semin, 1996).

Over the last twenty years, training in deception detection has been increasing in the law enforcement community. While training law enforcement to detect deception is assuredly beneficial to their work, the types of training programs and strategies offered within them has proven to be vastly inconsequential overall. This fact has prompted deception researchers to facilitate new research studies to remedy the failing training programs and provide law enforcement with deception detection techniques that are functional and relevant to the real-world. The current training programs focus the majority of their strategies on observing and interpreting nonverbal behaviors within the conversational dynamic in an effort to detect deception.

By incorporating additional strategies based in alternative interpersonal communication theories, such as expectancy violations theory (EVT) and speech codes theory, researchers will be able to add to the strategies offered in training programs. In addition, the new strategies will help to increase the usefulness of the existent scholarship explicated in the current deception
training programs. The effectiveness of training programs is dependent upon knowledge of the role that deception plays in the law enforcement community.

**Background**

However, before one can comprehend how deception fits into the dynamic between a law enforcement officer and a suspect, one must first understand the different types of interactions the two engage in during their relationship. Interviewing and interrogation are the most common forms of interaction between officers and suspects.

**Interviews**

After a crime has been perpetrated, an officer will begin an investigation by interviewing people involved in the action or who may have information that will assist in putting together the knowledge needed to find the answers. According to Inbau (2004), interviews have specific characteristics that distinguish them from interrogations. First, interviews are non-accusatory (p.5). The people being questioned have not been assessed as potentially guilty or innocent prior to being engaged in an interview. Second, interviews are designed to gather information and therefore may occur earlier in the investigative process. Third, interviews can be conducted in a variety of environments outside of the law enforcement station house (p.6). This can potentially change the dynamic of how, when, or why a suspect will be deceptive with the investigating officer. Last, an interview is free-flowing and relatively unstructured, allowing for impromptu changes and alternative questions based on the dynamic between the officer and the person being questioned (p. 7).

**Interrogations**

Interrogations, on the other hand, tend to have opposing characteristics in comparison to the interview (Inbau, 2004). First, interrogations are accusatory. The officer designs, both his/her
questions and statements, to reflect a certain knowledge that the suspect is probably guilty of the crime being investigated or is withholding vital information about the crime (p. 7). Second, the interrogation involves active persuasion. The officer utilizes a variety of techniques to persuade the suspect to tell the truth that the officer believes the suspect lied about during the interview process (p. 8). Third, interrogations are conducted in controlled settings. This enables the officer to manipulate and control the external distractions or conditions to aid in the persuasive process of eliciting the truth from the suspect. Fourth, interrogations should only be conducted when the officer has reasonable evidence of the suspect’s guilt (p. 8). The evidence can come in a variety of different forms including physical evidence, discrepancies in statements between witnesses, and several other indicators. However, this component of interrogation is the most commonly violated by law enforcement officers and they will engage in interrogation tactics based on hunches or their own personal biases toward the potential suspect.

Deception occurs on the part of law enforcement officers and suspects in both the interview and interrogation interactions. However, the difference in dynamic between the two settings means that the method for detecting deception has to be contextually specific to each situation. In addition, the stakes of deception are raised in both settings, as compared to everyday interactions, as is the motivation of the person to deceive the other participant. This creates a situation where higher levels of deception detection ability are required but not actively seen in the current interview and interrogation processes.

**Problem**

The law enforcement officers in the interrogation room are the first line of defense toward preventing future crime and protecting the innocent. Their ability to separate truth from deceit is critical to making the criminal justice process work correctly. Previous research studies
have demonstrated that, on average, law enforcement officers have a 52-57% accuracy rating for both detecting lies and detecting truths (Colwell, Hiscock, & Memon, 2002; DePaulo & Pfeifer, 1986; Mann & Vrij, 2006). This is barely above the 50% mark of chance or merely guessing. The lack of ability to accurately detect deception poses a huge problem for the function of our society. If law enforcement officers are unable to distinguish truth from deceit when interviewing suspects, they create situations where criminals are released to commit future crimes and innocent people are falsely imprisoned.

An excellent example of this occurrence is the 1995 case of Kennedy Brewer from Mississippi. Brewer was convicted of the rape and murder of six-year-old Christine Jackson and placed on death row. In 2001, DNA evidence proved that Brewer was innocent and that the murderer was Justin Albert Johnson, one of the original suspects in the case. With the DNA evidence in place, Johnson confessed to Jackson’s murder along with another crime, the rape and murder of three-year-old Courtney Smith. Smith was murdered eighteen months prior to Jackson and Levon Brooks, the ex-boyfriend of the child’s mother, was charged and convicted of the crime. In both cases, Justin Albert Johnson was interviewed by police during the initial investigations and subsequently released. Due to the inability of detectives to distinguish between truth and deceit, two innocent men were convicted of heinous crimes and both spent over 15 years in prison while the true murderer was free to repeat his crime (Innocence Project: Kennedy Brewer Case).

In another instance, British serial killer Peter Sutcliffe was interviewed nine times by police over a span of five years from 1975-1980. He was released each time, even though forensic evidence pointed at him as the perpetrator in several instances (Steel, 2009). These cases
are proof that, with or without solid forensic evidence, the interaction that takes place during the interview process and in the interrogation room is vital to convicting the correct person.

**IDT and Deception in the Interrogation Room**

During an interrogation, both the suspect and the officer may engage in forms of deception in order to control the flow of information between them. In about 25% of the cases where innocent people are jailed, the suspect gave a false confession because they succumbed to the aggressive and potentially deceptive tactics of law enforcement officers (The Innocence Project - Understand the causes: False Confessions). The deceptive dynamic between the officer and the suspect in the interrogation room can be theoretically explained using interpersonal deception theory (IDT).

The success of a deception is dependent upon the interaction between both the deceiver and the listener. IDT was the first theory to make it clear that deception was dependent upon both participants and not just the deceiver’s behaviors. When a person attempts to deceive someone else, he/she communicates false information during a typical conversational interaction. IDT posited that the listener’s level of suspicion, participation in the conversation, and observation of nonverbal behaviors was altered continually over the entire interaction (Buller, Strzyzewski, & Comstock, 1991; Buller, Strzyzewski, & Hunsaker, 1991; Burgoon & Buller, 1994; Burgoon, Buller, Guerrero, Afifi, & Feldman, 1996). As the listener’s behaviors changed, the deceiver had to adjust their verbal and nonverbal behaviors to continue lying successfully.

The interrogation room is perhaps the most blatant example of the IDT dynamic. As the suspect attempts to deceive the law enforcement officer, he/she must pay attention not only to his/her own verbal and nonverbal behaviors but also to those of the officer that he/she is trying to convince of his/her innocence. In return, the officer has to pay attention to the suspect’s
behaviors and subsequently adjust his/her questions, nonverbal behaviors, and emotional levels. As the interaction progresses, specific components of the interaction can become detrimental to the accuracy of the law enforcement officer’s ability to detect deception.

**Participation.**

First, the fact that the officers are participating in the conversation can affect their ability to be accurate. A certain level of cognitive and communicative tasks must be undertaken when one is an active conversational participant. According to IDT researchers:

Participants must encode as well as decode messages, stay on topic, provide relevant feedback, negotiate relational concerns, and maintain conversational continuity through appropriate turn-taking… Participants must watch the source, control self-presentation, sequence their conversational exchanges, assess the source’s and their own antecedent behaviors, and plan their future behaviors while simultaneously maintaining control over the immediate interaction. (Buller, Strzyzewski, & Hunsaker, 1991, p. 27)

This level of cognition and communication inhibits a person’s ability to focus at a highly observant level on any one of the aforementioned tasks. Therefore, when a person is a participant in the conversation a certain level of truth-bias is attributed to the other person. The truth-bias is when people automatically assume that the individuals with whom they are interacting are honest in their communication because they believe all people to be wholly truthful in their social behaviors (Grice, 1975). This means that participants in conversations are more likely to assume that their partners’ communication behaviors are truthful in nature and tend to overlook cues to deception during their interactions (Buller, Strzyzewski, & Hunsaker, 1991). The truth-bias can also affect a person’s level of suspicion. If a person regards his/her conversational partner’s
behavior as being honest due to a truth-bias, he/she is less likely to become suspicious of subsequent behaviors.

**Suspicion.**

Second, the officer’s level of suspicion affects their observation of the suspect’s behavioral cues. Both whether the officer enters the room suspicious of the suspect and whether suspicion is aroused during their interaction alters the officer’s observations of the suspects’ behaviors. When a suspect perceives that the officer has become suspicious, he/she will increase his/her self-monitoring and reduce the number of deception-related behaviors in an attempt to reduce the officer’s suspicion (Buller, Strzyzewski, & Comstock, 1991). However, a truthful suspect will start to show nervous nonverbal cues associated with deception when confronted with continued suspicious probing by the officer (Burgoon, Buller, Dillman, & Walther, 1995). This situation creates a problematic interaction when an officer enters the interrogation with a high level of suspicion already in place because they are less capable of detecting truthful cues in the nervous honest suspect. In addition, the officer’s high level of suspicion also causes the deceitful suspect to closely monitor his/her behaviors to reduce his/her deceptive cues making it more difficult to ascertain whether they are lying or not.

**Confidence.**

The third component is the law enforcement officer’s confidence level in his/her ability to detect deception accurately. Many law enforcement officers adhere to the 75% rule. This rule contends that 75% of police suspects will engage in lying during interrogations. Therefore, law enforcement officers who believe that all suspects are lying will be correct 75% of the time without any training in deception detection (Frank & Feeley, 2003, p. 60). However, research shows that while police do indeed become more confident in their deception detection abilities as
they engage in more interrogations on the job, their accuracy rates remain closer to the 50% chance mark (DePaulo & Pfeifer, 1986).

The problems inherent in the various interrogation techniques caused law enforcement departments and criminologists to investigate solutions to their interviewing and interrogation training methods. In the process, they consulted social science researchers to assist them in addressing the deception detection accuracy ratings.

**Current Training Methods**

In order to increase the accuracy rates of law enforcement officers, social science researchers began to analyze interrogation training techniques and started to design and implement deception detection training programs at all levels of law enforcement. A variety of training programs were developed to teach law enforcement officers techniques that would help them improve on their deception detection skills. However, the law enforcement officers who are in need of the skills do not always accept the current programs. In addition, the majority of deception detection training programs are derived from research addressing the nonverbal behaviors associated with deception and this research is extremely limited in scope.

**M.E.T.T.**

Ekman (2003), one of the leading deception researchers, created the Micro-Expression Training Tool (METT). This program is designed to help individuals recognize micro-expressions. Micro-expressions are facial expressions that last for less than a 1/5th of a second. When people experience heightened levels of emotion, the various processing centers of the brain stimulate the corresponding facial muscles to reveal that particular emotion. Due to the speed of this response, micro-expressions are involuntary and therefore cannot be disguised during deception. In addition, micro-expressions are tied to the six universal emotions: (a)
Ekman (2003) found that some people did in fact display micro-expressions during an attempt at deception. Women, for instance, tend to show a masking smile when lying about feelings of happiness. A masking smile is when the facial muscles associated with the mouth demonstrate happiness while the eyes and eyebrows, along with other facial muscles, show evidence of sadness, fear, anger, or disgust. Immediately prior to engaging in a masking smile, women flashed a brief facial expression of their true emotional state. In order to distinguish the false emotions from the true ones, Ekman had to determine which muscles were associated with each particular emotional state. Ekman used the Facial Action Coding System (FACS) to distinguish when each individual facial muscle twitched and in what combinations the twitches occurred. FACS enabled researchers to label precisely which facial muscles were engaged when each specific universal emotion was felt by a person. This allowed them to distinguish when a person was showing genuine emotion and when they were manipulating their nonverbal facial expressions to be deceptive.

However, the research results from studies of deception using METT demonstrated that only about a quarter of all participants demonstrated micro-expressions during deceptive communication attempts (Ekman, 2003). The research also found that while only a small percentage of the population could see micro-expressions without training, the capability and accuracy of detecting micro-expressions improved greatly after only an hour of training with METT (p. 215). Therefore, various groups, such as Homeland Security and the Transportation Security Administration (TSA), are trained with the METT system to improve their ability to detect deceptive people. One of the primary limitations in using METT to train people to detect
deception is that micro-expressions only show a person’s true emotional state at that exact moment but they do not reveal why the person is feeling that way. This leaves a large margin of error for determining when someone is being criminally deceptive versus engaging in socially acceptable deceptive behaviors.

**Reid Technique**

Another training program commonly used in law enforcement is the Reid technique for interviewing and interrogation. Since the 1970’s, hundreds of thousands of law enforcement officers have been trained in this particular method. The Reid technique is designed to assist investigators in detecting deception through a specific interviewing process in which nonverbal behaviors can be analyzed. The Reid technique focuses on five primary nonverbal behaviors that are supposed to show heightened levels of anxiety related to the fight or flight fear response (Blair & Kooi, 2004). Early researchers believed that being deceptive incorporated a raised level of fear that would manifest itself in nervous or anxiety-driven nonverbal behaviors. The Reid technique’s five categories of nonverbs include (a) posture, (b) hands, (c) feet, (d) eyes, and (e) paralinguistic behaviors (Blair & Kooi, 2004).

In the Reid technique, investigators begin their interviews with a series of benign questions designed to establish the suspect’s emotional and behavioral base line. Any changes to this baseline that occur during the focused questioning, or in later interrogations, should be regarded as deceptive. The Reid technique also stresses the concept of timing (i.e. that the changes in behavior should occur during questioning or answering to be truly regarded as indicative of deception) and consistency (i.e. that the behavioral change occurs every time a specific topic is addressed). The Reid technique stresses the importance of nonverbal behavior changes as being the strongest indicators of deception in a suspect (Blair & Kooi, 2004).
Limitations of Current Training Programs

Both METT and the Reid technique focus almost wholly on a person’s nonverbal behaviors when training law enforcement officers to detect deception. The problem with this approach is that deception research literature suggests that there are no perfect nonverbal clues to detecting deception (DePaulo, Stone, & Lassiter, 1985; Ekman, 1992; Frank & Feeley, 2003; Knapp & Comadena, 1979). Deception research has provided contradictory and limited results arguing that specific nonverbal cues are indeed indicative of deception (DePaulo, Lindsay, Malone, Muhlenbric, Charlton, & Cooper, 2003; Donaghy & Dooley, 1994; Ekman & Friesen, 1974; Levine, Asada, & Park, 2006). With this in mind, if a cue indicates that a person is lying 70% of the time within a particular context, then an investigator who relies on this cue will be inaccurate 30% of the time. In addition, the officer may miss other cues that demonstrate deception because they are intent on spotting the one cue that they have been trained to associate with deceptive behavior (Frank & Feeley, 2003).

Furthermore, neither of these methods takes into account the interpersonal deception limitations inherent in the dynamic of the interrogation setting. The officer’s level of suspicion regarding the suspect’s guilt, prior to the initial interaction, can affect how accurate he/she is when recognizing legitimate nonverbal cues to deception (Burgoon, Buller, Dillman, & Walther, 1995). Therefore, micro-expressions can be missed or misinterpreted based on the officer’s own personal biases of guilt or innocence. Due to his/her participation in the interaction, the officer’s own cognitive and communicative load makes it difficult for him/her to keep up with the timing of the changes in nonverbal behavior and the consistency of the changes to the suspect’s nonverbal behaviors especially when he/she is trying to successfully provoke detectable cues from the suspect.
The weak correlation between nonverbal cues and deception makes it difficult to entice law enforcement officers to subject themselves to extensive deception detection training. Moreover, the majority of law enforcement officers are confident in their own capabilities as lie detectors and view the limitations of current training methods and research as a perfect reason to avoid sitting in a classroom (Frank & Feeley, 2003). Recently, researchers have begun to address the perceived limitations to the current training programs.

**Method of Instruction.**

One of the challenges being addressed is the method of instruction used in deception detection training. Research found the traditional methods of instruction (i.e. instructor based teaching in a classroom) had mixed results and that some training programs actually reduced the accuracy of deception detection (Crews, Cao, Lin, Nunamaker Jr., & Burgoon, 2007; DePaulo & Pfeifer, 1986). IDT researchers teamed up with Google, Inc to design and test a web-based training system called the Agent99 trainer. In the initial Agent99 study, researchers found that compared to instructor-based learning, the web-based computer program was just as effective at improving the accuracy rates of deception detectors (Crews et al., 2007). By being able to offer deception detection training on the computer instead of in a classroom, law enforcement officers would be able to complete the training at their own convenience.

However, there are some flaws in the Agent99 trainer system. The Agent99 trainer is designed to incorporate examples of communication interactions derived from the previous IDT experiments which are not real-world relevant to the day-to-day interactions of law enforcement officers at work. In another study, using a modified version of the Agent99 trainer, officers in the American Air Force were participants in additional research comparing instructor-based training with the web-based program to improve their deception detection abilities. The designers of the
Agent99 trainer program included military-centric examples and relevant situations to military settings. The results of the second study found that factual knowledge about deception cues increased while accuracy ratings in deception detection either did not change or lowered from before training to after training (George et al., 2004). While the Agent99 trainer research did prove that incorporating computer based methods to instruction models may be beneficial to overall learning retention, it did not demonstrate an increase in overall accuracy ratings of deception detection. This is just additional confirmation that training programs focused almost wholly on nonverbal cues to deception are not conducive to improving the ability of law enforcement officers to actually detect deception in their real-life scenarios.

**Proposed Solution**

By incorporating training methods that are based in alternative interpersonal communication theories, we could improve the accuracy ratings of deception detection among law enforcement officers as well as make them more receptive to engaging in deception training in the first place. Utilizing aspects of expectancy violations theory (EVT) and speech codes theory, researchers would be able to modify training programs to make them real-world relevant to law enforcement interactions. Furthermore, training programs could be designed with a more individualistic focus that would appeal to all personality types within a law enforcement agency. These two theories would not replace the existent theoretical base for deception detection training but would add another angle that is more understandable to laypeople. In addition, these two theories address both the nonverbal and verbal components of an interpersonal interaction providing a well-rounded approach to deception detection. Before one can understand how EVT or speech codes theory can be incorporated into deception training programs, one must first understand the basic components of the theories.
Speech Codes Theory

Speech codes theory posits that people develop specific codes for speaking within particular cultures. Philipsen (2008) divides the theory into six propositions that help to clarify the theoretical constructs. The first and second propositions state that anywhere there is a distinctive culture, there will be distinctive speech codes and that people will encounter multiple speech codes in a lifetime. The third and fifth propositions state that the words, meanings, and rules pertaining to communicative conduct are linked with the same concepts pertaining to the nature of people and social relationships. The fourth proposition argues that the significance of particular communicative acts is contingent on the speech codes that people use to interpret them. Proposition six says that people use speech codes not only to interpret communicative conduct, but also to evaluate it as good or bad and to explain or justify it. The theory of speech codes helps people to understand a person’s communication or messages within the contexts of their culture and sociological norms. Speech codes enables a person to understand why people say the things they do, how we form jargon or slang, and how we interpret other people’s words. By understanding the relationship between our culture and our speech codes, we can determine the expected verbal behaviors of others. The theory of speech codes is somewhat similar to the theory of nonverbal expectancy violations.

Expectancy Violations Theory

Burgoon and Hale’s (1988) expectancy violations theory analyzes a communicative interaction from a sociological perspective concerning the expectations each partner holds about the communication of the other person and how violations of those expectations alter the relational dynamic. While Burgoon and Hale focus their research studies from a nonverbal perspective, the EVT process can be applied to the verbal components of a communicative
interaction. The EVT process is divided into five key elements that explain each step of the interaction. The key elements are (a) expectancies, (b) violations and arousal, (c) communicator reward valence, (d) behavior interpretation and evaluation, and (e) violation valence (p. 59).

**Expectancies.**

EVT starts from the assumption that participants in interpersonal communication interactions develop and maintain expectations about the nonverbal behaviors of others (Burgoon & Hale, 1988). The origins of these expectations stem from recognized and accepted social norms and from previous knowledge concerning the idiosyncrasies of the other person. Concerning stranger interactions, the expectations are identical to the accepted social norms. Expectations include judgments about what behaviors are possible, appropriate, and desired in relationship to the interaction setting, purpose, and set of participants (p. 60). According to Jackson (1966), expectations are judged on the frequency of the associated role behaviors and the likelihood of a person to approve or disapprove of the other person’s behaviors. Expectations also exist in ranges instead of exact measurements. For instance, physical distance between conversing partners who are familiar with each other is expected to be between two to four feet (Burgoon & Hale, 1988). As long as the participants stay within this physical distance range, they are meeting the behavioral expectations. Research has found that expectations of behavior have already been formed in infancy; and that by adulthood, expectations have become formalized into scripted behavioral programs (Gibson, Owsley, & Johnson, 1978; Schank & Abelson, 1977; Street & Cappella, 1985). Due to the ingrained nature of our expectations, it takes quite a deviance to be considered a violation. A deviating behavior that is small enough not to cause a change in a person’s arousal state is not considered a violation of expectations.
Violations and Arousal.

Violations are any deviance from the expected behavior and can be both positive and negative in nature. However, all EVT research models agree that both positive and negative violations will produce a change in the partner’s arousal levels (Burgoon & Hale, 1988). According to Burgoon and Hale, the concept of a change in arousal “is posited to cause an alertness or orienting response that diverts attention away from the ostensive purpose of the interaction and focuses it toward the source of the arousal or the initiator of the violation” (p.62). After being aroused by the violation, a person will immediately evaluate it to determine its positive or negative nature. People use specific concepts to evaluate violations, including communicator reward value.

Communicator Reward Value.

The reward value of a communicator is based on the person’s characteristics, such as gender, personality, attractiveness, reputation, or socio-economic status. Reward value is also based on the desired interactional behaviors, such as possessing tangible rewards, having an amusing communication style, or increasing desired emotional levels (Burgoon & Hale, 1988). Communicator reward values can be assessed prior to interaction or immediately at the onset of interaction. Once the communicator’s reward value is established, the recipient uses this value as a baseline to interpret expectancy or violation levels.

Behavior Interpretation and Evaluation.

In order to determine whether a person is adhering to expectations or violating them, a person has to be able to attach the correct meaning to a nonverbal behavior. Specific behaviors are assigned meaning on an individual basis and others are generalizable across all people within a culture. If the person is unsure of the exact social meaning of a particular behavior, he/she will
use his or her own personal understanding of associated social norms to determine the behavioral meaning. In addition, the reward value of a person helps a person evaluate the behavior as either positive, negative, or even meaningful. No matter what the individual uses to interpret a behavior or a violation, he/she still has to determine whether the behavior is a positive change to the expected behavior or a negative one.

Violation Valence.

Once the violation is evaluated, it is given a positive or negative valence. Negative violations are those that differ from the expected behaviors and result in a desire to lessen or end the interpersonal relationship with the other person. Positive violations are those that differ from the expected behaviors but cause the person to want to increase the intimacy levels of the existent interpersonal relationship. Some behaviors are always negative and others are always regarded as positive, but for the most part, behaviors are assigned a positive or negative nature within the context of a particular communicative interaction.

EVT and Deception

EVT is also used to evaluate and understand deceptive behaviors. Violations of expected behavior are often regarded as being potentially deceptive. EVT predicts that behavior that unexpectedly or spontaneously violates a social norm negatively should be rated as more deceptive than an expected negative violation (Levine et al., 2000). Bond et al. (1992) found that people judged individuals as being deceptive whenever they engaged in unusual or weird nonverbal behaviors during a conversation. However, the researchers did find that while violating nonverbal behaviors did increase a person’s belief that the individual was being deceptive, the study participants’ accuracy rate of correctly judging deceit or truth was still close to the 50% chance mark (Bond, Omar, Pitre, Lashley, Skaggs, & Kirk, 1992). While EVT alone
has not proven itself useful in improving deception detection accuracy ratings, it can be combined with other theories to create a program that would improve the accuracy ratings.

**Combining Theories to Improve Accuracy**

Interpersonal deception theory (IDT) promotes the idea that the relationship between the communicator and the listener is vital to understanding or detecting deception. Yet, deception researchers continue to focus on simply finding nonverbal cues from the communicator that would tell the listener that he/she was indeed lying. If researchers change their focus to use a combination of EVT, speech codes, and IDT then a new angle for determining deception appears, along with potential strategies for eliciting more obviously recognizable cues of deception.

**A unique culture.**

If one looks at the law enforcement community as its own culture, then one would expect that they have their own speech codes and expectancies of nonverbal behavior. Therefore, since both interviewing and interrogation falls within the nature of the culture, one should expect that the speech codes and expectancies within these two settings would be unique to the law enforcement culture. Law enforcement officers use their own language and have altered nonverbal patterns when compared with the outside culture from where they reside. Law enforcement officers are members of the larger culture; they have a unique position in which they have knowledge of two different cultures’ speech codes and expectancies of behavior.

Suspects, on the other hand, may or may not have knowledge of the law enforcement community’s codes. A repeat offender or lifetime criminal may have knowledge of the communication codes and expected behaviors of the law enforcement community while a first
time offender is entering a foreign culture. This creates a distinctive advantage for the officer who is knowledgeable of both cultures.

Manipulating cues.

The officer may be able to manipulate the communication patterns to violate or maintain expectancies of behavior from either culture. In violating the suspect’s expectancies, the officer creates a state of arousal or heightened emotion. When a person’s emotions are at a higher level, they are less capable of controlling their nonverbal behaviors and tend to leak more obvious cues to deception (DePaulo, Lanier, & Davis, 1983; Ekman & Friesen, 1974). In addition, suspects who are being deceptive are more highly motivated to minimize their deception cues in order to avoid the consequences of their crime. Researchers have already shown that highly motivated liars tend to over compensate for their deception and violate nonverbal expectancies of behavior by over minimizing their facial expressions and body language (Burgoon & Floyd, 2000; DePaulo, Lanier, & Davis, 1983). Understanding what the deceiver is trying to accomplish along with the speech codes and expected nonverbal behaviors should create a situation where a person could actively manipulate the communicative interaction to elicit more obvious cues associated with deception.

Deception research has argued that deceptive communication behaviors are associated with cognitive load, emotional arousal, and the attempted control of nonverbal behaviors (Frank & Ekman, 2004; Knapp M. L., 2008; Lakhani & Taylor, 2003). This means that a truly deceptive person is already maintaining a heightened level of cognition, is already emotionally aroused, and is trying to control their nonverbal behaviors to appear truthful. If the partner in the communicative interaction has a solid understanding of the cultural speech codes and expected nonverbal behaviors, they should be able to manipulate any number of their own behaviors to
cause the deceiver to overload his/her cognitive or emotional capabilities. This would cause a breakdown in the deceiver’s ability to actively control even the most obvious signs of deception. Thus, deceivers would demonstrate nonverbal or verbal cues that would be easily recognized as deceptive by the law enforcement officer. However, before promoting the idea of manipulating speech codes and expectancies as a viable addition to improving accuracy rates, one must first address the existent limitations explicated by IDT.

Limitations.

Due to the law enforcement officer’s participation in the conversation in the interrogation room, they are already at a high cognitive load trying to maintain their own end of the interaction. By adding additional knowledge and then trying to manipulate the other person, we are adding to the officer’s already high cognitive load and may actually reduce his/her ability to accurately detect deception. However, there are potential solutions to this limitation. By incorporating an understanding of speech codes and nonverbal expectancies to deception training programs, researchers and law enforcement leaders should be able to develop a series of interrogative scripts that would provide the interrogator with ideas or layouts of expected conversational flow. This reduces the officer’s cognitive requirements for managing what they are going to say, how the conversation should go, and what they are trying to accomplish with the interaction.

In addition, by placing an observer outside of interrogation or by recording the interrogation, the participant can be free to run the manipulation and conversation without trying to detect deception cues. The observer would become responsible for detecting obvious cues to deception in the suspect and relaying that information back to the participating officer through an earwig. Research has already shown that observers are more accurate at detecting deception than
participants due to the lack of cognitive load and social expectations on their part (Burgoon, Buller, Dillman, & Walther, 1995; Dunbar, Ramirez Jr., & Burgoon, 2003). If an observer was not able to be present for an interrogation, then it could be recorded and immediately reviewed by the participating officer after the interrogation is complete. This would allow the participating officer to maintain his/her role during the interrogation and then switch over to being an observer while reviewing the tape. If cues to deception were seen on the tape, then the officer could recall the suspect into interrogation and confront them on the specific topics that elicited the deceptive responses. Of course, this would need to happen within a fairly short amount of time to be effective. Thus, the manipulator and observer dynamic is a more amenable design for increasing accuracy ratings.

Another set of limitations that must be addressed is the level of suspicion or truth-bias levels of the law enforcement officer. By incorporating concepts from EVT and speech codes theory into the deception detection training, officers will be trained to understand what behaviors they should be seeing and will be able to recognize those that violate the expected behaviors or speech codes. By providing a multiple scripts for different types of interactions, the officer can quickly change the flow of conversation to respond to possible deceptive cues. By altering or violating what the suspect expects the officer to do or say, the office will be able to elicit stronger or more obvious cues to deception. The obvious cues will either prove the officer’s suspicion correct or violate the existent truth-bias enough that the officer will become suspicious during the interaction. In addition, the outside observer will be able to maintain a more impartial view of the interaction. Thus, he/she will be able to confirm the participating officer’s suspicions or point out cues that were missed due to the participating officer’s truth-bias.
Finally, using EVT and speech codes to contextualize the interactions that take place in interrogation allows officers to perceive nonverbal cues as violations of expected behavior and can manipulate those violations to allow for more recognizable deceptive cues within that particular interaction. This takes away the need for researchers to try to provide a set of nonverbal cues that are consistently linked with deception across all contexts. Officers will be more reliant on their natural human observational skills and knowledge of cultural speech codes to determine deceptive behaviors instead of trying to learn skills that are only effective some of the time. This would improve the state of the current training programs.

**Incorporating Theories into Training Programs**

Incorporating EVT and speech codes theory into the existent IDT based training programs should not be a difficulty. There is already a large body of research into both theories and the three theories fit together quite well. Additionally, by focusing research from all three theories, training programs would be designed by researchers and law enforcement leaders as a team, making these types of training programs more palatable to the officers who are taking the classes. The theories and constructs would be taught to the officers using the speech codes and cultural contexts of their community instead of being passed on by academics who tend to speak in statistical relevance.

**Conclusion**

The ability of law enforcement officers to detect deception is vital to protecting our society from criminal behavior. Therefore, it is also vital that we, as deception researchers, continue to look for new methods and theories to train these officers to be more accurate in their deception detection capabilities. By utilizing alternative interpersonal communication theories, such as expectancy violations theory and speech codes theory, researchers would be able to open
up more avenues for potential research into increasing deception detection accuracy ratings. This does not mean that we should just reject the current theoretical base for deception detection training programs but address the inherent limitations by adding alternative theories into the mix.

By adding EVT and speech codes theory into the IDT based training programs, law enforcement officers would be able to manipulate the interactions that take place in the interrogation room and potentially cause suspects to demonstrate more obvious cues to deception, thus increasing their accuracy ratings in deception detection. In addition, by incorporating these theories into training programs, law enforcement leaders would be able to be more involved in the design and implementation of the training programs creating a situation where the officers required to take the training would be receptive to learning the material.

When criminals are free to commit crimes repeatedly and innocent people sit in prison for crimes they did not commit, we cannot afford to neglect any possible avenue of research in the development of better deception detection training programs for law enforcement officers that would remedy this situation.
References


The Audacity of Self-Determination – Child Welfare Worker’s Quandary in Promoting Self-Determination

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Abstract

The concept of self-determination is considered one of the social work profession’s central concepts. It is described in the NASW Code of Ethics and provides a framework for practitioners working with clients in the many diverse populations, which social workers serve. Despite this professional mandate, self-determination has also been the subject of decades of interdisciplinary debate and controversy. Critics of self-determination argue that one can never fully be self-determined due to societal constraints such as power and oppression, and that social workers face an impossible dilemma – working to promote client self-determination in a society that often works against them. Yet, proponents argue that self-determination is truly client-centered in that it empowers clients to contribute to treatment, and acknowledges that they are the best resource on their own needs.

This paper chronologically traces the origins of self-determination in social work, including how it was illustrated in early social work literature and how this concept has evolved over time. Particular attention is paid to practice implications and how the promotion of self-determination is often effected by the socio-political climate, and societal constraints.
To explore how self-determination is defined in contemporary practice, a qualitative study will be conducted using intensive interviews with child welfare worker’s in order to uncover how these professionals grapple with the promotion the self-determination of their clients. Findings will provide insight into how professional social workers promote and encourage families to be self-determined within the context of their current socio-political climate. Findings may be used to help educate and prepare social workers for addressing key ethical dilemmas that they will face. Additionally, it will help to address how social work practice has been influenced by historical and societal forces, and inform the discussion about the interplay between social work practice, promoting the individual, and countering issues of power, race, and class.
Reconstruction of Jewish Cultural Sites and Recovery of Jewish Cultural Assets in Post-Holocaust and Post-Communist Poland and Czech Republic

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The events of World War II resulted in huge human losses and almost total annihilation of Jewish communities in Europe. The seizure and destruction of Jewish cultural property became inextricably linked with the Holocaust of Polish and Czech Jews, and even their few personal belongings were confiscated upon their arrival to extermination camps. Jewish cultural and religious life, as it was known before World War II, was almost completely annihilated. The scale of destruction of Central European Jewish communities would become one of the major factors affecting the restitution process of Jewish cultural property in post-Communist Poland and Czech Republic. The postwar redrawing of borders and forced migrations of millions of people changed dramatically the cultural landscape of Central and Eastern Europe. Additionally, the imposition of Communist regimes did not allow for the rebuilding of a pluralistic and multi-ethnic society and regional cultural diversity.

The Jewish Population and its Cultural and Political Life in Poland after 1945

At the end of the war, there were 380,000 Polish Jews, fewer than 12 percent of the prewar Jewish population in Poland, including the 7 percent who survived within the Soviet Union. Under the Polish-Soviet Repatriation Agreement of July 1945, approximately 165,000 Jews returned to Poland. A few years later, another 20,000 were repatriated to Poland following a subsequent agreement. Despite catastrophic demographic losses due to German extermination policies, the Jews were able to rebuild in part their prewar cultural and political life. In the initial postwar years, Communist authorities generally treated the Jews with restraint, and the Jewish population “enjoyed a relatively large degree of freedom
with regard to its social and cultural activities.” For example, a Yiddish (Communist Party) newspaper, *Folks-shtime*, was created and the Yiddish theater of Ida Kamińska was reestablished in Warsaw. From 1945 to 1950, approximately thirty Jewish organizations, including eleven political parties, operated in Poland, with the first Jewish organization, the Central Committee of Jews in Poland, formed in 1944. The committee was an umbrella organization formed by representatives from all prewar Jewish political parties, including some territorial branches; it was responsible, among other things, for the rebuilding of Jewish cultural and educational institutions. In 1944 the committee initiated the formation of the Central Jewish Historical Commission, which evolved into the Jewish Historical Institute (*Żydowski Instytut Historyczny*) in 1947. The institute became the most significant postwar scholarly organization focusing on the history of the Jews in Poland, primarily during World War II and the Holocaust period, and played a crucial role in rebuilding Jewish cultural collections by acquiring and recovering Jewish archives, books, and art that survived the war.

The institute took up residence in the prewar building of the Library for Jewish Studies of the Great Synagogue in Warsaw. The building, seriously damaged during the war, was rebuilt largely due to financial aid from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, which also helped develop the Institute’s library and art collections. An important historical collection of the newly created institute’s library included remnants of the recovered Library for Jewish Studies of the Great Synagogue in Warsaw, the Jewish Theological Seminary in Wrocław (Breslau), and some small Jewish public libraries, as well as some libraries of Jewish political parties and organizations, and private individuals. Over the years the institute developed a significant collection of manuscripts and early prints-totaling 1,131 and 1,391, respectively-recovered from Nazi-looted art depots in Lower Silesia, including Kłodzko (Glatz), and later assembled in numerous provisional collecting points (museum warehouses) organized by the Polish authorities, including one in Bożków. In 1951 the institute received a collection of 6,000 items that had belonged to the former Museum of the Jewish Berlin Community from the museum warehouse in Bożków. Among other materials, the collection contained drawings of Jewish artists in Germany and photographs of Jewish architectural monuments.
Probably the most spectacular Jewish historical materials recovered were documents, sometimes only fragments, from various ghettos in Nazi-occupied Poland. In 1946 and 1950, researchers discovered parts 1 and 2 of the Emanuel Ringelblum Archive (Oneg Shabbat) in the ruins of the Warsaw ghetto; the manuscripts were hidden in milk cans and metal containers buried underground. The archive consists of over 1,680 archival units (approximately 25,000 pages) and is “the most important single source for the history of Polish Jewry during the war and the Holocaust.” Its historic value is underscored by unique and original materials such as the diaries and notes of notable Jewish officials and historians, materials concerning the ghetto resistance, and testimonies concerning the fate of Jewish communities during the war. Despite extensive search efforts after the war, the third part (cache) of the archive, allegedly containing material on the Jewish resistance and fighting, is still missing.

In the 1940s and 1950s the institute also developed a sizeable collection of Jewish art, including paintings, drawings, and ceremonial objects, such as embroidered Torah curtains and the largest collection of Torah ark curtains (parokhet and kapporet) in Poland.

The Jewish minority’s relatively large degree of freedom with regard to scholarly research and social and cultural activities had its political and social limits. In 1946 the Central Jewish Historical Commission published 24 books and later reconstituted itself as the Jewish Historical Institute to became a full-fledged Holocaust research center. However, pressure from the Communist regime and increasing Jewish emigration dramatically diminished Jewish research. In 1949-1950, no books at all were published by the institute. By 1950 Communist authorities dissolved all Jewish political parties; liquidated the Jewish Society for the Propagation of Fine Arts (Żydowskie Towarzystwo Krzewienia Sztuk Pięknych), which had been restored after the war by Jewish art historian Józef Sandel; and banned the activities of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. Upon vacating its premises in Warsaw, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee donated one hundred items of Jewish art and ceremonial objects to the Jewish Historical Institute, which was one of very few Jewish organizations allowed to operate. The last organization to be dissolved was the Central Committee of Jews in Poland,
which was merged with the Jewish Cultural Society to form the Social and Cultural Association of Jews in Poland.

The cultural, social, and religious activities of the Jewish community were undermined by occasional anti-Semitic incidents, culminating in the 1946 Kielce pogrom, which accelerated the emigration of 100,000 Jews from Poland. By the end of 1947, only 80,000 Jews were left in the country.\textsuperscript{xvi} The last significant wave of Jewish emigration occurred from 1968 to 1971 following an officially sanctioned anti-Jewish campaign resulting from an internal power struggle in the ruling Communist Party, during which many Jews were denounced as Zionists and expelled from their places of work.\textsuperscript{xvii} The demographic losses suffered during World War II, followed by the postwar waves of emigration, resulted in the Jewish community in Poland being decreased to less than 10,000 by the 1970s.\textsuperscript{xviii} The gradual decline in the Jewish population and the lack of a comprehensive government program for the preservation of communal property of various ethnic minorities made regular upkeep and conservation of many Jewish synagogues and cemeteries challenging, if not impossible.\textsuperscript{xix}

**Legal Status of Jewish Communities and their Communal Property in Communist Poland**

Another significant factor affecting the ownership of Jewish communal property and its preservation was Poland’s postwar Communist governments’ religious policies with regard to its Jewish religious minority. Communist authorities opposed the restoration of prewar autonomous Jewish (Israelitic) religious communities (\textit{Izraelickie Gminy Wyznaniowe}). The supported the clear separation of cultural and national activities from religious ones and the elimination of “a rabbinic element” from the community, which should have a character of “a secular self-government.”\textsuperscript{xx} Instead, the authorities allowed the formation of less independent Jewish religious associations (\textit{Żydowskie Zrzeszenia Religijne}), which were soon replaced by Jewish religious congregations (\textit{Żydowskie kongregacje Wyznaniowe}). Despite Communist secularization efforts, by the end of 1946 there were 80 congregations in major cities such as Warsaw, Cracow, Łódź, Katowice, and Wrocław with tens of thousands of members in 38 synagogues and numerous houses of prayer.\textsuperscript{xxi} By 1949, however, the number of congregations had decreased to 41
and the number of rabbis from 22 to 15.\textsuperscript{xxii}

Under the circular of February 6, 1945, issued by the Ministry of Public Administration, all moveable and immovable property of the prewar Jewish religious communities “remained temporarily under the state administration.”\textsuperscript{xxiii} The same document, however, urged local state authorities to turn over property “serving religious purposes,” such as synagogues and cemeteries, to the management of local Jewish religious associations. The restitution of property of prewar Jewish religious communities to local Jewish religious associations (later renamed Jewish religious congregations) proceeded slowly, however; some frustrated Jewish religious leaders who urged the Ministry of Public Administration to speed up the process.\textsuperscript{xxiv} By the end of 1946 the number of synagogues and cemeteries under the administration of local Jewish religious congregations amounted to 38 and 68, respectively.\textsuperscript{xxv} In 1949 the number of synagogues open to religious practices increased to 43, but the number of cemeteries administered by the congregations decreased to 49.\textsuperscript{xxvi} Under the conditions of high Stalinism, the authorities allowed the formation of a national Jewish religious organization, the Religious Association of Jewish Faith (Związek Religijny Wyznania Mojżeszowego) in 1949 but refused to recognize its statutes until 1961, thereby greatly diminishing the association’s legal standing.\textsuperscript{xxvii}

The government’s policy of semi-legality and legal ambiguity with regard to religious organizations was not limited to Jewish religious organizations and affected other denominations, including the Greek (Ukrainian) Catholic Church, whom the authorities refused to grant legal recognition.\textsuperscript{xxviii} It also allowed the authorities to control almost every aspect of their religious and economic activities. A sharp decline in the membership of Jewish religious congregations and the national Religious Association of Jewish Faith due to waves of immigration and the ever-increasing political control of the association greatly undermined its ability to recover more property of the prewar Jewish religious communities.\textsuperscript{xxix} The association’s financial situation was adversely affected by the government’s ban of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in Poland, which remained in effect from 1950 to 1957.
In the 1950s the authorities commenced the liquidation of “ineffective” local congregations and approved numerous requests from new users of synagogues to change the buildings’ original religious character as well as finally settle issues of disputed or unclaimed ownership. The expropriation of abandoned pre-war Jewish communal property was carried out under the March 8, 1946 Decree on Forsaken and Former German Property, as exemplified by the August 8, 1952, letter of the Office of Religious Affairs (Urząd do Spraw Wyznań) concerning the transfer of the former synagogue in Józefów in Biłgoraj County to a local agricultural cooperative. The new owner intended to use the building as a grain purchasing center, despite objections raised by the organizations representing religious and secular Polish Jews namely the Religious Association of Jewish Faith and the Social and Cultural Association of Jews in Poland. Government approval of putting some abandoned synagogues, as well as former Greek (Ukrainian) Catholic and German Lutheran churches, to economic use represented a departure from early postwar policies of using abandoned synagogues only for schools, libraries, and cultural centers. Even some synagogues considered by the authorities to be historic monuments were not spared from demolition. These included synagogues in Opatów (built in the seventeenth century), Mikołów (1816), Pabianice (1847), Piaseczno (eighteenth century), and Chrzanów (1784-86). In 1951 a handful of the remaining Jews in Chrzanów objected to the government plan of appropriating and remodeling their historic synagogue into a theater. Unable to obtain funding for the remodeling project, which would be very costly since 70 percent of the building was in ruins, the authorities did not act on their refurbishing plan and let the building fall into complete disrepair. The synagogue was finally demolished in 1973.

By the end of Communist rule in Poland in the late 1980s, numerous former synagogues were being used as movie theaters, residential buildings, warehouses, stores, manufacturing enterprises, and even fire stations, in addition to more “cultural” functions such as libraries, cultural centers, and museums. By the early 1990s researchers identified 321 synagogues in 240 locations, their conditions ranging from well-preserved, and in some cases restored or under renovation, to abandoned and ruined. Numerous Jewish cemeteries fell into disrepair due to neglect and vandalism. In many
places the elements of the cultural landscape that represented a Jewish presence were largely destroyed by the Nazis, but little was done to restore and preserve their remains in Communist Poland. The situation began to change in the 1980s when there was a genuine wave of interest in and appreciation of Poland’s Jewish heritage. Some synagogues and cemeteries were renovated, but major changes, including the restitution of Jewish communal property, did not occur until the democratization of Poland following the fall of Communism.

Restitution of Jewish Communal Property in Poland after 1989

The fall of Communism and the disintegration of the Soviet Union paved the way for dramatic political and economic changes, including property relations, in the former Soviet Bloc countries. Since 1989 the restitution of private property in Poland has been conducted on a case-by-case basis as a result of court litigation or administrative action by local authorities; no comprehensive solution has been found.xxxix

The exception has been the restitution of communal property to various denominations, including Jewish religious communities and the Greek (Ukrainian) Catholic Church.

In 1991 the Polish parliament amended the Communist-era law concerning cemeteries, adding new provisions aimed at protecting cemeteries of various denominations and religious organizations. Under the new provisions, authorities cannot utilize current or former denominational burial grounds for other purposes without obtaining the permission of the governing body of a given denomination.xli In 1992 the Religious Association of Jewish Faith (Związek Religijny Wyznania Mojżeszowego) was transformed into the Association of Jewish Religious Communities (Związek Gmin Wyznaniowych Żydowskich), and local Jewish religious congregations became Jewish religious communities.xlii For the first time since the end of World War II, local Jewish religious communities (gminy) became legal entities and recognized successors to the prewar Jewish (Israelitic) religious communities.xlii Their legal status was confirmed under the law concerning relations with Jewish religious communities passed by the Polish parliament in 1997.xliii The law also allowed for the restitution of Jewish communal property, nationalized by the state, to nine existing Jewish religious communities as well as the Association of
Jewish Religious Communities. The communal property included cemeteries, synagogues, and “the buildings where previously offices of Jewish communities were located, and the buildings utilized for the purposes of religious practices, and cultural, educational, and charitable activities.” If the transfer of ownership rights “encountered obstacles difficult to eliminate,” a claimant was entitled to receive suitable property as a substitution or monetary compensation. The transfer of ownership rights of “real estate properties or parts thereof” could also be initiated to include the property owned by synagogue communities (gminy synagogalne) and by “other religious Jewish legal entities” on January 30, 1933, and located in the Western and Northern Territories incorporated into Poland after World War II. Consequently, Jewish religious communities in Legnica, Wrocław, and Szczecin, as well as the Association of Jewish Religious Communities, could acquire the ownership rights to property previously owned by prewar Jewish religious communities operating in Liegnitz, Breslau, Stettin, and other cities in the former German territories. The Adjustment Commission for Jewish Religious Communities, consisting of twelve members equally representing the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration and the Jewish Religious Communities, handled the adjudication of claims through the so-called “adjusting proceeding” (postępowanie regulacyjne).

By May 2002, the deadline for filing applications to initiate adjustment proceedings, the Adjustment Commission for Jewish Religious Communities had received 5,544 claims. After three years of work, the commission had approved 439 claims and denied 397; the remaining 85 percent of the claims remained under consideration. Almost half of the recovered communal property included historic monuments such as synagogues and cemeteries. Their restitution to local Jewish communities was often the only chance of saving them from further ruin, and led to renewed efforts to preserve Jewish cultural heritage in Poland. The long overdue restitution of Jewish communal property, despite its slow pace, can partially redress both Nazi and Communist wrongs and bring some measure of justice to the remaining Jewish communities in Poland, more than sixty years after the end of World War II. It is also critical for the preservation and survival of Jewish elements in Poland’s cultural landscape, which after the war lost its centuries-old multi-ethnic character and became almost completely homogenous.
Return of Jewish Cultural Artifacts

Most of the restitution cases involved the return of communal property such as buildings (synagogues, community centers) and cemeteries to local Jewish communities. There were also a few cases when some significant cultural artifacts were returned to Jewish communities, thereby underscoring a need for the inclusion of cultural objects in the restitution of Jewish communal property.

In 2001, the National Museum in Warsaw handed over a set of Judaic liturgical objects from its collections to Michael Schudrich, chief rabbi of Poland. The ceremony took place at the Warsaw Synagogue. Another case involves the return of 34 manuscripts and 6 incunabula belonging to the Saraval Collection by the Czech National Library.

International Provenance Research and the Return of Jewish Cultural Property

The issue of the identification of Nazi-confiscated items and collections received significant international attention toward the end of the 1990s, as exemplified by various conferences and resolutions. These included the Washington Conference on Holocaust-Era Assets initiated by Deputy-Secretary Stuart Eizenstat and hosted by the State Department in 1998; the Vilnius International Forum on Holocaust Era Looted Cultural Assets held under the auspices of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe in 2000; and Resolution 1205 of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe passed in November 1999.

The Washington Conference, which brought together over forty countries, endorsed a set of non-binding principles relating to unresolved instances of Nazi-confiscated art and called for the identification of “art that had been confiscated by the Nazis and not subsequently restituted.” The Vilnius Forum asked governments, museums, the art trade industry and other relevant agencies to “provide all
information necessary,” including the identification of looted assets, to achieve “the restitution of cultural assets looted during the Holocaust era to the original owners or their heirs.” Resolution 1205 of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe called for the restitution of looted Jewish cultural property to its original owners or their heirs (individual, institutions, or communities) as “a significant way of enabling the reconstitution of the place of Jewish culture in Europe itself.”

The above conferences and recommendations have increased the scrutiny being given to provenance of various objects and collections. However, only a small minority-around 30 percent of the signatories-have implemented their commitments to identify Nazi looted cultural property and restitute it to its rightful owners. The vast majority of these nations have done little or no provenance research. It should be noted that a renewed interest in provenance research has benefited Polish museums, as evidenced by recent returns of artworks of Polish provenance from the United States. Although there seems to have been a loss of momentum over the past several years with regard to cultural restitution as well as compensation for World War II and Holocaust-era looted cultural assets, the issue of the identification of Nazi-looted cultural property awaits further resolution because “large amounts of looted cultural property remain unidentified.”

Thorough provenance research into works of art and culture that underwent a change of ownership between 1932 and 1946 should include both Jewish and non-Jewish cultural property, be conducted in as many countries as possible, and involve both private and public collections. The need for provenance research into German and Russian museum and library collections cannot be underestimated. It is crucial for Poland, itself a victim of Nazi looting and destruction, to assist in resolving Holocaust restitution issues. Considerable progress has been made in returning Jewish communal and religious property. Still successive Polish governments have been unable to pass a restitution law permitting the return of nationalized private property, including cultural property, to its rightful owners and heirs. Provenance research has been mostly limited to cultural war losses suffered by Polish museums and libraries.
Provenance Research into Jewish Cultural Property in the Czech Republic

Recent provenance research conducted by the Jewish Museum in Prague (hereafter JMP) and the National Library of the Czech Republic can serve as a model for Polish cultural institutions. The JMP archivist Michal Bušek has developed the database of owners of displaced books held by JMP. As of November 2007, the database had 5,677 owners identified in book markings in 33,973 out of approximately 80,000 volumes examined and the work was underway to examine additional volumes of the JMP collections. After identifying 34 manuscripts and 6 incunabula from the Saraval Collection, the Czech National Library restituted them to Poland in 2004. They had originally belonged to the prewar Breslau (Polish Wrocław) Rabbinical Seminary and fell victim to Kristallnacht. A similar research would benefit those Polish museums and libraries that hold collections of Jewish cultural assets salvaged from the destruction of World War II, and help identify their original institutional or private owners.

The Saraval Collection in the Czech Republic and Poland

The fate of the library of the Breslau Rabbinical Seminary (Bibliothek des Jüdische-Theologischen Seminars in Breslau) collection is but one of many examples of the tragic wartime dispersal of Judaica and their survival as well as complexities of their restitution. The library, considered one of the most important Jewish collections in Europe, consisted of an estimated 30,000 printed volumes and 400 manuscripts. The largest and most valuable part included a collection of Hebrew manuscripts and prints belonging to the Trieste merchant, Leon Vita Saraval, purchased by the library in 1854 and referred to as the Saraval Collection.

Many of the books and manuscripts plundered from the Breslau Rabbinical Seminary ended the war in Czechoslovakia, having been evacuated from Berlin to some Sudeten castles. In 2004, the Czech government approved the request of the Polish government for the return of 34 Hebrew manuscripts and 6 Hebrew first prints from the Saraval Collection. The decision to restitute the materials to Poland was a “gesture of good will” and had hardly any legal basis. The Rabbinical Seminary no
longer exists and the local Jewish Religious Community in Wrocław (German Breslau), which is now part of Poland, is not a legal successor to the seminary, but the argument can be made for the collection to be returned to Wrocław as its original home. Nevertheless, the transfer to Poland of 40 manuscripts and incunabula, coincided with the 150th anniversary of the opening of the Breslau (Wrocław) Rabbinical Seminary, and underscored the significance of Jewish cultural heritage in that part of Europe. The materials were digitized before being turned over to Polish authorities and are now available online in the “Manuscriptorum” catalog of the library of Charles University within the Czech National Library (Clementinum) in Prague.

The saga of the Saraval Collection is far from being over. Additional 43 manuscript units have been identified in Russia and remain in Moscow awaiting their restitution to Poland. Those manuscript materials as well as some archival documents from the seminary had come to Moscow with a trophy echelon from Silesia. Another part of the collection found in the castle of Glatz (now Polish Klodzko) was handed over to Polish authorities and transferred to the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw (Żydowski Instytut Historyczny). In the 1950s, Polish specialists partially described the manuscripts and their listings appeared in various catalogs. A few Breslau manuscripts have also been identified in private collections in New York and in the Jewish National and University Library.

The dispersal of the Saraval Collections well demonstrates how international cooperation among scholars and librarians and provenance research can result in successful identification and restitution efforts. The physical reunification of the collection remains highly unlikely, but every effort should be made to bring the collection together in a digital environment so its treasures can be open for research throughout the world.

After decades of Communism, Poland, the Czech Republic as well as other former Soviet satellites and newly independent states have begun the long and painful process of reclaiming their own history. An integral part of the process of regaining Polish and Czech cultural memory is the restitution and protection of their cultural assets, including the cultural heritage of their ethnic minorities.

The reconstruction of Jewish cultural elements requires the restoration of property rights to
Jewish communities and the restitution of cultural assets looted during the Holocaust era to the original owners or their heirs. To this end, the same principles can be applied to any ethnic or religious minority whose culture has been subject to systematic destruction and neglect resulting from nationalistic and totalitarian ideology as well as racial and religious intolerance.

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ii Ibid. The maximum number of Jews registered in Poland in the post-war period was 240,489, in June 1946.
iii Ibid., 1175.
iv Hałupczak and Browarek, Mniejszości narodowe w Polsce: 1918-1995, 172. The Central Committee of Jews in Poland was initially called the Provisional Central Committee of Polish Jews. Not all Jewish political parties could operate legally.
v Most of the Jews in Poland considered the Jewish Historical Institute as a genuine representative of Jewish community whose major postwar effort was to rescue Jewish cultural materials from further dispersion and neglect. See Magdalena Tarnowska, “Judaika Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego-historia powstania, specyfika,” in Grażyna Czubek, ed., Własność a dobra kultury (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Trio, 2006), 98.
vii Urszula Grygier, “Biblioteka Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego i jej zbiory,” in Czubek, ed., Własność a dobra kultury, 105. There were also some books from the Library of the Yeshiva “Sages of Lublin” (Sifriat Yeshivat Hakme). Five books, including Chumasz (1873), Mischnafoth (1854), and Socher Habris, bearing the Library of the Yeshiva “Sages of Lublin” ownership stamps are also held by a small Jewish museum (Izba Pamięci Żydów) in Lublin. See Konrad Zieliński and Nina Zielińska, Jeszywas Chachmej Lublin, Uczelnia Mędrców Lublina (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2003), 168.
Oneg Shabbat or Oyneg Shabes (Hebrew term for “Sabbath delight”) was a code name for a secret archive in the Warsaw ghetto founded and administrated by a Jewish historian Emanuel Ringelblum. The archive is also known as the Ringelblum Archive.


Hundert, The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe, 1:829. Uncovering the second part of the Ringelblum Archive in 1950 helped the institute to resume some of its research activities and in that year, it started to publish its Polish language journal, Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego, devoted to Holocaust issues.

Tarnowska, “Judaika Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego-historia powstania, specyfika,” 100. See also Hałupczak and Browarek, Mniejszości narodowe w Polsce: 1918-1995, 176.


Despite successful postwar rebuilding of old towns in Warsaw, Gdańsk and Wrocław, by the 1970s many Polish historic districts began to show serious signs of neglect and disrepair. The lack of funding combined with the indifference of various communist governments and environmental pollution threatened the existence of unique architectural areas of both Jewish and non-Jewish origin such as Cracow’s Old Town with its historic churches and buildings and the old Jewish quarter of Kazimierz.

“Opinia Biura Prawnego Prezydium PKWN z 16 listopada 1944 r. w sprawie przedwojennych Gmin Wyznaniowych Żydowskich,” in Kazimierz Urban, Cmentarze żydowskie, synagogi i domy modlitwy w Polsce w latach 1946-1966: wybór materiałów (Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy Nomos, 2006), 64-67 (document no. 5); Okólnik nr 3 (Ministerstwa Administracji Publicznej) z dnia 6. II. 1945 r. o tymczasowym uregulowaniu spraw wyznaniowych ludności żydowskiej [Circular no. 3 of 6 February 1945 (issued by the Ministry of Public Administration) Temporarily Regulating Religious Affairs of the Jewish Population], Dziennik Urzędowy Ministerstwa Administracji Publicznej, (April 1, 1945); no. 1.


Okólnik nr 3 (Ministerstwa Administracji Publicznej) z dnia 6. II. 1945 r. o tymczasowym uregulowaniu spraw wyznaniowych ludności żydowskiej [Circular no. 3 of 6 February 1945 (issued by the Ministry of Public Administration) Temporarily Regulating Religious Affairs of the Jewish Population], Dziennik Urzędowy Ministerstwa Administracji Publicznej, (April 1, 1945), no. 1; see art. 2 and 8.

“Pismo rabina D. Kahane (nr 29/45) z 6 sierpnia 1945 r. do Ministerstwa Administracji Publicznej w sprawie przejmowania majątku Gmin Wyznaniowych Żydowskich,” in Urban, Cmentarze żydowskie, synagogi i domy modlitwy w Polsce w latach 1946-1966: wybór materiałów, 72-73 (document no. 9)

Urban, Cmentarze żydowskie, synagogi i domy modlitwy w Polsce w latach 1946-1966: wybór materiałów, 33. The number of active synagogues and houses of prayer may have been greater.

The Religious Organization of Jewish Faith (Związek Religijny Wyznania Mojżeszowego) was also referred to as the Religious Organization of Jewish Faith in the Polish People’s Republic (Związek Religijny Wyznania Mojżeszowego w PRL).

During modest liberalization that prevailed in Poland in the 1950s and early 1960s, small religious centers of Greek (Ukrainian) Catholics were allowed to operate in some Roman Catholic parishes.
By early 1960s the membership of the Religious Association of Jewish Faith had decreased to 6,000.


The authorities often invoked Article 34 of the March 8, 1946, Decree on Forsaken and Former German Property, which stated that “the State Treasury and territorial (local) self-government units acquire a title to abandoned property by usucapion and prescription (zasiedzenie)” after ten years of uninterrupted use or possession of real property and five years of personal property, counting from the end of 1945, the year when the war ended. Therefore, on January 1, 1956, the government of Poland acquired title to forsaken and abandoned property, pursuant to Article 34, if no restitution to the owner of the abandoned property had been granted. See, “Dekret z dnia 8 marca 1946 r. o majątkach opuszczonych i poniemieckich” [Decree of March 8, 1946 on Forsaken and Former German Property], Dziennik Ustaw (1946), no. 13, item 87.

Even that was unacceptable to most religious Jews.


Bergman and Jagielski, “The Function of Synagogues in the PPR, 1988,” 40-49. The Poznań synagogue, remodeled and turned by the Nazis into a swimming pool in 1940, never regained its prewar character after the war.


Bergman and Jagielski, Zachowane synagogi i domy modlitwy w Polsce: katalog 9. A great deal of work was put into restoring some synagogues in Cracow, Warsaw, and Tykocin, and in the 1980s, a dozen buildings were being restored.

See also Przemysław Burchard, Pamiątki i zabytki kultury żydowskiej w Polsce (Warszawa: “Reprint”, 1990). Burchard identified about three hundred synagogues, but Bergman and Jagielski question some of his findings. For earlier works on European synagogues, including Polish ones with reference to their function see Carol Herselle Krinsky, Synagogues of Europe: Architecture, History, Meaning (New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1985). The author identified about seventy synagogues in Poland.


Ustawa z dnia 14 czerwca 1991 r. o zmianie ustawy o cmentarzach i chowaniu zmarłych, Dziennik Ustaw (1991), no. 64, item 271. See Art. 6 (2) and (3).
Obwieszczenie Ministra Spraw Wewnętrznych i Administracji z dnia 2 marca 2000 r. w sprawie ogłoszenia jednolitego tekstu ustawy o cmentarzach i chowaniu zmarłych, Dziennik Ustaw (2000), no. 23, item 295.


xlii Ibid.

xliii Ustawa z dnia 20 lutego 1997 r. o stosunku Państwa do gmin wyznaniowych żydowskich w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Dziennik Ustaw (1997), no. 41, item 251. Art. 5 (1) stipulated that both Jewish religious communities and the Association of Jewish Religious Communities possess the legal status.

xliv These included Jewish religious communities in Bielsko-Biała, Gdańsk, Katowice, Kraków, Legnica, Łódź, Szczecin, Warszawa, and Wrocław.

xlv Ustawa z dnia 20 lutego 1997 r. o stosunku Państwa do gmin wyznaniowych żydowskich w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Dziennik Ustaw (1997), no. 41, item 251. See Art. 30.

xlvii The restitution of Jewish communal property in the former German territories (the Recovered Territories) was limited to the transfer of ownership, and did not allow for restitution-in-kind (substitution) or monetary compensation. Ibid., Art. 31 (2).

xlix The restitution of Jewish communal property never used the term restitution (restytucja), instead the term “adjusting proceeding” (postępowanie regulacyjne) was employed.


lxviii Ibid.

lxix One of the still unresolved restitution claims involves the thirteenth-century document (vellum) issued by bishop Anzelm (died in 1276) for the St. Vincent’s Benedictine monastery in Wrocław-Ołbin (Vratislavia, Breslau). The Library of Congress (LC), who currently holds the document, has refused to return it to the state archive in Wrocław where the remaining part of the St. Vincent’s Benedictine monastery archive is currently located (many of these documents had been returned by East Germany in 1981). Poland has claimed the principal of territorial provenance as the document relates to Wrocław as
well as the integrity of archival collections. The document with other archival items was evacuated by the Nazis from Wroclaw at the end of the war, and somehow ended up in the United States. An anonymous donor gave it to LC in 1946. See Monika Kuhnke, “Dokument biskupa Anzelma.” Dr. Kuhnke has kindly shared a copy of her paper with me.


x About thirty German museums, of a possible six hundred or more, that have undertaken research into Nazi-era acquisitions, have identified over 2,500 confiscated objects to date, indicating the scale of what might be found in other museums (ibid., 120).


xiiv Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, “A Silesian Crossroads for Europe’s Displaced Books: Compensation or Prisoners of War?” in Mečislav Borák, ed., The Future of the Lost Cultural Heritage (Prague: Tilia, 2006), 162. Dr. Grimsted has kindly provided a copy of this publication to me.


xvii The “Manuscriptorum” catalog at the Clementinum website, http://www.nkp.cz


39 items from the seminary, including some manuscripts, are described in the catalog, Catalogue of Manuscripts and Archival Materials of Juedisch-Theologisches Seminar in Breslau Held in Russian Depositories, available at the Library for Foreign Literature website, http://www.libfl.ru/restitution/catalogs/index.html

xix Benjamin Richler, Guide to Hebrew Manuscript Collections (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1994). At the present time, those manuscripts are missing, and the Warsaw Institute does not know what became of them.

See, Grimsted, “A Silesian Crossroads for Europe’s Displaced Books,” 164..
Social and Cultural Aspects of Body Image, obesity and Health Risk Practices Among African American College Students

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Abstract

Within the African American culture, there are many social and cultural issues that influence an individual's “body image,” health beliefs and behaviors. Social ideas and images such as: 1) The belief that the BMI is not developed for African American body sizes, 2) The media images that portray larger African American women as the norm, 3) Increased portion sizes for dinner, and 4) A lack of physical fitness awareness and activity in many communities of color (Harris, Walters, & Waschull, 1991; (Harris, 1994; Klem, Klesges, Benet, & Mellon, 1990). These factors as well as other factors may influence African American women's acceptance of higher body weights. In the present study, the participants were 260 African American students aged 18-25. The surveys administered consisted of 143 questions. The questions ranged from body mass index (BMI), cigarette and alcohol intake, ethnicity, drugs, sexual history, eating and drinking habits and exercising. Results found that participants who believed the BMI did not apply at all to African Americans were more likely to fall within the overweight and obese groups, placing them at high cardiovascular health risk (t= 2.8, p< .05). Additionally, these same participants were more likely to not consider themselves to be overweight. The participants demonstrated a disconnection between body image, health and their BMI scores across many risk practices. In conclusion, there are several factors that influence
body image among African American women in relation to mainstream America. Body image is important in how women see themselves and the risk practices taken that affect healthy practices.
Basic Practices
Using SLA Techniques in Undergraduate Classes

9th Hawai’i International Conference on Social Sciences

Honolulu, HI
June 2, 2010 – June 2, 2010

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Introduction

This paper is a reflection of a series of meetings that the author had with the various core departments and others at the University of Arkansas – Little Rock (UALR) beginning fall 2008 and continuing into the 2009 - 2010 academic year. Additionally, there are comments from faculty and staff members from four other institutions and educational organizations. This document is meant to be used as a tool and a reference source when working with English Language Learners (ELLs) in the higher education setting. Many of these techniques and suggestions are generalized pedagogical ideas from the field of English as a Second Language (ESL); they are easily adaptable to any field or level of study or research. The “ELL Suggestions” section is intentionally not divided by subject area as the author did not want to imply that a certain suggestion was only useful within a certain field.

As language, language research, and language development strategies are constantly-evolving areas, the author invites you to contact him (adlytle@ualr.edu) for future additions to this document so that others may benefit from a larger arena of ideas, suggestions, and experiences.

Many ELLs don’t understand the American system of higher education – core and subject of study; therefore, they don’t see a reason why they need the “core” classes (read: “low-level” classes) when they just want to be computer engineers, nurses, or researchers. Also, many faculty/staff members do not understand how ELLs could have been admitted without the pre-requisite language knowledge to be able to accomplish the required work, some of which is higher-order levels of thinking (i.e. synthesis of ideas, interpretation and application information across fields, etc.). Nevertheless, the core must be made accessible to these ELL students, and their background knowledge should be used in the classroom to enhance the diversity; neither of these should lead to adversity, either culturally, linguistically, or educationally.
ELL Techniques

1. **Affective Filter** – the “comfort/anxiety” level of the ELL; the lower the affective filter, the more probable that the ELL will participate in class, accomplish assignments, and produce what is asked. The affective filter varies depending upon the student; however, modeling, scaffolding, spiraling, repetition, using wait time, activating schema, contextualizing material, utilizing multiple presentation modes, and acknowledging multiple intelligences all lower the affective filter.

2. **Contextualization with embedded concepts** – relate the information to the student’s background

3. **$i + 1$** – aim at a slightly higher level of comprehension than the student currently holds so that the knowledge base is extended. However, the danger is that of aiming too high, hence the “$+1$,” not “$+10$.”

4. **Meaningful Experience** – make the “experience” meaningful by attaching reasons (other than just for the quiz or test); why is the information important?

5. **Modeling** – demonstrate what the expected outcome is (presentation-wise, written-wise, etc.) – Be EXPLICIT!

6. **Multiple Intelligences** – Currently, there are eight, developed in 1983 by Harvard University’s Professor of Education, Dr. Howard Gardner:
   1. **Linguistic intelligence**: word smart
   2. **Logical-mathematical intelligence**: number/reasoning smart
   3. **Spatial intelligence**: picture smart
   4. **Bodily-Kinesthetic intelligence**: body smart
   5. **Musical intelligence**: music smart
   6. **Interpersonal intelligence**: people smart
   7. **Intrapersonal intelligence**: self smart
8. **Naturalist intelligence**: nature smart
   For more specific information, see
   [http://www.thomasarmstrong.com/multiple_intelligences.htm](http://www.thomasarmstrong.com/multiple_intelligences.htm) in the
   “Resources Section” of this document

7. **Multiple Presentation Modes** – oral, aural, tactile, experiential, etc.

8. **Negotiation of Meaning** – what the ELL and native speaker must constantly do in order to check comprehension on both sides. This is a two-way learning process which leads to greater understanding and comprehension for ALL negotiators.

9. **Realia and Falsalia** – Realia is the use of “real” things (e.g. menus, food wrapper labels, recipes, magazine articles, non-adapted short stories, theses, dissertations, etc.) as examples rather than “fake, adapted” versions. Falsalia is the same concept except it is instructor-generated when realia isn’t readily available. Falsalia is made to look as close to the original as possible.

10. **Repetition** – restating the concept, writing it again, demonstrating it again, etc.

11. **Scaffolding** – comprehensible input related to existing background knowledge

12. **Schema Activation** – tapping into the background knowledge that the student may already have from professional or experiential situations. The information does not have to have been experienced in the target language (i.e. English); the act of it having been experienced will allow the student to access background information for more rapid comprehension of the material/context.

13. **Silent Period** – the time period for a student to feel comfortable to begin speaking to a single person or to/in front of a group. This may or may not be related to age. A long silent period does not imply a non-comprehension or misunderstanding of concepts.
14. **Spiraling** – reintegration of concepts/vocabulary periodically and expansion of them

15. **Vocabulary Limitation** – depending upon the age, limit new vocabulary to 10 – 15 items at a time

16. **Wait Time** – the amount of time that passes from the asking of a question to the expectation that an answer will be given. For ELLs, a good rule-of-thumb is 20 – 30 seconds

17. **Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD)** – the area of learning/development between where the learner can perform unassisted (bottom of the ZPD) and where the learner can perform with assistance (top of the ZPD)
Topics of Help

Even though these “Topics of Help” have within them “Student-centered” and “Faculty/Staff-centered” divisions, it is the purpose of this document for these divisions to be used by the faculty/staff to help students, either as things that they themselves (the faculty/staff members) can do or as suggestions that the faculty/staff can make to the students. Not all of the following topics have both “Student-centered” and “Faculty/Staff-centered” divisions as the topics themselves might be aimed at one or the other specifically. Additionally, some of the comments might seem contradictory when compared to others. These topics are a combination of input and are meant as a springboard; therefore, the author tried to keep the tone of the comments as original as possible so that non-ELL-trained faculty/staff can see other colleagues’ concerns and solutions.

1. Students should make use of existing services (i.e. Writing Centers, Math Tutoring, Reading Centers, Academic Success Programs, etc.)

   **Student-centered**

   ELLs NEED to use a Writing Center (or its equivalent) for papers that they are allowed to write outside of class. Writing Centers are designed to work with writers – but not necessarily with ELLs – and should not write papers for any student.

   All students (native-English speakers and ELLs alike) should be are treated in similar manners, with no extra-special consideration due to language ability.

   **Faculty/Staff-centered**

   Faculty/Staff NEED to make sure that the ELLs know what services are available to them and where these services are. Many ELLs do not come with the knowledge of what is accessible to them on campus. This information could be included in the syllabus for the course.

2. Extra services should be created for ELL-specific issues (i.e. pronunciation difficulties, writing-specific difficulties, acceptable standard target culture research practices, Academic Success Center for instructors, and so forth). These could be at the undergraduate and at the graduate level – e.g. Master’s- and doctoral-level writing help, International Teaching Assistants training, introduction to research and the expectation of graduate school in the target culture.
**Student-centered**

Universities require some proof of English language ability; therefore, this score provides proof of some language; however, it may not provide any proof of proficiency.

Time allotment, writing ability, and writing speed do not correlate with most ELLs. Some cannot write quickly enough to accomplish lengthy essay questions; therefore, the ELLs should work on their production skills in relation to time to produce more fluency and fluidity.

**Faculty/Staff-centered**

It helps to know something about the ELLs’ cultural backgrounds. Instructors should research the cultures within the first few weeks of class. Additionally, resource centers for faculty and staff should be available to answer questions about specific cultures.

Universities require some proof of English language ability; therefore, this score provides proof of some language; however, it may not provide any proof of proficiency. Instructors need to continually work with ELLs on writing skills.

Just because an ELL graduated from an English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) program does not mean that the ELL is equally proficient in all language skills. Some ESL programs are academically-based; however, there are others that are culturally-based, specific-purpose-based (English for Business, English for Travel, etc.), or experientially-based (“experiencing an English-based culture without “formal” language classes.).

Time allotment, writing ability, and writing speed do not correlate with most ELLs. Some cannot write quickly enough to accomplish lengthy essay questions; therefore, instructor should work on production skills in relation to time to produce more fluency and fluidity.
There are accommodations (repetition of ideas, illustrations, comprehension checks, etc.) that should be taken into consideration when working with ELLs. Offer information in as many modes as possible (spoken, written, on-line, CD, interactive, etc.).

3. **ELLs should receive “cultural awareness” (both regular and educational) training for the target culture.**

**Student-centered**

Providing dictionaries, which any student might use, (maybe 5 for the entire class) during tests alleviates the problem of “dictionary definitions;” however asking questions where the students have to give/list representative works that would fit into a category/concept allows the ELLs more flexibility of knowledge demonstration and language creativity.

ELLs need to know that it is permissible to ask questions during class; in some cultures, asking questions during class is deemed disrespectful. Also, expect that some of them will ask all of their questions after class or not at all, hoping that you will intuit what they need.

ELLs do not get enough chances to talk with native-English-speakers which hinders their oral-skill development in “functional” (i.e. non-academic) language. Instructors teach the ELLs “academic” language/register; this isn’t always appropriate in Life as it can be seen as stilted or “high-brow.”

Teaching GRAMMAR and SPELLING, devoid of meaning, doesn’t work; they are merely skills that need to be acquired over time to enhance overall language development. “Meaning” can be conveyed using incorrect grammar and/or spelling; therefore, the incorrect grammar and/or spelling should not be the road-block stopping the process of CREATING with the language. See Appendix A for an example.

Students get “lost” and become “ghosts,” meaning that they appear on rosters but rarely attend class. This can be linked to different factors:

A. The perception that the instructor speaks too quickly, or
B. A great fear of the instructor, the other students, the material, embarrassing themselves, etc. These raise the affective filter of language acquisition thereby adding to the anxiety the ELLs experience and hinder of the acquiring the target language.

C. A possible solution is to work one-on-one with the ELL. This eliminates the fear of having to relate to others in the classroom with the anticipation of embarrassment; one-on-one work is perceived as easier than in a group setting. However, this should only be used until the affective filter (ELL’s comfort level is such to allow him/her to actively participate in class; otherwise, this will become a crutch and a burden.

There can be discrepancies with respect for one gender or another; allow for some cultural flexibility. Talk about the NEED for mutual cultural flexibility (including gender roles and relationships); keep in mind mutable negotiation, meaning that the American concept of a negotiated topic’s being “set in concrete” is not shared by many cultures. In many cultures, decisions/rules/laws are constantly negotiated and changed, leading to “mutations” of concepts or the evolution of ideas.

The imparting of content is not a “beaming” of the knowledge/concepts from the instructor to the student; rather, there is a translation that occurs from the ideas’ being expressed to their being received. This “mental translation model” exits in the mind of the recipient (a.k.a. student) and is formed using past experiences. Therefore, it does not always interpret concepts in the way that they were meant as the translation relies upon previous experience and background culture. Additionally, because of new advances in content areas, the “mental translation model” may not be up-to-date, therefore not allowing the student to build new deep mental models of reality (content or otherwise). (Bain, p. 27)

Non-native-English- Speaking faculty/staff should not make language easier because students are also international. This creates dynamic attitude problems; however, making use of the techniques in this document will help create a sense of success for the student.
Universities require some proof of English language ability; therefore, this score provides proof of some language; however, it may not provide any proof of proficiency.

Just because an ELL graduated from an English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) program does not mean that the ELL is equally proficient in all language skills. Some ESL programs are academically-based; however, there are others that are culturally-based, specific-purpose-based (English for Business, English for Travel, etc.), or experientially-based (“experiencing an English-based culture without “formal” language classes.).

Be careful of the use of humor because it is cultural in concept, requiring specific background knowledge. Also, humor does not translate well, just as it is with idioms; therefore, the students will not get the gist that is implied. In fact, they might actually infer something completely different than what was meant. To avoid this, always be cognizant of when humor has been used and express the idea in an additional, yet non-insulting, way. With this said, humor does allow for stress reduction, and laughter lowers the affective filter.

4. **Faculty/Staff should receive “cultural awareness” training from an international perspective.**

**Faculty/Staff-centered**

ELLs need to know that it is permissible to ask questions during class; in some cultures, asking questions during class is deemed disrespectful. Also, expect that some of them will ask all of their questions after class or not at all, hoping that you will intuit what they need.

Nodding in class does not mean that an ELL understands. It might simply mean that he/she is listening to you. Many ELLs will “shut down,” smile, and nod when they don’t understand. Smiling and nodding are a coping mechanisms to alleviate embarrassment. Your presentations should be offered in various format, if possible, addressing multiple intelligences. ELL students may seem to understand but don’t. This can be perceived by
the instructor late as an excuse. Make sure that ALL students understand what is accepted by addressing the concept, assignment, laboratory, etc. in multiple ways.

It helps to know something about the ELLs’ cultural backgrounds. Instructors should research the cultures within the first few weeks of class. Additionally, resource centers for faculty and staff should be available to answer questions about specific cultures.

Students get “lost” and become “ghosts,” meaning that they appear on rosters but rarely attend class. This can be linked to different factors:

A. The perception that the instructor speaks too quickly, or

B. A great fear of the instructor, the other students, the material, embarrassing themselves, etc. These raise the affective filter of language acquisition thereby adding to the anxiety the ELLs experience and hinder of the acquiring the target language.

C. A possible solution is to work one-on-one with the ELL. This eliminates the fear of having to relate to others in the classroom with the anticipation of embarrassment; one-on-one work is perceived as easier than in a group setting. However, this should only be used until the affective filter (ELL’s comfort level is such to allow him/her to actively participate in class; otherwise, this will become a crutch and a burden.

The imparting of content is not a “beaming” of the knowledge/concepts from the instructor to the student; rather, there is a translation that occurs from the ideas’ being expressed to their being received. This “mental translation model” exits in the mind of the recipient (a.k.a. student) and is formed using past experiences. Therefore, it does not always interpret concepts in the way that they were meant as the translation relies upon previous experience and background culture. Additionally, because of new advances in content areas, the “mental translation model” may not be up-to-date, therefore not allowing the student to build new deep mental models of reality (content or otherwise). (Bain, p. 27)
Non-native-English-speaking faculty/staff should not make language easier because students are also international. This creates dynamic attitude problems; however, making use of the techniques in this document will help create a sense of success for the student.

ELLs should be treated as much like a domestic student (i.e. American) as possible with as few non-language considerations as possible.

Race, nationality, background should be acknowledged but should not drive a class or a task. Additionally, class topics and task should be considered within the context of reactions due to race, nationality, and background (e.g. a discussion of genocide with Rwandans being present in class. This will be a difficult topic for them.).

Just because an ELL graduated from an English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) program does not mean that the ELL is equally proficient in all language skills. Some ESL programs are academically-based; however, there are others that are culturally-based, specific-purpose-based (English for Business, English for Travel, etc.), or experientially-based (“experiencing an English-based culture without “formal” language classes.).

Be careful of the use of humor because it is cultural in concept, requiring specific background knowledge. Also, humor does not translate well, just as it is with idioms; therefore, the students will not get the gist that is implied. In fact, they might actually infer something completely different than what was meant. To avoid this, always be cognizant of when humor has been used and express the idea in an additional, yet non-insulting, way. With this said, humor does allow for stress reduction, and laughter lowers the affective filter.

Use “real examples” to illustrate content points, especially the more abstract ones. This may be difficult, but it is the responsibility of the educator to make sure that his/her class has full access to the class’ content in order to be successful. Using “real examples” and ones that are updated to the generational needs of today’s students help to ensure content accessibility.
Stick with tasks, explaining and repeating them if necessary; the length of time to accomplish them will decrease the more they are done. Remember that not every student comes to a university with the same background information.

Use ELL cultures as fodder for class material. This gives the ELLs the task of talking about something they know, which, in turn, will assist in increasing self-esteem. Other students in the class benefit from this indirect international instruction with international examples, allowing for the reciprocation of knowledge and the exploration of ideas and truths.

Look at ELLs as resources, not as burdens; this will enhance the learning process for all involved.

5. **Designated “Core Instructors” should be trained in ELL-specific second language methods.**

**Faculty/Staff-centered**

Providing dictionaries, which any student might use, (maybe 5 for the entire class) during tests alleviates the problem of “dictionary definitions;” however asking questions where the students have to give/list representative works that would fit into a category/concept allows the ELLs more flexibility of knowledge demonstration and language creativity.

Don’t give extra time to the ELLs. This just opens up too many cans of worms. Maybe design your questions, then see how long it might take a native-speaking student to answer them (15 minutes?) and consider that it might take an ELL twice as long (30 min.). Would your class/exam time allow for that?

Rather than giving the discussion question early, give 3 - 4 possible discussion questions to everyone with the caveat that the instructor will choose from the possible questions distributed. That way everyone gets them, and the instructor still retains the flexibility of choosing your questions. Also, include within the discussion question the requirement to use an example or examples and an explanation of WHY it fits the task.
Allow the individual students to answer the same question orally one-at-a-time with your listening to them and giving them a grade for that particular question as they answer. This can be done throughout the entire testing time, as long as you don't have a class of 75.

There are accommodations (repetition of ideas, illustrations, comprehension checks, etc.) that should be taken into consideration when working with ELLs. Offer information in as many modes as possible (spoken, written, on-line, CD, interactive, etc.).

It helps to know something about the ELLs’ cultural backgrounds. Instructors should research the cultures within the first few weeks of class. Additionally, resource centers for faculty and staff should be available to answer questions about specific cultures.

Many cultures have trouble with *a, an, the* (articles) in English, especially Asians and Arabs whose languages do not use articles. Find on-line resources (on-line quizzes, rules, worksheets, etc.) for extra practice.

ELLs do not get enough chances to talk with native-English-speakers which hinders their oral-skill development in “functional” (i.e. non-academic) language. Instructors teach the ELLs “academic” language/register; this isn’t always appropriate in Life as it can be seen as stilted or “high-brow.”

Teaching GRAMMAR and SPELLING, devoid of meaning, doesn’t work; they are merely skills that need to be acquired over time to enhance overall language development. “Meaning” can be conveyed using incorrect grammar and/or spelling; therefore, the incorrect grammar and/or spelling should not be the road-block stopping the process of CREATING with the language. See Appendix A for an example.

Students get “lost” and become “ghosts,” meaning that they appear on rosters but rarely attend class. This can be linked to different factors:

A. The perception that the instructor speaks too quickly, or
B. A great fear of the instructor, the other students, the material, embarrassing themselves, etc. These raise the affective filter of language acquisition thereby adding to the anxiety the ELLs experience and hinder of the acquiring the target language.

C. A possible solution is to work one-on-one with the ELL. This eliminates the fear of having to relate to others in the classroom with the anticipation of embarrassment; one-on-one work is perceived as easier than in a group setting. However, this should only be used until the affective filter (ELL’s comfort level is such to allow him/her to actively participate in class; otherwise, this will become a crutch and a burden.

Idioms are similar to humor and are extremely difficult to explain as they do not translate readily among languages. Think about the language you and your students use. Is it appropriate? What is the role of slang, idioms, and proverbs in the portraying of meaning?

Remember the hierarchy of language acquisition: **listening** develops first; **speaking** develops second; **reading** develops third; **writing** develops fourth. This is not to say that this is an absolute; however, it can explain why some students have problems in certain skills and not as many problems in others. It might also help to think of the **receptive** (listening and reading) skills vs. the **productive** (speaking and writing) skills. Also helpful, is to keep in mind that depending upon the language-instruction background and the native culture of the ELL, certain skills are emphasized more (e.g. Latin and Middle-Eastern cultures tend to be more verbally-centered than Asian cultures.).

Who are YOU as the instructor? What is your role within the classroom? This is decision that MUST be made by the instructor, and it should be articulated to the class at the beginning of the semester. **Who are YOU as the instructor?** You MUST have this answer in the back of your head because it defines you, your strategies, your teaching style, etc. However, this answer should always be under self-evaluation so that you can adapt to various situations. Where will you “give,” and where will you “hold the line”? 
This not only applies to ELLS, but to all students. This way everyone, students/faculty/staff are on an even playing field.

The imparting of content is not a “beaming” of the knowledge/concepts from the instructor to the student; rather, there is a translation that occurs from the ideas’ being expressed to their being received. This “mental translation model” exits in the mind of the recipient (a.k.a. student) and is formed using past experiences. Therefore, it does not always interpret concepts in the way that they were meant as the translation relies upon previous experience and background culture. Additionally, because of new advances in content areas, the “mental translation model” may not be up-to-date, therefore not allowing the student to build new deep mental models of reality (content or otherwise). (Bain, p. 27)

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Just because an ELL has been admitted to an American university, it cannot be assumed that functionality in English is present as many language admissions tests still test memorized, pattern language (e.g. error recognition, fill-in-the-blank grammar, and predictable listening tasks) causing skewed scores.
Just because an ELL graduated from an English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) program does not mean that the ELL is equally proficient in all language skills. Some ESL programs are academically-based; however, there are others that are culturally-based, specific-purpose-based (English for Business, English for Travel, etc.), or experientially-based (“experiencing an English-based culture without “formal” language classes).

Be careful of the use of humor because it is cultural in concept, requiring specific background knowledge. Also, humor does not translate well, just as it is with idioms; therefore, the students will not get the gist that is implied. In fact, they might actually infer something completely different than what was meant. To avoid this, always be cognizant of when humor has been used and express the idea in an additional, yet non-insulting, way. With this said, humor does allow for stress reduction, and laughter lowers the affective filter.

Use “real examples” to illustrate content points, especially the more abstract ones. This may be difficult, but it is the responsibility of the educator to make sure that his/her class has full access to the class’ content in order to be successful. Using “real examples” and ones that are updated to the generational needs of today’s students help to ensure content accessibility.

Stick with tasks, explaining and repeating them if necessary; the length of time to accomplish them will decrease the more they are done. Remember that not every student comes to a university with the same background information.

Provide cloze class notes to the class as this requires active listening. The cloze notes are not graded, thereby reducing the affective filter, but they do have the key points missing which the students must fill in. This helps the students follow along with the logical line of the class. After cloze notes, explain that there will be a self-check quiz during the next class meeting to evaluate comprehension. This quiz could be graded or not. Also, use systematic test design; the design of the test should not be the deterrent for answering the question correctly.
Use ELL cultures as fodder for class material. This gives the ELLs the task of talking about something they know, which, in turn, will assist in increasing self-esteem. Other students in the class benefit from this indirect international instruction with international examples, allowing for the reciprocation of knowledge and the exploration of ideas and truths.

Look at ELLs as resources, not as burdens; this will enhance the learning process for all involved.

There are accommodations (repetition of ideas, illustrations, comprehension checks, etc.) that should be taken into consideration when working with ELLs. Offer information in as many modes as possible (spoken, written, on-line, CD, interactive, etc.).

6. Add basic pedagogical training to ALL teaching faculty.

Faculty/Staff-centered

ELLs need to know that it is permissible to ask questions during class; in some cultures, asking questions during class is deemed disrespectful. Also, expect that some of them will ask all of their questions after class or not at all, hoping that you will intuit what they need.

Rather than giving the discussion question early, give 3 - 4 possible discussion questions to everyone with the caveat that the instructor will choose from the possible questions distributed. That way everyone gets them, and the instructor still retains the flexibility of choosing your questions. Also, include within the discussion question the requirement to use an example or examples and an explanation of WHY it fits the task.

There are accommodations (repetition of ideas, illustrations, comprehension checks, etc.) that should be taken into consideration when working with ELLs. Offer information in as many modes as possible (spoken, written, on-line, CD, interactive, etc.).
Who are YOU as the instructor? What is your role within the classroom? This is a decision that MUST be made by the instructor, and it should be articulated to the class at the beginning of the semester. **Who are YOU as the instructor?** You MUST have this answer in the back of your head because it defines you, your strategies, your teaching style, etc. However, this answer should always be under self-evaluation so that you can adapt to various situations. Where will you “give,” and where will you “hold the line”? This not only applies to ELLS, but to all students. This way everyone, students/faculty/staff are on an even playing field.

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Just because an ELL graduated from an English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) program does not mean that the ELL is equally proficient in all language skills. Some ESL programs are academically-based; however, there are others that are culturally-based, specific-purpose-based (English for Business, English for Travel, etc.), or experientially-based (“experiencing an English-based culture without “formal” language classes.

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There are accommodations (repetition of ideas, illustrations, comprehension checks, etc.) that should be taken into consideration when working with ELLs. Offer information in as many modes as possible (spoken, written, on-line, CD, interactive, etc.)

7. **The institution should set linguistic goal for ALL students/faculty/staff, regardless of country/culture of origin.**

**Student-centered**

What is GOOD English? This needs to be a personal, professional, departmental, etc. decision as it sets the bar that ALL students should be held to, not just the ELLs. Additionally, students should be aware of the different “Englishes” that are taught (e.g. American English, British English, East Indian English, Belizian English, Australian English, etc.).

ELLs should be treated as much like a domestic student (i.e. American) as possible with as few non-language considerations as possible.

Just because an ELL has been admitted to an American university, it cannot be assumed that functionality in English is present as many language admissions tests still test memorized, pattern language (e.g. error recognition, fill-in-the-blank grammar, and predictable listening tasks) causing skewed scores.
What is GOOD English? This needs to be a personal, professional, departmental, etc. decision as it sets the bar that ALL students should be held to, not just the ELLs. Additionally, students should be aware of the different “Englishes” that are taught (e.g. American English, British English, East Indian English, Belizian English, Australian English, etc.).

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Stick with tasks, explaining and repeating them if necessary; the length of time to accomplish them will decrease the more they are done. Remember that not every student comes to a university with the same background information.

Provide cloze class notes to the class as this requires active listening. The cloze notes are not graded, thereby reducing the affective filter, but they do have the key points missing which the students must fill in. This helps the students follow along with the logical line of the class. After cloze notes, explain that there will be a self-check quiz during the next class meeting to evaluate comprehension. This quiz could be graded or not. Also, use systematic test design; the design of the test should not be the deterrent for answering the question correctly.

Many ELLs cannot write quickly enough to accomplish lengthy essay questions within a pre-determined time frame. Giving possibilities of essay questions allows all students, not just the ELLs, to formulate outline structures internally which can then be used to more quickly respond to essay questions.

Use ELL cultures as fodder for class material. This gives the ELLs the task of talking about something they know, which, in turn, will assist in increasing self-esteem. Other
students in the class benefit from this indirect international instruction with international examples, allowing for the reciprocation of knowledge and the exploration of ideas and truths.

Look at ELLs as resources, not as burdens; this will enhance the learning process for all involved.

There are accommodations (repetition of ideas, illustrations, comprehension checks, etc.) that should be taken into consideration when working with ELLs. Offer information in as many modes as possible (spoken, written, on-line, CD, interactive, etc.)
Culture and language aren’t walls to be torn down, destroyed, and rebuilt into a likeness with which we are familiar; rather, they are meant to be experienced to enhance our own perception of reality and Life. Many people believe that life begins with reason and ends in experience; however, we must do the opposite. We must begin with our own experience and from this proceed to investigate the reason. (attributed to Leonardo da Vinci also found in *Immortal* by Traci L. Slatton, p. 293, also at [http://everything2.com/user/duckrabbit/writeups/Leonardo+da+Vinci](http://everything2.com/user/duckrabbit/writeups/Leonardo+da+Vinci).

Not all of the following references are specific to ELLs or aimed at higher education; however, they do all offer insights into interpretation of information, cultural concepts, native- and non-native-English-speaking techniques, and pedagogical styles and research. Additionally, they offer ideas that can be adapted across fields and throughout the levels of instruction.

**Printed**


Toppo, G. Just how should Johnny learn?. (2009, March 5). USA Today, p 7D.

Web-based


Purdue University. (2009). *The OWL at Purdue*. Retrieved October 8, 2009, from http://owl.english.purdue.edu/handouts/esl/. **Note:** Individual links within the website are suggested; they are updated frequently.


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**About the Author**

*Dr. Alan D. Lytle*, the teaching director of the Intensive English Language Program at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock, USA, has a background in second and foreign language education (ESL/EFL, German, and French) as well as 19 years of ESL teaching experience at all levels, in academic-preparation programs, conversation programs, English-for-Special-Purposes programs, and topic-specific programs.
Appendix A

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Yaeh and I awlyas tghuhot slpeling was ipmorantt!

Title: Using the lens of self-management to facilitate navigation towards successful transition and adjustment after stroke.

Topic Area: Cross disciplinary area – Psychology and Patient-Centered Health Care

Presentation Format: Workshop

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Objectives:

1. Exploring ways to facilitate quality of life through fostering self-management after stroke
2. Exploring the use of a narrative approach to facilitate self-discovery, problem solving in the context of goal development
3. Using clinical self-reflection to explore how therapists own beliefs and value systems can support and inhibit goal development
4. Identify some of the cultural and environmental issues that can act as barriers to facilitating successful self-management after stroke

In many healthcare systems there is a clear disparity between the amount of care available at the ‘front end’ of stroke and a lack of support in the longer term. There is also evidence that individuals can feel a sense of disappointment once rehabilitation comes to an end and feel ill-equipped to manage life after stroke. The skills required by an individual to manage the transition towards a life after their stroke, are multifaceted and a number of barriers to successful self-management can exist. We propose that supporting a successful transition is a dual process involving self-discovery, problem solving and goal setting on behalf of the stroke survivor, but also a critical reflection required by the practitioner to explore their own belief systems and values and how they currently foster these skills.

A UK based self-management programme developed in consultation with stroke survivors, and a multiprofessional group of experts in stroke and self-management aims to enable practitioners to develop their own skills to foster self-management and effective goal setting. The programme is underpinned by social cognition theory and self-efficacy principals (Bandura, 1997), in which there is a strong emphasis on person-centred goal setting, and reflection on the importance of the patient’s own confidence and skills. Following the workshops practitioners work on a one-to-one basis with stroke survivors using a personalised, interactive, stroke workbook as an interactive tool to promote self-management. The stroke workbook comprises of individual stories and strategies suggested by stroke survivors, together with a diary section to record personal targets and successes. Following the workshops practitioners complete a case study which encourages a process of self-reflection. Through a preliminary thematic analysis of the case reflections, a number of important areas have been identified for learning, including potential barriers which can inhibit successful self-management.

This session will review components of this specialized program to illustrate concepts of self efficacy and self-management principals along with the use of narrative writing techniques to foster skills which facilitate successful transitioning to life after stroke. The discussion will underscore the importance of clinician self-reflection and self-assessment to promote effective goal setting while supporting an environment of hope. Discussion will revolve around ways in which to identify and strengthen the therapeutic relationship as a critical ingredient in the rehabilitation process.
Interpretation of Cultural Phenomenon

First author: Dr. Wang, Xiaoli,
Institute of Ethnology & Anthropology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences;
Second author: Ms. Wang, Fanmei (PhD Candidate),
Department of Sociology, Peking University.
Interpretation of Cultural Phenomenon

Abstract: There exist the phenomena of cultural multi-chain and cultural co-growth. A culture can be viewed horizontally as one or more cultural chains composed of some cultural rings linked to one another; each cultural chain displays its main characteristic of being multi-trended. When viewed vertically, each of multiple regional cultures in a monoculture or each of various cultures in the same region, regardless of which stage it is in, has its own characteristic of distinguishing itself from the other cultures, and thus is able to acquire and maintain its self-development. This is called as the phenomenon of cultural co-growth by the author.

Keywords: cultural phenomenon; cultural ring; cultural multi-chain; cultural co-growth; cultural trend.

As a gathering concept, culture, which can be as large as a worldwide one with particular eastern and western contents, or as small as the Chinese national one with rich and colorful contents of China’s fifty-six minzu¹ groups, integrates the common spiritual wealth, the different ways of life and production, and the different cultural characteristics of all the states and nations in the world. The procedure of this integration, however, is neither a simple summary one nor a sum of all cultural traits. As Benedict (1934:47) has stated: “The whole, as modern science is insisting in many fields, is not merely the sum of all its parts, but the result of a unique arrangement and interrelation of the parts that has brought about a new entity.” Moreover, by means of various phenomena, culture verifies its existence, nature, development, and difference. Cultural anthropology’s work is to explore each culture’s characteristic, pattern, development, and change as well as the inter-cultural relationship on the one hand, and cultural nature’s meaning manifested in various cultural phenomena on the other. By observing, describing, and analyzing the state of relationship between multiple regional cultures in a monoculture and that of between various cultures, the author tries to find out the implied cultural nature and commonness.

¹ China’s fifty-six minzu groups can be considered as fifty-six units of the Chinese nation, which enjoy common rights and assume common responsibilities (noted by Wang, Xiaoli).
1. Phenomenon of Cultural Multi-chain

There are some more than 160 concepts of culture. As the British anthropologist Taylor (1958:1) has defined, “Culture or Civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society”.

When comparing various essential cultural elements of various minzu cultures, we will find many differences. It is only from the perspective of difference that at least one phenomenon can come into view in China: cultures belong to different minzu groups and are also regional; cultures vary not only from one minzu group to another, but from region to region. Cultures are different between the South and North, grasslands and deserts, plains and mountains, cities and countryside, the seasides and inlands, the Central plains and Borders, as well as the Han majority minzu group and other minority minzu groups. Furthermore, as long as there exist different production and living patterns, even though within the same region or under the same minzu culture, cultural elements may be unlike one another. “Within each culture there come into being characteristic purposes not necessarily shared by other types of society (Benedict, 1934:36)”. For instance, in Guide County of Qinghai Province, the Tibetans reside in three areas – the cultivated area, the pastoral area, and the half-cultivated-half-pastoral area, where there exist three dissimilar ways of life and production. Therefore, some of them are cultivators, some are pastoralists, and some others are agro-pastoralists (cultivators who graze their livestock outside as well). In this situation, many differences in the details of Tibetan culture can be discerned.

2 All the data presented in this article are the first hand collected in the 1990s.
The Tibetan cultivators in the cultivated area have settled there for almost a century or even longer. Their working tools, planting patterns, daily clothing and accessories, settlement patterns, eating habits, and interior decorations – all these are quite distinct from those of the Tibetan pastoralists in the pastoral area. In order to go to the fields or work in the yards conveniently, these cultivators wear Tibetan-style clothing rarely but Han-style leisure clothing frequently in their daily lives. Currently, each Tibetan household in the pastoral area has established fixed settlement in winter – a firm cement or brick-wood house, and has also prepared Qingke (barley) and wheat all year around. In addition, within several years, warm sheds have been built available for each house. Nonetheless, in spring, summer, and winter, these pastoralists still dwell in yurts. Depending on their experiences passed on from one generation to the next, they move along the topography in search of natural seasonal pastures to graze their livestock, that is to say, they prefer a transhumance life style. In the pastoral area, although the males wear Han-style clothing or western suits occasionally, the females only wear Tibetan-style clothing. Generally, the females sew by hand all the Tibetan-style clothes worn by themselves and those males in their families, regardless of whether these clothes are made of leather or cloth fabric. They insist on this traditional hand-making method – at least until now, even though their new-fashioned clothes can also be made to order in the market. Two reasons may have contributed to this phenomenon: first, the hand-making method has come to express how rich a family is; secondly, a housewife has attached her responsibility and emotion to her sewing work. In my field research, I noticed that all the families were like this.

The Tibetans in the cultivated area still retain their habit of eating meat, but take wheat as their staple diet. Their manner of cooking and eating wheat, order of food-serving, and food items included in three meals a day – all these are exactly similar to those of the local Hans. In most cases, only when greeting guests from afar, they are probably able to
drink *Suyou* tea (buttered tea). It is not because they are unwilling to drink *Suyou* tea, but because their cultivated environment forces them to turn to drink the tea without additional ingredients. Furthermore, they are still used to adding salt to tea. There is a local folk saying that holds: “One person will look like a ghost if he or she has no money; tea will taste flat like water if no salt is added.” And thus, whenever cooking or making tea, they always add salt. This habit is also associated with two facts – first, salt is produced locally; secondly, salt supplement is mostly needed by the locals who often sweat profusely after labor. Furthermore, this manner of adding salt to tea appears to be more unusual as compared with the habit of Fuzhuan tea-drinking held by the minority *minzu* groups in the northwestern areas and those in the salt deficiency areas of Yunnan and Guizhou plateau. The Tibetans in the pastoral area continue to use meat, milk tea, cheese, *Suyou* tea, and tsampa as their staples; although making some wheaten foods such as pancakes at times, they prefer *Qingke* as their daily food. In addition, they eat at irregular hours during the day: sometimes when a sheep is slaughtered for food in a household, maybe only one meal will be served for that whole day, and the only thing is that the eating time will be prolonged; sometimes two or four meals are served in a household a day, in each of which no certain number of people participate and generally, everyone can eat anytime as long as he or she wants and needs. This can be exemplified by the fact that their diet components seldom change by meal, regardless of how many people share a meal or how many meals are served a day in a yurt. In the pastoral area, the people have no opinion about the necessity of taking three meals a day. Usually, they have light meals; for instance, sometimes in a meal, they only drink a bowl of tea and eat several pieces of pancakes and meat. Even so, you are seldom in such a situation that when you visit a family of pastoralists, no foods are available since you have missed their normal meal time. It is at this point that the Tibetans in the pastoral area have fundamentally different ideas and habits from those in the cultivated area; these differences result from their different living and production conditions.
In Guide County, many cultural distinctions can also be observed between the Tibetan families in the cultivated area and those in the half-cultivated-half-pastoral area. Although retaining their Tibetan language and religious beliefs, the former have the culture that is more similar to the cultivated culture of the Hans, whereas the latter have preserved more Tibetan customs. For instance, the Tibetans in Luohantang village, which is 43 kilometers away from Guide County and is located in the half-cultivated-half-pastoral area, wear their Tibetan-style clothing frequently whenever going to their fields or doing their housework; in particular, the local senior women wear their minzu clothing all year around. Many local adult men tie their long hair in a long and thin plait coiled on top of the head, a phenomenon that makes it easy for us to recognize their minzu identity. However, this phenomenon can hardly be seen in Hexi village. The Tibetans in Luohantang village take meat and milk in their daily meals more than those in the cultivated area and less than those in the pastoral area, and also, they do not use Qingke but only self-planted wheat as foods. In addition, a formal Buddhism dGe-lugs-pa temple has been built in this village.

In this article, I interpret the phenomenon of intra-cultural difference, attributed to different ways of life and production, as different cultural rings of the same cultural chain. When viewing a culture as a cultural chain meeting end to end, we can see that some cultural rings constitute this chain, to which each of these rings belong. Therefore, for sure, each cultural ring directly connects with the cultural chain to which it belongs. Some cultural rings may be linked to one another directly, some indirectly, and some others in sequence; sometimes several rings may be linked to only one ring simultaneously, and sometimes several rings may be cross-linked together. In a culture, two cultural rings are always interlaced, no matter how many rings there are and by which ways these rings connect with one another. Many interlaced cultural rings form a cultural chain with abundant and overlapped contents as well as diverse and tight types of connections; in this cultural chain, each cultural ring, depending on its own characteristic, keeps its particular
significance of self-existence, even if it is only subtly different from the other rings of this chain.

Monoculture manifests itself as the above-mentioned phenomenon, which shows how various cultural rings within the same culture vary from or connect with one another; multiculture manifests itself as a phenomenon, which shows that in an area where several cultures exist side by side, some monocultural chains are linked to one another or not.

First, multiculture is multi-chained and consists of some or many cultural chains with dissimilar contents.

Secondly, various cultural chains in multiculture may connect with one another or not; if they do connect with one another, these connections may be direct or indirect. (1) Multiculture and monoculture have different forms of links. The inter-cultural links existing in multiculture include not only the connections between different cultural chains, but a possible direct connection between a particular or some rings of a cultural chain and that or those of another chain. Due to this possible direct connection, in some area or at the point of some essential cultural element, two or more cultures may integrate or even become absolutely identical and then a new culture thus comes into being. This newly appearing culture, whose content is distinct from that of any surrounding culture, does not clearly belong to any minzu group, but becomes a unique one in this area. In other words, the cultural ring, formed by the integration of two or more cultures, comes about at the crossing point of several cultures, but does not belong to any particular cultural chain; meanwhile, it can also be accepted and identified by these several cultural chains and then exist. This is a special cultural ring, the one without any attributes of monoculture. A cultural ring not belonging to any cultural chain can only be found in those regions where many cultures crisscross or many minzu groups mix together. (2) Indeed, it is also possible that different cultures in multiculture do not connect with one another. A culture may be completely strange to or widely
distinct from the other one; these two cultures may obviously differ from each other in their historical backgrounds, values, as well as value-orientations. For instance, there exist noticeable distinctions between eastern and western cultures or between the African and European cultures. The primary reason why two or more cultural chains in multiculture show no connection is that, since these chains are spatially apart or lie in different geographical environments where cultures come into being, they lack the conditions for direct or indirect links and thus impossibly interact with or influence one another. This phenomenon of non-connection between several cultural systems, which appears in multiculture, is the normal form of existence of cultural chains. What is at work here is the concept of cultural chain I use to interpret the relationship between two or more cultures; cultural chain refers to a phenomenon of connection between different cultures or between different cultural rings in the same culture.

The Chinese nation can be considered as a large cultural phenomenon, in which many small cultural chains are liked to each other and are then integrated together. The links existing in the Chinese national culture carry two senses: first, different minzu cultures join together to constitute the comprehensive cultural content of the Chinese nation; secondly, different regional cultures in the same minzu group are distinct from one another and also join together to constitute the comprehensive cultural content of this minzu group. For instance, the Tibetan culture of Guide County, Qinghai Province, appears to be subtly different from one another in three adjacent areas – the cultivated area, the half-cultivated-half-pastoral area, and the pastoral area, and thus three small cultural rings, which all belong to the Tibetan culture, come into being. Furthermore, in the cultivated area, the commonness of the Tibetan and Han cultivators, which is shown in some cultural essential elements, can be regarded as a phenomenon, in which two cultural rings, belonging to two cultural chains respectively, are linked to each other directly in this area.
The compatibility of different cultures needs the inter-cultural spatial distance, the opportunities of inter-cultural communication, and the dissimilarities of backgrounds and environments from which these cultures form. The farther different cultural chains are spatially apart, the fewer opportunities are given to inter-cultural communication, the more obvious or noticeable inter-cultural diversity is, and thus the less possibly compatible these cultures can be. On the reverse, the closer different cultural chains are spatially apart, the larger overlapped area these chains cover, the more opportunities are given to inter-cultural communication, the more identical or similar components are shared by these cultures, and thus the more possibly compatible these cultures can be. Here the key element is spatial distance; when this distance is short enough, different cultures are possibly able to observe, understand, and accept one another directly. Also, we cannot deny that under the influence of modern media and transportation, it is possible for different cultures to connect with one another, even if they are far apart.

In a monocultural chain, the farther two different cultural rings are spatially apart or the more intervening rings are between two rings, the less possibly these two rings, between which clear distinctions can be seen, are able to accept each other. For instance, a significant percentage of the Tibetan cultivators in the cultivated area of Guide County were not willing to marry their daughters or sons to the youngsters in the pastoral area. They gave opinions as follows: “Our life habits are different from theirs [those of the Tibetan pastoralists]. Had our daughters married them, our daughters wouldn’t know how to do their work or get used to their lives, and also couldn’t eat as they like.” As we can understand, of course, what they meant by “[different] life habits” does not refer to those discussed in ethnology, such as languages, religious beliefs, values, and traditional customs, controlled by a totally different cultural system, but rather to the life habits controlled by different ways of production in different regions within the same cultural system. What they cared about was whether their children would get a scanty livelihood or be able to meet the requirements of daily life in the
pastoral area. Moreover, we cannot deny that in their consciousness or in what they said between the lines, the Tibetans in the cultivated area are quite clear that their living ways are different from those of the Tibetans in the pastoral area; such cultural differences neither make the former form a new minzu group, nor make the cultures of the former and the latter be identified as a whole, but, nevertheless, have made it possible for the two groups to entirely accept each other into their own lives. It can be seen intuitively that in Guide County, the Tibetan culture in the cultivated area and that in the pastoral area are two cultural rings of a cultural chain, which are not directly linked to and distinct from each other.

It is quite significant that my field research in Luohantang village, situated in the half-cultivated-half-pastoral area, indicated that the local Tibetans did not utterly oppose or reject the intermarriage between their children and the youngsters in the pastoral area. Most of the locals were positive or indifferent to this kind of intermarriage, and only a few expressed their negative opinions; such different attitudes depend on their better or worse family economic conditions. Of those who elicited positive or indifferent expressions, a good percentage were males wearing long hair or those who had only received a short-term education in temples. Moreover, in the households of these holding positive or indifferent views, usually dozens of or approximately one hundred of sheep and goats – the predominant livestock – were raised; in some of these households, a few of pigs or cattle were fed as well. Usually, these people preferred to employ or work jointly with the Tibetans in the pastoral area to graze their sheep and goats, rather than keep their livestock in captivity; this way of raising livestock is the same as that used in the pastoral area. In addition, not only did they often communicate with or visit the Tibetans in the pastoral area, but many of them were closely blood-related to the latter. In comparison, of those who opposed marrying their children to those in the pastoral area, in most situations, the guardians had ever received a formal primary or middle schooling or the children a higher primary or junior middle schooling. The most significant characteristic was that their households of these holding negative
views normally possessed fewer livestock, most of which were kept in captivity. Furthermore, the males in these households had not grazed sheep and goats for over one or even several decades, although they had accumulated relatively rich experiences of cultivation. These opponents of intermarriage and the Tibetan cultivators in the cultivated area shared much similar ways of daily life: both of them took more grain than meat and milk per day; the adult males did not wear long hair and the adult females preferred to wear leisure clothes with trousers when working. When comparing the Tibetan culture of the half-cultivated-half-pastoral area with that of the cultivated area or that of the pastoral area, we can easily see such a cultural scene in a county: the Tibetan cultures of the cultivated area, of the half-cultivated-half-pastoral area, and of the pastoral area are three cultural rings connecting with each other in sequence. The Tibetan culture of the cultivated area is, more or directly, in connection with that of the half-cultivated-half-pastoral area, whereas the latter is located in between the former and the Tibetan culture of the pastoral area. Although sometimes the Tibetans in the cultivated area approach or communicate with those in the pastoral area, but only occasionally and individually; viewed from what have been meant in culture, the people in these two areas are situated in two cultural rings without direct connection. Besides the limitation of geographical environment, this phenomenon has been caused by the fact that the different production and living patterns make them choose their intermarriages differently based on their experiences. The Tibetan cultivators in the cultivated area did not oppose or even encouraged their children to intermarry with those in the half-cultivated-half-pastoral area, and the Tibetan pastoralists in the pastoral area were also pleased with the intermarriages between their children and the latter; it is the middle status that pushes us to consider these options from the perspectives of practicality and adaptability. In this cultural phenomenon, intra-cultural diversity as well as the compatibility and mutual repulsion appearing between different cultural rings can be observed.
Monoculture can be multi-chained as well; in other words, a particular culture can be composed of many regional cultural chains, which belong to the same culture and subtly differ from one another. For instance, in China, the Han majority group can be divided into the southern and northern groups, each of which has clear distinctions in its dialect, clothing and accessories, and eating habit. Even within either of these two regional cultures – the southern Han culture or the northern one, wide intra-cultural diversity can be discerned; furthermore, either the southern or northern one has shown its unique cultural trend, so a significant contrast between these two regional cultures can be observed. However, this contrast does not change the fact that both cultures belong to a large cultural system – the Han culture. Given that each Han culture with regional characteristics is seen as a small cultural ring, it is not difficult for us to find out that in fact, the Han culture in the whole China can be seen as a cultural chain joined by many multi-trended cultural rings. Of course, no matter how various cultural rings differ from one another, the unanimity is certain; in other words, all these rings belong to the Han culture. In an ethnological field research, why can we only mark out the general scope of one culture uncertainly or unclearly? In my opinion, this is because the same culture can exist in different areas. In particular, when identifying with its cultural origin, each regional culture always emphasizes its exclusiveness and its new contents for the sake of showing its status and necessity of its existence; this reflects exactly how people identify with the cultural development and change. For instance, the residents in modern cities often feel nervous and lonely, while those in countryside can enjoy their rich and cozy lives; even so, no crowds of city residents throw away their lives and flock to countryside for relief. This is partly because there are many obvious differences between city and countryside, and also substantially because it is difficult for city residents with some specific cultural traits to give up their familiar cultural environment and accept another unfamiliar one.

It is impossible for people to bring their cultural environments along with them according to their desires. They
are quite aware of an adage, “When in Rome, do as the Romans do,” which comes to mean, Ru Xiang Sui Su in Chinese (When you go somewhere strange, you should do as the local people do.) The most important element included in Xiang (somewhere strange) and Su (what the local people do) is cultural environment – a cultural system with local cultural characteristics, which has formed over a long period of time and also has been commonly identified with and maintained by the local people. Here Xiang and Su can be considered as a cultural ring. Sui Su (doing as the local people do) means that people should comply with and acclimate to the local cultural environment, give up their original cultural backgrounds, which they have adapted to and have been familiar with, as well as regulate what they say in accordance with the local customs. As long as they Ru Xiang (go somewhere strange), people will have to Sui Su, even if they have only walked away a short distance, or even if the culture of Xiang and their original cultural still belong to the same big cultural system. Obviously, since a cultural environment, differing from the one with which a person has been quite familiar, can be met everywhere, Ru Xiang must be on the condition that this person complies with different cultural customs.

When the cultural rings of two different cultural chains are linked to each other occasionally, it is possible for some individual and particular cultural phenomena to be seen, such as the cultural phenomenon of the northern Han group reflected in the region where the northern minority minzu groups are concentrated, or that of the southern minority minzu groups reflected in the region where the southern Han group is concentrated. This cultural phenomenon, caused by the connection between a monoculture and other cultures, can be observed from the perspective of links between multiple chains of a multicuture.

The phenomenon of a multicultural multi-chain is highly typical in the Chinese nation – a gathering cultural...
concept. Fifty-six minzu groups display fifty-six traits of fifty-six cultures; these cultures with own traits are closely linked to each other and then constitute the Chinese national culture. Some cultures have language in common, some attach themselves to the same religious belief, some are located in the same region, and some others share the same living customs – all these commonnesses have brought fifty-six cultures together and then form a phenomenon of integration and a relationship in the form of multiple cultural crossings caused by the connections between multiple chains and/or between multiple rings. In the Chinese national multiculture, various cultures interact with each other and then form a multiple cultural crossings. In this situation, an extremely strong cohesion can be established in the Chinese nation, and thus the phrase “Chinese national culture” can stand for fifty-six minzu cultures when faced with the world.

2. Phenomenon of Cultural Co-growth

In my opinion, culture is formed from people’s living and production practices. Culture co-grows with labor; in this sense, no culture will exist if without labor. “No man will exist if without culture (Li, 1994: 521).” Therefore, it is labor that creates culture and man himself.

Culture, as the trait of humanity, can be also considered as one of the fundamental differences between mankind and animal. “Man’s outstanding characteristic, his distinguishing mark, is not his metaphysical or physical nature – but his work. It is this work, it is the system of human activities, which defines and determines the circle of ‘humanity’. Language, myth, religion, art, science, history are the constituents, the various sectors of this circle” (Cassirer, 1985: 68). “
Cultural contents and forms are highly diversified. The living and production practices of people are conditioned by their living environments; different living environments are always associated with different ways and contents of production and lives. Cultural contents and forms are directly formed from the contents and ways of production and lives of people, and also are formed from, accumulated by, and summarized in the living and production practices of people. As long as the ways and contents of production and lives differ from each other, the thus formed cultures are different. “He [man] cannot live his life without expressing his life (Cassirer, 1985: 224).” Cultural contents and forms can be thought of as the expressions and narrations of people for their own diverse ways of lives.

Each culture has its particular determination of quality; even though two or more cultures are alike with regard to their contents and forms, their expressed cultural meanings have still perceived dissimilarities. The existence of each culture is useful; each culture has its unique tradition and follows its own particular development. Cultural tradition can serve as the basis and matrix of a culture, the life and power of whose existence result from cultural development. Any minzu group would not get rid of its cultural tradition and its cultural development; if either of which is thrown away, the culture of this group will be destroyed, and meanwhile, the existence of this group will be under threat. As mentioned before, monoculture and multiculture are both multi-chained. Does cultural multi-chain contradict the preservation of minzu cultural traits? In my opinion, the answer is no. For cultural multi-chain does not refer to cultural assimilation, but a situation that although various cultures or various regional cultures within the same culture differ from one another, they are still able to accept, be compatible with, co-exist with, or even interact with one another, while preserving their cultural characteristics. To be sure, it is because a culture has preserved its characteristics to some extent that a cultural ring is able to exist; it is because different cultural rings are linked to one another that a cultural chain is able to form. A cultural ring, connecting with a cultural chain, would not lose its characteristics due to
this connection. A cultural ring, connecting with a cultural chain, would not lose its characteristics due to this connection. In fact, it is just because the preservation of its cultural characteristics that a cultural ring can become the important and indispensable part of a cultural chain, and it is also because various cultures cross one another that each culture can manifest its clearly different characteristics. All the above explanations in this paragraph give emphasis to the individual traits of each culture and inter-cultural relationship, which shows cultures depend on and differ from each other.

A cultural traditional system is the core, in which a minzu group coheres and is identified with by its members; if without this system, a cultural chain will fail to form. However, cultural development takes places simultaneously in the whole cultural chain and in various cultural rings, as well as simultaneously in various cultural chains. In different cultures (cultural chains) and different regions (cultural rings), cultural development manifests itself in various ways: some cultures develop at different paces and others in different directions. Nonetheless, cultural development occurs everywhere. Here I define the phenomenon, which shows that any culture develops by itself anytime and anywhere, as Cultural Self-development. Considered as one of cultural own traits, cultural self-development is possessed by any culture. The sustainable development and gradual disappearance of any culture can be treated as the reflection of cultural self-development. Regardless of what a monoculture or multicultural look like, the cultural rings and chains of this monoculture or multicultural, under the precondition of self-development, will grow together with the other cultural rings and chains – a phenomenon I define as Cultural Co-growth. Here cultural co-growth does not mean that various cultures become merged into one or that all the cultural rings and chains develop at the same pace, in the same direction, and in the same form, but mean as follows:
A. Various cultures exist side by side. In whichever period, there are as many corresponding cultures and states of
cultural co-growth as there are minzu groups; in other words, at any stage or in any period of the Chinese history,
various cultures always exist side by side. In the primitive society, there dwelt Peking man and Lantian man; there
appeared Yangshao culture and Majiayao culture. Archaeology has proved that in the primitive period, different
regional cultures, formed from the lives and production of the local people, were similar to one another while retaining
their traits. “As long as there exists no commerce transcending the immediate neighborhood, every invention must be
made separately in each locality; …… In primitive history every invention had to be made daily anew and in each
locality independently (Marx & Engels, 1970: 72).” Limited by their productive forces, people, in order to survive, had
to make necessary tools, and various cultures had thus formed. The existence side by side of various multicultures had
also been recorded in the history of the Chinese primitive and feudal societies. In those historical periods, some minzu
groups had been assimilated or disappeared, and thus their cultures had disappeared or melted into the cultures of the
other minzu groups, but some other new minzu groups and some new cultural groups had appeared. Therefore, cultural
plurality has been retained in the Chinese national culture all the time. Cultural plurality demonstrates the fact that
many cultures exist side by side; some cultures stand in their vulnerable positions, but nevertheless, as long as they
exist, it is possible for them to exist with other cultures side by side. Furthermore, it has been quite clear that various
cultures in the world exist side by side; whether comparing the eastern culture with the western one or speaking from
the perspective of inter-cultural relationship within each continent, and whether in the ancient or modern society, we
can see that various cultures exist side by side commonly.

B. Various cultures develop contemporaneously. In other words, a culture develops when another one is
developing; on the length of any time, either a cultural chain or a cultural ring can grow on condition of itself. The
fishing culture develops while the grassland culture is developing; the pastoral culture, the fishing culture, and the industrial culture all develop while the agricultural culture is developing. Various cultures may develop at different paces and in different directions: some move forward more quickly but others move slowly; some advance towards modernization quickly but others keep moving very slowly. Yet in any region or to any minzu group, culture develops continuously. Culture has two characteristics – peculiarity and dynamism; peculiarity keeps a culture independent and distinct from the other ones, while dynamism, a culture’s ability of development, means that a culture can develop continuously in any possibly chosen direction according to its needs. Prompted by dynamism, a culture can make its approach to another one actively and then get rid of its traits gradually and naturally, and thus a phenomenon of assimilation appears. For instance, in the early post-liberation days, the Chinese minority minzu groups lay in different social forms, and also, basically, their cultures were relatively independent from each other. Therefore, various cultural chains with peculiarities had formed. Regardless of which social form they lay in, these chains had existed side by side and co-grown for a long time, under different historical conditions. For instance, the Elunchun people, who were living in the eastern north of China, had not evolved into the class society. In this situation, they did not throw away their own culture and assimilate to the cultural systems of the other minzu groups, but partly absorbed the cultural contents of the surrounding groups and then stepped into modern society together with the other minzu cultures.

Cultural co-growth refers to both monocultural co-growth and multicultural co-growth. Monocultural co-growth means the co-growth of different regional cultures in a monoculture. It is noticeable that these regional cultures and this monoculture may develop at different steps, with different contents, and in different forms, while the former do not deviate from the latter, and that one regional culture and the other one of this monoculture may develop at different steps, with different contents, and in different forms. Thus, a monoculture displays the phenomena of co-existence and
co-growth with various characteristics in various regions. For instance, the Hui people who live throughout China differ from each other from region to region in either their daily clothing and accessories or their dialects; those of the South prefer sweet foods but those of the North prefer sour and hot ones. However, this neither prevents the Hui people who live in different regions from identifying themselves as one Hui minzu group, nor does it hinder these people to keep their traits and then to co-grow and co-exist in various regions of China.

Multicultural co-growth means the existence side by side of various cultures. For example, Lijiang River can be considered as the representative of Dongba Naxi culture; Cangshan Mountain and Erhai Lake in Dali shows the tradition of the Bai minzu culture; Yinchuan symbolizes the Islam culture of the Hui minzu group; the soul of Tibetan Buddhism culture is embodied in Lhasa and Rikaze; Shenyang concentrates the cultural traits of the Man minzu group who dwell outside Shanhaiguan; Xi’an and Xianyang suggest the thick atmosphere of the Qin culture; the ancient Ba and Shu states’ cultures coruscate throughout the Chuan River; Beijing and Baoding exhibit the Yan-Zhao cultural atmosphere; Linzi and Qufu retain the essence of Qilu culture; Meizhou, Ganzhou, and Changding spread the ideas of the Hakka culture; Fuzhou and Quanzhou display the styles of Fujian and Taiwan cultures. All these cultures have their own characteristics; although they are linked to and absorb into each other, these cultures co-grow and exist side by side in a big cultural system – the Chinese national culture, and keep and develop their own cultural characteristics.

Another example can be found in the development of minzu language: on the one hand, a minzu group can expand its language through absorbing and transforming the words of other minzu groups; on the other hand, after modern life has been accepted and modern words have been used, a minzu group can expand its language as well. If a minority minzu group member insists on using his or her own minzu language while learning Chinese, a situation may appear that many languages can be cross used and also exist side by side as well as co-grow.
Cultural self-development generates cultural non-homogeneous phenomenon and cultural non-homogenous development. Each minzu group or each region has its particular cultural peculiarity, and thus a culture can continue to exist or develop in different cultural peculiarities. Meanwhile, cultural co-growth determines that when different cultures are developing, their systems can interact with or absorb into each other. The history of the Chinese nation can be regarded as a history in which the cultures of various minzu groups not only self-develop and co-grow, but also exist and develop side by side.

3. Interpretation of Cultural Phenomenon

Cultural multi-chain and cultural self-development and co-growth discussed in this article are the interpretations of cultural phenomenon. Cultural phenomenon is the manifestation of cultural nature. To interpret cultural phenomenon means to discover the composition and understand the significance of cultural nature, through explaining the ways of cultural existence.

The phenomena of cultural multi-chain and of cultural self-development and co-growth reflect how a culture manifests itself in its multifold relations. For instance, cultural self-development shows that the interior dynamism is the fundamental power of promoting the formation and development of each regional or minzu culture. This dynamism comes from different ways of production and lives, which are formed in the people who reside in various regions and belong to various minzu groups and in accordance with their particular living environments. Each region or minzu group has its internal power that allows a culture to form and develop; this is also the basis for cultures can be
multi-chained and are able to co-growth.

Cultural co-growth describes the fact that different regional cultures or various cultures can develop in many dimensions; meanwhile, it illustrates that between different regional cultures and between different minzu cultures, cultures may repel each other, and thus the peculiarities of various regional cultures or various minzu cultures can be retained. The phenomenon of multicultural co-growth and existence side by side is the uppermost cultural phenomenon shown in the Chinese multi-minzu cultures and the worldwide multiculture; the trait of cultural co-growth and existence side by side makes the Chinese national culture and the worldwide one extensive, profound, rich, and colorful in content.

Multi-chain expresses the state of plane motion of cultural dissemination. A monocultural gradual spread results in the appearance of regional differences within a culture as well as the linkage between these differences, and then the further appearance of a monocultural multi-chain. Therefore, it has been demonstrated that in a monoculture, there also exists cultural interaction and repellent; interaction makes different regional cultures tightly connect with each other, and repellent makes the traits of these regional cultures independent and outstanding. In a monoculture, regional cultures are distinct from each other, but their identification with their own culture has not thus been negatively influenced. In a multicultural multi-chain, various cultures interact with one another and thus a big cultural system with strong identification and cohesion, such as the Chinese national culture, can be formed, in which the cultures of multiple minzu groups and multiple regions form a phenomenon of integration. A multicultural multi-chain makes it possible that various cultures in some region can communicate with each other quite frequently. Cultural identification, generally speaking, is a condition of minzu identification; different cultures have the contents that can be commonly
accepted, so different minzu groups may be able to communicate with each other. Under this circumstance, the phenomenon of cultural multi-chain appears.

A monoculture, despite the distance of its dissemination, can form a phenomenon of cultural multi-chain because of its self-development; despite how different various cultures in multiculture are from each other, it is always possible for a conjunction point to form in the cultural interactions. Co-growth does not mean the absolutely independent development and absolute connection without any condition, but mean that several cultures develop independently while communicating with their surrounding cultures and develop with their characteristics in the Chinese national cultural system. Multi-chain does not only refer to the gradual cultural conjunction on geographical condition, but the inter-cultural connection after cultures interact with each other.

Cultural difference, cultural multi-chain, and cultural self-development and co-growth – all these multifold relations constitute cultural radical characteristics. The cultural phenomenon and nature are exactly alike. The existence of a thing means that its phenomenon and nature exist simultaneously and do not separate from each other. It would be inconceivable that a thing’s phenomenon is separated from its nature. Just like we say that one person has two manners of existence – the manner of phenomenon and of nature; these two manners are not only able to be independent from, but deviate from each other. Let’s suppose that when we talk about one person, we have to distinguish in advance who we are talking about, the one existing in the manner of phenomenon or the one in the manner of nature. This sounds ridiculous; it seems that we are not talking about one person, but two irrelevant people. As a matter of fact, when we talk about phenomenon, we talk about nature as well; similarly, when we talk about nature, we talk about phenomenon as well.
The research topic mentioned in this article can be categorized to the phenomenological anthropology. However, my phenomenological anthropology is quite different from the Japanese one, which just adds phenomenology and anthropology and thus is hard to understand. The phenomenological anthropology I define here is that through observing and interpreting anthropological phenomena, we can achieve the cognition of cultural structure and the principles controlling cultural development (including cognitions of cultural nature, trait, change, etc.); it also means that as we are all doing, starting with the anthropological fieldwork, we can discard experience and acquire self-consciousness.

References:


Brand Loyalty towards Sport Sponsorship’s Product: A Case Study of Youth Coke-Cup Football Tournament in Thailand

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Abstract

The purposes of this research were to study brand loyalty of football players and spectators of the Youth Coke-Cup Football Tournament towards COKE-Thai Namtip Company Limited in Thailand, the main sponsor of the event, and to compare the level of brand loyalty between football players and spectators through the awareness and images of brand. Two research methodological approaches, qualitative and quantitative, were used in this research. In-depth interview was utilized to collect the data from ten key informants as well as survey questionnaires were employed to randomly gather data from the samples of 82 football players and 164 spectators.

Research findings showed that there were significant differences of brand loyalty level between football players and spectators. According to the in-depth interview, most participants indicated that the increasing sales derived from brand awareness and images. It was also concluded that public relations supported brand awareness among people’s interest. Regarding the sales planning, it was the important instrument which retained and expanded the customers. Moreover, many prospects were interested in the sale promotion activities sponsored by the Coke Thai Namthip.

Keywords: Brand Loyalty, Sponsor, Coke Football Tournament

References


Do we really need more regulation in finance?

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Abstract

This paper focuses on regulation as a follow-up problem of the financial crisis during the years 2007-2008. An elucidation of the optimal degree of efficacy in financial regulation will be presented. Moreover, we found a highly unanticipated result that regulation does not always follow an economic trade-off; i.e. costs vs benefits. In case of an accumulation of potential damages in financial markets due to weak regulation, we expect to find no economic trade-off. This leads us to presume, that the optimal degree of regulation is always comprehensive supervision. In other words, the optimal regulatory framework has merely a boundary solution. We conclude, macro-prudential regulation is essential in finance due to the accumulating damages of financial bubbles and imbalances. Hence, the optimal regulatory risk payments should be linked to potential damages. Consequently, a framework of systemic risk regulation is optimized when based on comprehensive supervision.

Key words: Regulation, Efficacy, Trade-off, Financial Crises

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Acknowledgment: Thanks to Zoran Marinovic for his outstanding assistance and editing, and to seminar participants at ESB Business School as well as all participants at the Conference “60 years Social Market Economy” for helpful comments and suggestions.
1. Introduction

During the last decades, governments have increasingly adapted or eased financial regulation, in order to offset temporary country specific deficits. Such disadvantages are based on competitiveness, and on variables that influence stakeholder regulation in an economy. This regulation has shown no clear preemptive stabilizing role since the onset of the crisis in 2007.

An astounding rise in the perceived risk of bank failures has started a new debate about the appropriate magnitude of financial regulation. At the core of the debate it is argued that there is insufficient regulation at the national and in particular at the international level. Insofar many institutions, governments and advisors have asked for more regulation. However, it remains an unsolved theoretical and empirical question regarding the correlation between regulatory rules and enhanced safety. Some recent studies emphasize the importance of efficacy. Hence, the question is raised: What is the magnitude of the most essential determinant in financial regulation?

Putting together insights from microeconomic literature on banking and regulation, this paper proposes a tractable model with explicit modeling of utility maximization, liquidity reservers and a systemic regulation framework. The model allows for a qualitative evaluation of the implications of ”financial and banking regulation” and the design of new regulatory frameworks to capture the systemic risks in globalized financial markets. It also contains an economic policy response which aims to solve the current lack of macro-prudential and systemic regulation.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows: Section 2, presents a literature review. In Section 3, we build the model and discuss the results. At
last section 4, concludes the main body of the paper.

2. Literature Review

The literature on bank regulation has a long history. There are several aspects considered in the literature. The most important regulation is deposit insurance. Diamond and Dybvig (1983) showed how deposit insurance could provide a solution to bank runs. There are several articles in that direction by Suarez (1993a,b), Gennote and Pyle (1991) as well as two contributions that explicitly introduce a capital market imperfection that makes free banking inefficient by Matutes and Vives (1996, 2000).

A further aspect in literature is solvency regulation. A portfolio approach is developed by Kahane (1977) and Kareken and Wallace (1978), and examined later by Crouhy and Galai (1986), Kim and Santomero (1988), and Koehn and Santomero (1980).

Moreover there is a vast amount of literature by Laffont and Tirole (1986, 1993), which argues that banks possess better information regarding their own risks and returns in comparison to regulators. New approaches of solvency regulation are initiated by Giammarino et al. (1993), Rochet (1992), Bensaid et al. (1993), and Freixas and Gabillon (1999). However, the current crisis proclaims that the banks have only limited or no information about the systemic risk issue. Hence, we have to analyze this aspect in more detail. The macro-prudential or systemic regulation was until now of minor interest in literature.

Our model is close to the contribution by Hellmann et al. (2000), who argues in favor of deposit rate regulation and the quantitative studies by
Barro (2009) and Pindyck and Wang (2009). The empirical papers have analyzed the economic and policy consequences of catastrophes. In particular the paper by Pindyck and Wang (2009) present a calibrating model—in line with our model and policy conclusions—that the society is willing to pay a substantial consumption tax to reduce the probability of extreme events. In other words, a comprehensive regulatory framework is welfare enhancing for the society despite increasing costs.

However, our model framework sets itself apart in the following ways: Firstly, we define an optimal control problem and hence we use a complete different modeling approach. Moreover, the unique model is tractable to prove the optimal degree of regulation mathematically. Secondly, we analyze liquidity and systemic risk regulation not considered in the contribution by Hellmann et al. (2000). Furthermore, we find new insights regarding the design and magnitude of systemic regulation and the efficacy of regulation.

3. The Model And The Results

We developed a model of the financial system with prudential or systemic stability as a scarce resource. Let $S(t)$ denote the stock of assets and $L(t)$ the number of liquid assets at time $t$. $S(t)$ could be interpreted as the sum of all liquid and illiquid assets in our financial system. Then we have

$$\frac{dS(t)}{dt} = -L(t)$$  \hfill (1)

Liquidity, $L(t)$, which makes it possible for banks to become more stable in a financial crisis due to the build-up of liquidity buffers. Hence, stability is produced, which in turn creates utility. A higher liquidity buffer is positive
for the financial system. We define a function $F(L)$ that describes this link, in which the derivatives equal to: $dF(L)/dL > 0$ and $d^2F(L)/dL^2 < 0$. Thus, creating stability with liquidity buffers will also generate a flow of inefficient allocation and hence disutility. More explicitly, we have less efficient portfolio diversification and usually smaller or even no returns on assets in our capital reserve. $P(L)$ summarizes the last misallocation effect with the following derivatives: $dP(L)/dL > 0$ and $d^2P(L)/dL^2 > 0$.

While liquidity appliance raises stability at a decreasing rate, it generates misallocations at an increasing rate. Moreover, this is already being considered in the free market philosophy. In our basic model, we assume that the misallocation effect is for simplicity not accumulating; that is, it is a flow that dissipates and does not build up into a stock. Later, we modify this assumption and extend the model.

The society utility function of the financial system depends on the production of stability $F(L)$ and the impact of misallocation effects $P(L)$. The utility function is

$$U = U(F(L), P(L))$$  \hspace{1cm} (2)$$

where the derivatives are: $dU/dF > 0$, $dU/dP < 0$, $d^2U/dF^2 < 0$, $d^2U/dP^2 < 0$ and $d^2U/dFdP = 0$. The specification of $dU/dF > 0$ and $d^2U/dF^2 < 0$ shows that the marginal utility of stability is positive but diminishing. In contrast, the specification of $dU/dP < 0$ and $d^2U/dP^2 < 0$ reveals that the marginal utility is negative due to lower rate of returns. In other words it generates increasing marginal disutility.

Since both functions depend on liquidity $L(t)$, the utility is only affected
by liquidity and is the primary candidate for the control variable. The only other variable is, $S(t)$ and appears in equation (1). Since it is a variable dynamically driven by the control variable liquidity $L(t)$, it is clear that $S(t)$ plays the role of a state variable in the following optimization problem.

3.1. Optimal Control Problem: Basic Model

Suppose we have a new national or international regulatory body which is concerned about systemic risk and the stability of the financial systems as it is currently proposed by the EU. This Board of experts is appointed to plan the optimal time path of liquidity $L(t)$ over a specified time horizon $[0, T]$. Hence, it must solve the following problem

$$\max_{L(t)} \int_0^T U(F(L(t)), P(L(t)))dt$$

subject to

$$\frac{dS(t)}{dt} = -L(t) \quad (4)$$

and

$$S(0) = S_0 \quad S(T) \geq 0 \quad (S_0, T \text{ given}) \quad (5)$$

Similar to the Ramsey tradition, it allows no discount factor in the integrand. Moreover it grants the regulation board the discretion of selecting the terminal stock $S(T)$, subject to the reasonable restriction that it be non-negative. From an economic point of view the stock of asset variable $S(t)$ is closely linked to the central bank policy. Therefore, $S(t)$ is determined by independent central banks that work hand in hand with the new regulatory body.

The Hamiltonian function of the problem is

$$H = U(F(L(t)), P(L(t))) - \lambda(t)L(t).$$

(6)
We maximize $H$ with respect to the control variable $L(t)$ simply by setting its first derivative equal to zero:

$$\frac{\partial H}{\partial L(t)} = U_F \frac{dF(L)}{dL} + U_P \frac{dP(L)}{dL} - \lambda(t) = 0 \quad (7)$$

where $U_F = dU/dF$ and $U_P = dU/dP$. To make sure that this problem maximizes the Hamiltonian, we simply check the sign of the second derivative.

**Lemma 1.** The Hamiltonian $H$ is maximized if $\text{sign} \frac{\partial^2 H}{\partial L(t)^2} < 0$.

**Proof.** In Appendix A.

To elicit more information about $L(t)$ from equation (7), we need to look into the time path of $\lambda$. The maximum principle tells us that the equation of motion for $\lambda$ is

$$\frac{d\lambda}{dt} = -\frac{\partial H}{\partial S(t)} = 0. \quad (8)$$

This condition implies $\lambda(t) = c$, i.e. is constant. To define the constant $c$, we use the transversality condition. For this problem, with a truncated vertical terminal line, the condition takes the form

$$\lambda(T) \geq 0 \quad S(T) \geq 0 \quad \lambda(T)S(T) = 0 \quad (9)$$

It is immediately clear that $\lambda(T) = 0$ and because of equation (8), $\lambda(t)$ is zero as well for all $t$. With $\lambda(t) = 0$, equation (7) reduces to an equation in the single variable $L(t)$,

$$\frac{\partial H}{\partial L(t)} = U_F \frac{dF(L)}{dL} + U_P \frac{dP(L)}{dL} = 0 \quad (10)$$
which in principle can be solved for the optimal liquidity path. Since this equation is independent of the variable $t$, its solution is constant over time:

$$L^*(t) = L^* \quad (11)$$

where $L^*$ is a specific constant liquidity buffer or reserve. Whether this solution is acceptable from the standpoint of the $S(T) \geq 0$ restriction remains a matter to be settled. Prior to continuing, it is useful to examine the economic meaning of equation (10).

The first term, $U_F(dF(L)/dL)$, measures the effect of change in liquid assets on utility $U(.)$ via the production of stability $F(L)$. Hence, it represents the marginal utility of liquid assets through its contribution to more prudential stability and less systemic risk. Similarly, the second term $U_P(dP(L)/dL)$, expresses the marginal disutility of financial regulation through it’s misallocation effect and lower rate of return. Equation (10) determines the optimal amount of liquidity buffers $L^*$ set by the regulatory board. This equation balances both the cost and benefit effects of regulation, much as the familiar $MC = MR$ rule requires a firm to balance the marginal cost and marginal revenue effects of production.

**Theorem 1.** The optimal amount of liquid assets or the magnitude of liquidity buffers $L(t)$, is determined by equation (10) and is described by a simple economic trade-off.

**Proof.** Solution of equation (3) yields equation (10) ■

The recent financial turmoil requests more control of financial markets, however, a higher liquidity buffer or in other words, too restrictive regulation
is not an efficient solution in this benchmark model.

It remains to be investigated whether the $L^*$ solution can satisfy the $S(T) \geq 0$ restriction. For this purpose, we must find the state path $S(t)$. With constant liquidity buffers, the differential equation of motion $dS(t)/dt = -L(t)$ can be readily integrated to yield

$$S(t) = -t \cdot L(t) + k$$

where $k$ is an arbitrary integration constant. For $t = 0$, we assumed $S(t) = S_0$ and hence the optimal state path can be written as

$$S(t) = S_0 - t \cdot L(t).$$

The financial assets $S^*(t)$ at any time clearly hinges on the magnitude of $L^*$. We can examine the path and restriction $S(T) \geq 0$ qualitatively. Too high or too low liquidity buffers are inefficient due to the economic costs of regulation. Too high liquid reserves are too costly and too low liquidity buffers are too risky in terms of financial stability.

3.2. Model Extension: Prudential Regulation

In the previous model we assumed that the misallocation effect of regulation is a flow variable and dissipates over time. Hence, it does not accumulate into a long-lasting money stock. However, what happens if it does accumulate?

Let us assume now that the cost of prudential regulation is lasting and follows the function
\[ \frac{dP(t)}{dt} = \alpha L(t) - \beta A - \gamma P \] 

(14)

where \( \alpha, \beta > 0 \) and \( 0 < \gamma < 1 \). The first term captures the effect of the amount of liquid assets in the economy. The second term \( \beta A \), denotes prudential regulation policy in terms of market incentives. Hence, the payment \( A \) for prudential regulation reduces the misallocation and proportional return effects of potential damages by bubbles and imbalances. Therefore, the overall amount of misallocated capital \( P(t) \) is lower. This approach is closely related to the idea of a systemic risk premium paid by systemic institutions. That payment is proportional to its magnitude of systemic risk in the economy. An institution that is 'too big too fail' has to pay a higher fee as a less systemic bank. The government implements the systemic payments in relation to the size of the financial institutions. The last term expresses the fact, that a high level of prudential regulation in the economy signals a high safety margin and lower risk for systemic crises. Hence, a high \( P(t) \) should imply less systemic risk and lower asset investments in speculative bubbles. Hence, the regulation framework reduces the potential damages and costs over time.

To complete the model we have to take the variable \( A \) into consideration in the equation (1) as

\[ \frac{dS(t)}{dt} = -A(t) - L(t). \] 

(15)

The governmental implementation of a systemic risk funds in the economy, causes a reduction in \( S(t) \), the stock of free floating financial assets. Hence, the optimal control problem is now:
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Max}_{L(t)} \int_0^T \left[U(F(L(t)), P(L(t), A(t), P(t)))dt\right] \quad (16) \\
&\text{s.t.} \quad \frac{dP(t)}{dt} = \alpha L(t) - \beta A - \gamma P(t) \quad (17) \\
&\quad \frac{dS(t)}{dt} = -L(t) \quad (18) \\
&\quad P(0) = P_0 > 0 \quad P(T) \geq 0 \quad (19) \\
&\quad S(0) = S_0 \quad S(T) \geq 0 \quad (S_0, P_0, T \text{ given}) \quad (20) \\
\text{and} \quad L(t) \geq 0 \quad 0 \leq A \leq \bar{A} \quad (21)
\end{align*}
\]

**Remark 1.** Two aspects are important: First, while the initial values of \(P\) and \(S\) are fixed, as is the terminal time \(T\), the terminal values of both stock variables are left free. Second, both control variables \(L(t)\) and \(A(t)\) are confined to their respective control regions. For \(L(t)\), the interval is \([0, \infty)\). And for \(A\), the control region is \([0, \bar{A}]\), where \(\bar{A}\) denotes the maximum systemic payment level.

As usual, we process by writing the Hamiltonian function:

\[H = U(F(L_t), P(L_t, A_t, P_t)) + \lambda_P[\alpha L_t - \beta A_t - \gamma P_t] - \lambda_S[A_t + L_t] \quad (22)\]

where the subscript of each costate variable \(\lambda\) indicates the state variable associated with it and the subscript \(t\) indicates time dependencies. To maximize \(H\) with respect of \(L(t)\), where \(L(t) \geq 0\), the Kuhn-Tucker condition is \(\partial H/\partial L(t) \leq 0\), with the complementary-slackness condition \(L(t)(\partial H/\partial L) = 0\). We can rule out the case of \(L(t) = 0\) due to some liquid assets that are always available in the economy. Hence, we postulate
$L(t) > 0$. It then follows from complementary slackness that the condition satisfy

$$\frac{\partial H}{\partial L(t)} = U_F \frac{dF(L)}{dL} + \lambda_P \alpha - \lambda_S = 0 \quad (23)$$

The second derivative is negative and so $H$ is indeed maximized (Appendix B). In addition, $H$ should be maximized with respect of the systemic risk payment $A$:

$$\frac{\partial H}{\partial A} = -\beta \lambda_P - \lambda_S \quad (24)$$

Besides, $A$ is restricted to the closed control set $[0, \bar{A}]$. Thus, to maximize $H$, the left-hand-side boundary solution is $A^* = 0$ should be chosen if $\partial H/\partial A$ is negative, and the right-hand-side boundary $A^* = \bar{A}$ should be selected if $\partial H/\partial A$ is positive. That is in general,

$$\beta \lambda_P + \lambda_S \begin{pmatrix} > \\ < \end{pmatrix} 0 \quad \Rightarrow \quad A^* = \begin{pmatrix} 0 \\ \bar{A} \end{pmatrix} \quad (25)$$

From complementary slackness together with equation (23), we see that

$$\lambda_S = U_F * \frac{dF}{dL} + \alpha \lambda_P. \quad (26)$$

Using this condition in equation (25), we have

$$U_F * \frac{dF}{dL} \begin{pmatrix} > \\ < \end{pmatrix} - (\alpha + \beta) * \lambda_P \quad \Rightarrow \quad A^* = \begin{pmatrix} 0 \\ \bar{A} \end{pmatrix} \quad (27)$$

The optimal choice of $A$ thus depends critically on $\lambda_P$. The optimal policy choice of the governmental systemic risk payment $A$ is in general either an
interior solution or a boundary solution.

**Lemma 2.** The optimal choice variable $A$ (magnitude of systemic risk payment) in the extended model will never have an interior solution $A \epsilon (0, \bar{A})$.

**Proof.** To prove this, consider the equations of motion of the following costate variables:

\[
\dot{\lambda}_P = -\frac{\partial H}{\partial P} = -U_P + \lambda_P \gamma \\
\dot{\lambda}_S = -\frac{\partial H}{\partial S} = 0 \quad \Rightarrow \quad \lambda_S = \text{constant}
\]

If $A^*$ is an interior solution, then

\[
\beta \lambda_P + \lambda_S = 0. \tag{30}
\]

Since $\lambda_S$ is a constant, this equation shows that $\lambda_P$ must also be a constant, which in turn implies that

\[
\dot{\lambda}_P = 0 \quad \Rightarrow \quad \gamma \lambda_P = U_P \tag{31}
\]

But the constant of $\lambda_P$ and $\gamma$ requires $U_P$ to be constant, too. Since $U(.)$ is monotonic in $P$, there can only be one value of $P$ that would make $U_P$ take any particular constant value. Thus $P$, too, must be constant if $A^*$ is an interior solution.

Given $P_0 = P(T) > 0$, the transversality condition includes the stipulation that

\[
P(T)\lambda_P(T) = 0. \tag{32}
\]
With a positive $P(t)$, it is required that $\lambda_P(T) = 0$, which, since $\lambda_P$ is a constant by (31), means that

$$\lambda_P(t) = 0 \quad \forall \quad t \in [0, T] \quad (33)$$

However, the zero value of $\lambda_P$ would imply for an interior solution, by eq. (26), that $U_F(dF/dL) = 0$, which contradicts the assumptions that $U_F$ and $dF/dL$ are both positive. Consequently, an interior solution of $A^*$ must be ruled out in the present model.

**Theorem 2.** The optimal policy response is the boundary solutions $A^* = 0$ (no attempt to fight against systemic risk) or $A^* = \bar{A}$ (abatement of systemic risks at a comprehensive level).

**Proof.** By Lemma 2.

This boundary solution is linked with

$$U_F \frac{dF(L)}{dL} = \lambda_S - \alpha \lambda_P \quad (34)$$

Intuitively, the effect of liquidity buffers on utility through $U_F(dF(L)/dL)$, should be under both policies equated to the shadow price of the depletion of financial assets, measured by $\lambda_S$, adjusted for the shadow value of misallocation effects via the $-\alpha \lambda_P$ term. But the two policies differ in that

$$A^* = \begin{pmatrix} 0 \\ \bar{A} \end{pmatrix} \leftrightarrow \lambda_S \begin{pmatrix} > \\ < \end{pmatrix} - \beta \lambda_P. \quad (35)$$

In the first case it is not worthwhile to expand the systemic risk payment because the stabilization impact is less than the costs. In the second line, a
clear prudential regulation with the use of a systemic risk funds is optimal. In distinguishing between these two cases, the parameter $\beta$, which measures the efficacy of regulation (or systemic risk framework), plays a key role. This offers a new insight:

Lemma 3. The optimal degree of regulation depends most on the efficacy parameter $\beta$.

Proof. By using equation (35) ■

Theorem 3. If the potential costs of regulation is a flow variable, the optimal degree of regulation follows an economic trade-off [Theorem 1]. However, in the case of a stock variable, i.e. costs and damages are accumulating over time, we get for the optimal degree of regulation a boundary solution; i.e. a comprehensive or maximum level of regulation [Theorem 2].

Proof. By Theorems (1) and (2) ■

The explicit discussion of both cases yields some further insight: If $A^* = 0$: We have $\dot{\lambda}_P > 0$, that implies $dL/dt > 0$. Hence, no systemic regulation via a systemic funds or risk premium results in a crisis with too many liquid assets. That is unsustainable due to high amount of misallocated capital and relatively small rate of returns. If $A^* = \bar{A}$: We have a declining level of $P(L(t))$ over time. That implies the disutility effect of financial regulation is diminishing toward zero due to the optimal solution with a systemic risk funds established by the government.

These results and theorems have strong policy implications. Although we cannot pin down the magnitude of regulation, our results suggest that
comprehensive regulation, in markets with accumulating damages, is the only optimal solution. In addition, our model is in line with the common social planer’s problem within regulation literature. Our findings are similar to the recent quantitative findings by Pindyck and Wang (2009) and older studies by Posner (2004), Parson (2007), Sunstein (2007) and Allison (2004). These studies show that the risk of a national or global catastrophe is significant and should be taken more seriously. In particular, policymakers should devote greater resources to reducing this risk through regulation.

4. Conclusions

As economists study the economics of regulation, the dynamic aspects and in particular the prudential risks and/or systemic risk issues remain unanswered. We present a model where both facts are thoroughly discussed and its implications analyzed.

In our paper we have identified new insights and policy conclusions for the design of systemic risk regulation, the essential determinants and the magnitude of regulatory frameworks. In order to reduce systemic risk in the financial system and to enhance the macro-prudential regulatory framework, a specified risk-premium paid by the systemic institutions must be enforced. Moreover, the impact of regulation is mainly determined by the efficacy of such incentive schemes. It’s not just the number or the strictness of rules and laws which is solely decisive, furthermore, clear incentives at the root of the problem, and the enforcement and monitoring of the framework must be emphasized.

Beyond doubt, the model used in our paper is simple and highly stylized
in several extents. We do not use the common general equilibrium approach
in macroeconomics and we limit the model by simplifying assumptions. How-
ever, our model provides an innovative insight into the current debate about
the implementation and magnitude of a regulatory framework in finance as
a consequence of a globalized financial crisis.
A. Appendix A: Proof of Lemma 1

The second derivative of $\frac{\partial^2 H}{\partial L(t)^2}$ based on the (7) yields:

$$\text{sign} \frac{\partial^2 H}{\partial L(t)^2} = U_{FF} \left( \frac{dF}{dL} \right)^2 + U_F \frac{d^2 F}{dL^2} + U_{PP} \left( \frac{dP}{dL} \right)^2 + U_P \frac{d^2 P}{dL^2} < 0$$

That proofs lemma 1, due to model assumptions.

B. Appendix B

The second derivative of Hamiltonian in the extended model yields:

$$\frac{\partial^2 H}{\partial L(t)^2} = U_{FF} (dF/dL)^2 + U_F (d^2 F/dL^2) < 0$$
References


Imaging Conservation:

Sea Turtle Murals and Their Affect on Communities’ Environmental Consciousness and Behaviours in Baja California Sur, Mexico

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Public art in Mexico has historically served as a platform for protest and social commentary. The purpose of this study was to document sea turtle environmental murals in Baja California Sur, Mexico, and analyze the role that these murals have in affecting citizen ocean awareness, opinions about sea turtle conservation, and environmental behaviors in regards to the protection of endangered species. During our qualitative research effort we collected 257 surveys and conducted 76 interviews in 9 cities with 333 adult and student participants. While half of the participating adults had not seen a sea turtle mural, over three-quarters of students had, implying that murals in schoolyards are more visible, and perhaps more effective in their conservation messages. Through descriptive narratives of participant responses, and Type I and II tabulations, we found evidence of the positive effects that sea turtle murals provided in relation to heightened environmental consciousness and behaviours, and awareness of the plight of this endangered species. The results of this research have important implications for future efforts in global sea turtle advocacy, as public participation in community accessible art, utilized for conservation purposes, can be an effective outreach and education tool for community-based organizations and NGOs.

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Introduction:

Education is an important investment in any economy, as improvement in the quality and coverage of primary and secondary schools has been linked to individual, community, and national benefits. Although Argentina has a history of relative strength in Latin America their economy suffered a major recession at the beginning of the 21st century. The impact of this recession, specifically how it has affected enrollment rates in education, has yet to be thoroughly studied.

Objective:

The current study is designed to investigate the impact of the most recent recession in Argentina on education enrollment and educational priority through the examination of percent of GDP spent on the sector and percent of government spending used on the sector.

Literature review:

Education is seen as one of the keys to future advancement, making it a vital part in the economic and cultural plans for developing countries that wish to close their resource gap with the industrialized world. Harvard economist, Dr. Edward Glaeser, states that a country can increase its per capita income by 30% simply by adding an additional year of completed schooling to the country as a whole1. Individually, by completing one more year of school, citizens can expect a 6 to 14% increase in their yearly earnings. Recognizing the value of education in development Latin America made education a priority in the 1979 “Mexican Declaration”2. Immediately following

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this show of unity Latin America suffered through their “lost decade”, severely reducing the correlation between the regions ideologue and achievements.

Preceding this lost decade public expenditure on education in Latin America had increased from $3320 million in 1965 to $31400 million in 1980\(^3\). In the 1980s, largely due to structural adjustment programs and the governments servicing external debt, per capita expenditures on education in Latin America decreased by 6.14\(^%\)\(^4\). It was not until 1995 that per capita expenditures in the region regained their 1980 level\(^5\). In the middle of this “lost decade”, Argentina escaped a half century of military rule, vowing to improve their education as a new democratic society. This improvement has been sporadic and short-lived. This paper will investigate the latest regional recession, one that arguably had the largest impact on Argentina in its history. Focus will be placed on how the recession of the early 21\(^{st}\) century affected the education system in Argentina.

*Human Capital Theory*

Human capital theory states that in order to make an appropriate decision one must first weight the present value of future benefits against the current costs. The optimal investment in education, therefore, occurs when the future benefits and current costs are equal. During a time of economic crisis the temporal factor in this equation is altered as both the state and the individual push for short term solutions\(^6\). Economic downturns can be particularly problematic for low income families that do not have the financial liquidity to support educational expenses or take out loans to cover the costs\(^7\). Their lack of fiscal capacity and the lower valuation of future benefits

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4 Fernando Reimers, 1991


6 Fernando Reimers, 1991

7 Melissa Binder, 1999
may lead these families to jeopardize the education of their children to survive, as a family, in the present\textsuperscript{8}.

An economic downturn produces two changes in the equation of human capital theory that must be addressed. First, during a recession, general wages decrease in the country. These general wages provide a reduced pull factor making individuals less likely to quit school and pursue employment. At the same time, however, family income as measured in GDP per capita tends to decrease making the little income available through the shift from education to employment relatively more important for the survival of the family. In many developing countries, parents choose to remove their children from school believing that the future benefits are outweighed by the current costs of continuing the child’s education. This indirect cost of child labor is most prevalent in older students\textsuperscript{9,10}. As the family member with the greatest potential increase in income, older children often drop out of school during times of economic trouble to help support the family, sadly very few ever return.

In a study on Costa Rica, Edward Funkhouser finds that although there is a decrease of the minimum wage during the “lost decade” older students still dropped out of school to reduce the current costs for their family. Between 1983 and 1985 approximately 44% of children surveyed reported they did not attend school, of these 19% report their main activity as working. These numbers lie in sharp contrast to the 2.6% that attended school and worked during the same period. Results were largely skewed to older students as all dropouts over 15 years old reported that they were doing so solely for the purpose of working. Not surprisingly students were more likely to stay in school if they had an older sibling that could work and/or they had non-head of household adults

\textsuperscript{8} Helena Nielsen, “How Sensitive is the Demand for Primary Education to Changes in Economic Factors?” \textit{Journal of African Economies} 10 no. 2 (2001): 191-218

\textsuperscript{9} Helena Nielsen, 2001

\textsuperscript{10} Melissa Binder, 1999
that were employed\textsuperscript{11}.

\textit{Impact on Education Financing}

Literature has shown that during times of general economic stability economic conditions play a minimal role in education. In times of economic crisis, however, these conditions impact not only school attendance but also public spending on education\textsuperscript{12} \textsuperscript{13}. Similar to low income families, the government often feels the financial crunch and is willing to sacrifice the future to survive today – making the financing of education incredibly vulnerable to economic downturns\textsuperscript{14}. In a study of Zambia, chosen as a sample developing country in Africa, GDP per capita fell from $426 to $259 between 1975 and 1994, the corresponding decrease in percentage of GDP spent on education was 7\% to 2\%. Significant findings were also found in the region of Latin America\textsuperscript{15}. As inflation can mask true changes in the value placed on education a relatively more reliable gauge is the percent of government expenditures used on education.

There has been a reduction in the priority of education in regards to government spending in Latin America since 1970. Specifically during their “lost decade” expenditures in education in 1986 were 83\% of 1980 levels. This reduction, however, does not affect all levels of education equally. Although all areas struggle, Fernando Reimers found that in Costa Rica the “reductions in real terms are higher in basic education, high schools, and adult education and smaller in preschool, special, and higher education”\textsuperscript{16}. Similar findings were found in Venezuela and Zambia, where public expenditure per student decreased from $10.80 to $1.80 in primary education whereas the

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Jandhyala Tilak, 1989
\item Edward Funkhouser, 1999
\item Helena Nielsen, 2001
\item Jandhyala Tilak, 1989
\item Fernando Reimers, 1991, pg. 340
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
decline in higher education was from $2.50 to $1.20. These results may be the product of the elevated levels of political clout held by those at the higher/tertiary education level. Students that attend college in developing countries often come from upper quintile families that are able to apply more pressure to decision makers.

Impact on Education Enrollment

Previous studies done on Latin America’s “lost decade” have come to mixed results on the effects of the economy on education enrollment. Edward Funkhouser suggests that research is missing in this field because aggregate data “does not show a strong relationship between cyclical factors and school attendance”\textsuperscript{18}. Previous results have concluded that the relationship between GNP per capita and enrollment rates are not significant and even a decrease is seen in enrollment at the secondary level during times of prosperity. These findings would suggest that the future benefits of education have been devalued with the increased opportunities presented by economic growth pulling students out of education.

On investigating more detailed findings in Costa Rica and Mexico it becomes clear that primary school enrollment is effected little by economic patterns. The secondary grades, however, were strongly impacted by recessive conditions. In Costa Rica, decreases were recorded in school attendance and increases were recorded in children ages 12 – 17 that were neither working nor attending school. From 1980 to 1986 secondary enrollment decreased an average of 2.79\% per year\textsuperscript{19}. In their concluding remarks this study notes that “cyclical economic factors played a large role in the drop of school attendance in Costa Rica in the 1980s”\textsuperscript{20}.

\textsuperscript{17} Helena Nielsen, 2001
\textsuperscript{18} Edward Funkhouser, 1999, pg. 31
\textsuperscript{19} Fernando Reimers, 1991
\textsuperscript{20} Edward Funkhouser, 1999, pg. 48
To fill the breach left by public schooling in times of economic crisis, some Latin American countries leaned on private institutions. From 1980 to 1985 eight countries in the region had increasing private school enrollment. An interrelated issue regarding public school enrollment was access. During times of economic downturn government spending is sparse and the construction of schools often does not keep up with the increase in the school age population. In Venezuela during this six year period the government built 15 primary schools, while the private sector created 243. In addition 80% of these private schools were equipped to teach grades one through nine, while only 33% of public schools provided this opportunity. Although this increase in access to not lead to a boom in private enrollment it did help stabilize the primary enrollment rates during these years of turmoil.

Enrollment rates are one of many indicators used to measure the number of students involved in school. Enrollment rates differ from attendance rates in that enrollment simply indicate a student is signed up for a specific school; it does not specify whether they regularly attend. Enrollment rates, therefore, are always higher than attendance rates but are the subject of constant studies due to the ease of access. Many countries do not have the capability of maintaining and reporting accurate attendance rates. Additional measures of student participation include retention rates and continuation rates, recording the percentage of student that successfully completed the grade. Studies in Mexico, however, have shown that enrollment rates are more effected by economic changes than retention or continuation rates. The later rates measure those who are already in the system while enrollment rates measure the initiation in the system and may indicate that fewer students are able to start school during a recession.

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21 Fernando Reimers, 1991

22 Melissa Binder, 1999
Previous Studies on Argentina

With a current youth literacy rate of 99.1% and a primary school enrollment rate of nearly 100% Argentina is one of the most educated countries in Latin America\textsuperscript{23}. From the 1960s to the 1990s the national enrollment rate rose from 83% to 96%. This expansion was surprisingly even higher during the “lost decade” as yearly increases in students attending school at any level stood at 2.24%\textsuperscript{24}. Nonetheless, this change was mainly due to an increase in those attending secondary and tertiary institutions. These higher level schools were not part of the free compulsory education system in Argentina and therefore during the recession we see an amplification in the disparity between economic classes.

Test results and drop out rates point to an inequality in opportunity gap between economic quintiles\textsuperscript{25, 26}. The disparity between the completion rate of primary education in poorer provinces and more developed expanded from 20 to 25% in the 1980s. The effects of economic turmoil on those that live in the bottom quintile can be devastating. Extrapolating this micro finding to the country level, Emilio Parrado reiterated that “the deterioration of Argentina’s economy can have a direct negative effect on secondary enrollment”\textsuperscript{27}.

Supply vs. Demand-Side Studies

The majority of previous studies on school enrollment and support during challenging economic times were completed through the lens of government action. As national income


\textsuperscript{24} Emilio Parrado, “Expansion of schooling, economic growth, and regional inequalities in Argentina,” \textit{Comparative Education Review} 42 no. 3 (1998): 338-364


\textsuperscript{26} Carlos Herran & Bart Van Uytem, “Why do youngsters drop out of school in Argentina and what can be done against it?” \textit{Inter-American Development Bank: Working Paper} (July 2001)

\textsuperscript{27} Emilio Parrado, 1998, pg. 356
decreased, the government responded by decreasing funding or acting in a way that would result in reduced enrollment. It is important to understand that in the majority of developing countries, including Argentina, the parents have a choice to send their child to school. This is not to say that the current costs may not appear great and the future benefits bleak, but the demand of the parents for education may alter educational indicators during times of trouble. This was found to be true in Zambia in the 1980s as children were pulled out of school to provide additional income for the family\textsuperscript{28}. Even in the United States during the current economic recession parents are pulling children out of private schools due to the financial burden they are no longer able to overcome\textsuperscript{29}. Enrollment rates, therefore, can be heavily influenced by both the demand of the family in relation with Human Capital Theory and the supply of quality institutions by the government.

	extit{Hypotheses}

Based on the Human Capital Theory and previous studies done in Latin America the current research expects to find the following outcomes in relation to the recession that hit Argentina in 2001 and 2002.

There will be a correlation between:

- Negative economic indicators and a reduction in the % of GDP spent on education.
- Negative economic indicators and a reduction in education expenditures as a percent of overall government spending.
- Negative economic indicators and a reduction in public and private school enrollment.

	extbf{Methodology:}

Data regarding economic and educational indicators were collected from three

\textsuperscript{28} Helena Nelsen, 2001

international sources. Educational indicators of enrollment and percent of GDP spent on education, in addition to economic indicators of GDP per capita and unemployment rates were gathered from the World Bank’s “Ed Stats” database\textsuperscript{30}. To supplement this information statistics on percentage of government expenditure used on education and poverty rates were taken from the UNESCO – Institute for Statistics\textsuperscript{31}. Finally to fill in important gaps of poverty and extreme poverty for the years 2002 and 2003, information was drawn from the 2005 executive summary of Argentina’s UN Millennium Development Goals\textsuperscript{32}. All information involving the years 1990 to 2006 were then placed on a spreadsheet (See Appendix A).

Economic indicators of: unemployment rate, GDP per capita, and poverty rate, were then compared to education indicators of: public and private school enrollment, percentage of government expenditure used on education, and percent of GDP spent on education. Due to a lack of sufficient data only education financing measures were used in analysis from the years of 1990 to 2006. More focused study on education enrollment and quality was completed for the years 1999 to 2006. Considering special emphasis in this study is placed on the 21\textsuperscript{st} century recession that specifically impacts the years of 2001, 2002, and 2003, this lack of data does not diminish the aims of our research. It does, however, limit our ability to evaluate long term trends.

Statistical measures of mean, range, and standard deviation will be computed for each variable and correlation coefficients will check for a relationship between chosen economic and education indicators. As stated in the hypothesis the perspective of this study links economic turmoil to reduced emphasis on education, providing a vector component to the theoretical framework. Due to a lack of inferential statistics as well as a limited sample size, however,

\textsuperscript{30} “Development Statistics: Argentina” \textit{World Bank}


causality can not be confirmed. It is therefore equally as likely that any relationship may be
directed from education to economy, i.e. improved emphasis on education will elevate the
economy.

After examining the results of the given variables, relevant findings will be presented via
line graphs tracking change over time. Following the presentation of results conclusions and
interpretations will be provided in light of the hypotheses. In the interpretation section additional
variables that provide a more penetrating look at educational quality will be inspected. Finally,
general conclusions will be given and recommendations will be made for Argentina as well as
generalizations specific to countries with similar socio-political structures.

**Results:**

*Descriptive Findings for Each Variable*


**GDP Per Capita (PPP in Constant $)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990 – 2006</td>
<td>9799.91</td>
<td>4142.12</td>
<td>1037.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001 Data</td>
<td>9738.44</td>
<td>8592.71</td>
<td>9262.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002 Data</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2003 Data</td>
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GDP per capita in Argentina shows an increasing trend from 1990 to 2000. The recession years of
2001, 2002, and 2003 are the only years in the last decade to have a GDP per capita of under
$10,000.

**Unemployment Rate (% of Labor Force)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12.93</td>
<td>13.80</td>
<td>4.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001 Data</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2002 Data</td>
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<tr>
<td>2003 Data</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17.40</td>
<td>19.60</td>
<td>15.40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unemployment rate in Argentina reaches two peaks between 1990 and 2006. The first occurs in
1995 when unemployment jumps over 6% to reach 18.8%. From there unemployment reduces to
only 12.8% in 1998 before reaching its second peak in 2002. Since the latest recession the
unemployment rate has quickly and steadily declined to a low of 9.46% in 2006.
Spending on education made a major jump from 10.9% of total government expenditure in 1990 to a twenty year high of 15.7% in 1992. Since that time this priority measure has hovered around 13%. The only time in the last decade it dipped below this level was in 2003.

After removing the minuscule spending on education in 1990 (1.07% of GDP) all other years were between three and five percent. The 3.54% spent in 2003 was the low mark of the last decade and the country has been slow to recover, it has yet to rebound to its 2001 level.

The poverty rate from 1999 to 2003 more than doubled and the extreme poverty rate increased almost four times (6.7% to 26.3%) during that time. The peak poverty rate of 54.7% in 2003 was nearly ten percent higher than any other year in the past decade. Since that time considerable progress has been made and rates in 2006 rested at 21% and 7.2% respectively.
After the decade low of 76.16% in 1999 net enrollment rates for secondary have remained between 79.3% and 80.48% with the high coming in 2002.

Private School Enrollment Share as Percent (Primary/Secondary)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20.91/27.22</td>
<td>2.06/1.67</td>
<td>0.76/0.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001 Data</td>
<td>2002 Data</td>
<td>2003 Data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.49/27.19</td>
<td>20.34/27.20</td>
<td>20.59/26.97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Private school enrollment share seemed to steadily increase from 1999 to 2006 with only a slight setback in 2002 for the primary level and 2003 for the secondary level.

**Relevant Correlations**

Strong positive correlations of 0.7 or higher were found between GDP per capita and % of GDP spent on education, in addition to, GDP per capita and private school enrollment share at the primary level. Although the private school enrollment share for secondary school also produced a positive correlation the relationship was not as strong (0.374). The only noteworthy correlation with unemployment rate was private school enrollment share (See Chart 1). At the primary level the correlation is -0.836 and at the secondary level the connection is -0.533.

The most significant correlation exists between extreme poverty rate and % of GDP spent on education (See Chart 2). With a coefficient of -0.902 there is a strong connection between the increase in poverty rates and a decrease in education financing in relation to GDP. Of note poverty also had a negative correlation of -0.681 with education spending as a percent of total government
expenditures, indicating that when poverty increases the priority placed on education by the government decreases.

Net enrollment rates for secondary school produced some of the most interesting findings. Correlation coefficients found in connection with GDP per capita were -0.443, unemployment, 0.285, and poverty, 0.623. Meaning that as GDP per capita increases net enrollment decreases. In addition, as unemployment and poverty rates go up so does secondary school enrollment rates. For a complete set of correlation coefficients see Appendix B.

**Interpretation:**

*Education Financing*

Education financing variables seem to be lagging factors. In the recent recession in Argentina GDP per capita and unemployment rates reached their worst point in 2002 at $8,592 and 19.6%. However, it was not until the following year where we see the expected change in education spending. From 2002 to 2003 the percentage of government spending allocated to education reduced from 13.8% to 12.0%, its lowest mark in the last decade. During the depth of the recession in 2002 government allocation actually increased from 13.5% to 13.8%. This could be explained in two ways: (1) government budgets are done in advance and perhaps the government was ignorant of the severity of the oncoming economic crisis, or (2) the government tried to maintain a focus on education but when times continued to worsen the long term benefits of education could not compete with demands for products and services that would produce immediate
A similar delay or lag is found in percent of GDP spent on education, reaching a decade low in 2003 with a percent of 3.54. This measure, however, is intrinsically based to GDP and does not directly report the priority given to education nationally. It is, therefore, not surprising that this indicator of education finance has a stronger correlation with GDP per capita than the gauge for government allocation. The overall delayed response by the national government may have severely altered the correlation coefficient, making it appear that education financing is decreasing while the economy is recovering.

**Education Enrollment**

In contrast to the government, which seems to be willing to dismiss the future to present stability, enrollment numbers indicate that parents seem to recognize and pursue the long term benefits of education for their children. The fear that parents may remove their child to help provide for the family during economic hardships seems misplaced in relation to the positive correlation with unemployment and poverty rate – as the unemployment and poverty rate increases more students are enrolled in school – and the negative correlation with GDP per capita – as income increases less students are enrolled in schools. One possible explanation is that parents are trying to protect their children from these harsh economic conditions and school seems like a safe place where students will gain the knowledge for reduce their chances of misfortunes in future; this is the idealistic parent paradigm. Of course given the limited scope of data that focuses on secondary and private education this could be viewed through the inequity paradigm, disproportionately advantage the elite class, a recurring theme played out throughout Argentine history. A final interpretation could come from an international pressure paradigm. The Millennium Development Goals focus specifically on enrollment rates which made lead to an overall increase in enrollment numbers regardless of economic condition. This, however, seems to be falsified by the data that shows a 1% decrease in secondary school enrollment from the height of the recession in 2002 to 2006.
As discussed in the literature review enrollment rate seem to be an arbitrary, bureaucratic measure that has little to do with school quality and outcomes. To investigate what was really occurring within schools during the latest recession I analyzed drop out rates, expected primary completion rates, and repetition rates. Previous research suggests that repetition rates will lead to increased drop out rates which will of course reduce the expected completion rates. The most startling numbers include a drop out rate of 19.13% in 2002, nearly six percent higher than any other year in the last decade, and a completion rate (a lagging indicator) of 89.66% in 2003, a reduction of over 11% from the previous year. Of significance was a positive correlation (0.579) between unemployment rate and drop out rate (See Chart 3) and a negative correlation (-0.545) between poverty rate and completion rate (See Chart 4).

These findings, relevant to school quality and equity, reinforce the feeble use of enrollment as a significant measure during economic downturns. It also adds light to the previous studies completed that shows the disproportionate advantages available in the Argentine education system.33 34 35

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33 Carlos Herran & Bart Van Uythem, 2001
34 Maria Emma Santos, 2007
35 Emilio Parrado, 1998
Conclusions:

The study came to the following conclusions in relation to the stated hypotheses.

**Hypothesis 1:** There will be a correlation between negative economic indicators and a reduction in the % of GDP spent on education.

- Supported by strong correlations between GDP per capita and poverty in relation to percent of GDP spent on education. A weak correlation was found between unemployment and percent GDP spent on education from 1999 to 2006.

**Hypothesis 2:** There will be a correlation between negative economic indicators and a reduction in education expenditures as a percent of overall government spending.

- Supported to a weaker extent than percent of GDP spent on education. Appropriate correlations were found with GDP per capita as well as poverty rate. A weak correlation was found in reference to unemployment rate. Hypothesis one and two may have weaker correlations due to the lagging effect of education finance data.

**Hypothesis 3:** There will be a correlation between negative economic indicators and a reduction in public and private school enrollment.

- Not supported due to the finding of contrary correlations. All economic indicators led to contradictory results. The various possible explanations have been described as the ideal parent paradigm, the inequity paradigm, and the international pressure paradigm. Upon further investigation educational quality measures (dropout rates, completion rates, and repetition rates) provided expected correlation. To summarize, although official enrollment rates increase during times of economic strife the dropout and repetition rates increase and completion rates decrease providing insight to the deteriorating quality of education.

Recommendations:

The initial general recommendation of this report emphasizes education and patience. The
public, including government officials must be taught about the long term benefits of education on
the individual and society as a whole. In addition to the intrinsic and social benefits of education,
the completion of one additional year can result in an increase of 6 to 14 percent in an individuals
yearly earning and a 30 percent increase in national per capita income if the entire country were to
finish the additional year.

In regards to education financing government officials need to plan for long term stability.
Harvard economics professor Edward Glaeser states “long-run national success is built on human
capital, both because of the link between schooling and technology and because of the link between
education and well-functioning democracy”36. During times of economic recession hard hit
countries often turn to the international community for help. Loan conditions placed on the
resulting agreements need to emphasize education; currently most loans look for immediate return
and some only increase spending on national defense.

Enrollment rates need to be further dissected by the Ministry of Education or dismissed as a
valid indicator. Educational quality and equity measures should be used, making the disparity that
widens during economic trouble apparent. An impact could be made by local schools re-evaluating
their repetition policy, policy that disproportionately affects the poor and leads to greater numbers
of drop outs. In addition, financial incentives need to be available to help convince those families
that are deciding between educating their children or feeding their family. These incentives will
help decrease the current opportunity costs associated with education. During recession years they
can be constructed as a grant program with students gaining job skills by completing community
service in return for their education.

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Bibliography


Carlos Herran & Bart Van Uythem, “Why do youngsters drop out of school in Argentina and what can be done against it?” Inter-American Development Bank: Working Paper (July 2001)


Abstract

The news media landscape has recently been challenged by globalization, new technologies, and new media ventures. This led to fierce competition not only among the same media channels, but across channels, and more manpower involving in the process of producing content for tremendous space, journalists and people from several other expertises. Consequently, news was treated as products competing for the audience’s attention in different packages, styles and channels. However, media product was different from any other product in a sense that it was valued by the public trust. The paper aims at exploring the emerging issues such as whether the new news outlets perceived their roles, rights, responsibility and freedom in the way that traditional news media did, whether all these news outlets adopted the accountability system to maintain their ethical standards as expected by the public, and how the public perceived these media performances pertaining to the expected ethical and social responsibilities. The paper emphasizes the four frameworks of media accountability system (McQuail 2005): public responsibility, law and regulations, professional responsibility and market frame.

Design/methodology/approach:

The qualitative approach was employed. Fifty-nine key informants were in-depth interviewed including those from conventional or mainstream news media (such as television and radio news programs, newspapers, news magazines, news agency as well as news media association), non-Conventional/news-related media (such as entertainment newspapers and magazines, TV news talk program, news websites and blogs, Satellite TV), as well as related professional associations and highly-recognized social critics.

Finding:

All news outlets enjoyed the freedom of expression, but the claims for responsibility and accountability were varied across their self definitions. They defined themselves in three different layers: the press who obtained the old traditional version of “watchdog”, the mass media who considered themselves as reaching out for the public and performing some certain functions such as entertain and inform, and the media who acted just as a medium or vehicle carrying the message to the audience. Moreover, the way they defined themselves also designated the intense of the accountability system within their organizations in all frameworks except the market frame which correlated with the business model and ownership of the news organizations. While most news outlets considered themselves ethical and responsible, the social critics took the opposite view.

Originality/value:

This paper highlights the gradually changing aspects of news and journalism in the Thai context. The influx of new technology into the news landscape has called for specific attention towards ethical and accountability system of the media in order to maintain credibility among their audience.

Keywords:

journalism, news media, news outlets, media accountability, Thai

Paper type: research paper
News Media and their Accountability System:
A Study of Thai News Media in the Digital Age

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The news media

Media product is different from any other product in a sense that it is valued by the public trust. Besides making money, media help watching the environment, educating the public, transmitting the cultural heritage, entertaining and facilitating the commerce. Thai media, in particular the press, has long been an essential part of Thai civic society. McCargo (2000) compares Thai press as an island of outspokenness in a tight-lipped ocean in a sense that they have carved out a great deal of political space for itself while electronic media remain subject to considerable state control.

The challenge of digital media into the news realm

The news media landscape has recently been challenged by globalization, new technologies, and new media ventures. This led to fierce competition not only among the same media channels, but across channels. Journalism now comes in many forms. News has been treated as products competing for the audience’s attention in different packages, styles and channels. The press can no longer hold its privilege among its audience as the younger ones are deserting the traditional outlets for the immediacy and interactivity of the internet. More space and time mean more news so more manpower has been recruited to the process of producing news content for tremendous space and time including those from non-journalism discipline.

The media accountability

The concept of accountability has derived from the normative view of what any good organization should be under the concept of good governance. Pritchard (2002, 2) described media accountability as a process by which media organizations may be expected or obliged to render an account of their activities to their constituents while Plaisance (2000) suggested media accountability be broadly understood as a dynamic of interaction between a given medium and the value sets of individuals or groups receiving media messages. However, the term, media accountability is often mistaken as self-regulations or responsibility. As Bertrand (2005) explained, self-regulation implies that media rules upon themselves, involving only media industry, but media accountability involves press, profession and public. Also, to be accountable is to be responsible. McQuail (2003) pointed in Media Accountability and Freedom of Publication that

“Free Media have responsibility in the form of obligations which can be either assigned or contracted or self-chosen for which they are held accountable to individuals, organizations, or society
Media accountability, then, is a process or professional performance of being accountable to the public including all the voluntary or involuntary processes by which the media answer directly or indirectly to their society for the quality and/or consequences of publication (McQuail, 2005, 207).

**Media accountability frameworks**

The accountability process seems to involve both internal and external activities. For example, Bertrand (2002, 111-112) identified the four basic means of holding accountability among the news media: *training* -the long term solution to most problem of quality, which means the media literacy education for citizen, a college education and on-the-job training for professionals, *evaluation* -media criticism from media professionals themselves, communication scholars or any special interest groups such as business leaders, environmentalists, consumerists or intellectuals, *monitoring* –an analysis of their contents over long periods and research into long-term effects, and *feedback* -listening to the grievances of the various categories of media users and of members of every social institution.

Considering a macro view of accountability process, Denis et al (1989 quoted in McQuail 2005, p 211-215) suggested four most generally prevalent accountability frames as: law and regulations, financial/market, public responsibility and professional responsibility. First, *the frame of law and regulations* refers to all public policies, laws and regulations that affect media structure and operation. Second, *the market frame* is an important means for balancing the interests of media organizations and producers and those of their clients and audiences. Third, *the frame of public responsibility* refers to the fact that media organizations are also social institutions that fulfill certain important public tasks that go beyond their immediate goals of making profits and giving employment. Mechanisms and procedures involve activities of pressure groups such as consumer organization and public opinion polls. Finally, the frame of professional responsibility arises out of the self-respect and ethical development of professionals working in the media setting their own standard of good performance.

**Objectives**

The paper aims at exploring the emerging issues such as whether the new news outlets perceive their roles, rights, responsibility and freedom in the way that traditional news media do, whether all these news outlets, both traditional and new, adopt the accountability process under the four frames of accountability to maintain their ethical standards as expected by the public and how they do it, and how the public perceive these media performances pertaining to the expected ethical and social responsibilities.

**Design/methodology/approach:**

The qualitative approach was employed. Fifty-nine of key informants were in-depth interviewed including news administrators from traditional or mainstream news media (such as television and radio news programs, newspapers, news magazines, news agency as
well as news media association), news administrators from non-Conventional/news-related media (such as entertainment newspapers and magazines, TV news talk program, news websites and blogs, Satellite TV), as well as related professional associations, and highly-recognized social critics as public representatives.

**Finding:**

All news outlets enjoy the freedom of expression, but the claims for responsibility and accountability are varied across their self definitions. They define themselves in three different layers: the press who obtain the old traditional version of “watchdog”, the mass media who considered themselves as reaching out for the public and performing some certain functions such as entertain and inform, and the media who acted just as a medium or vehicle carrying the message to the audience. Moreover, the way they defined themselves also designated the intense of the accountability system within their organizations in all frameworks except the market frame which correlated with the business model and ownership of the news organizations.

*The Press* includes all the traditional news media such as newspapers, news magazines, conventional radio and television journalism. They establish a more systematic accountability process than those newcomers such as concerning over new laws and regulations that might affect their work, providing training for their staff, having written organizational ethical guidelines and having a clear monitoring process during the news production. They mostly think that media has tremendous impact on audience; therefore, newswork must be taken with caution.

*The Mass Media* group are those non-conventional news-related radio and television programs such as news talk program or documentary program as well as entertainment newspapers and magazines. The accountability process is taken to avoid lawsuit on libel and defamation. Perspective of minimum effort for maximum profit is mostly adopted. Audience might have to consume the media under their own consideration and risk.

The *Media* group includes those new media such as mobile journalism, news sites, web blog, web portal, web board. Since they consider themselves only as vehicle transmitting messages, they tend to take for granted that accountability and responsibility might already be taken care by those who originate the scripts or text, so the rough accountability system is adopted. Moreover, as far as the immediacy and interactivity of the digital media are concerned, the recklessness of news production prevails.

However, while most news outlets considered themselves ethical and responsible, the social critics took the opposite view. They think that media needs to improve their performance especially when considering professionalism and public responsibility, and the mechanisms to enforce the ethical standards are too weak. The existing media associations are usually working under the traditional conceptual framework of the press which may not be applicable to the emerging new media.

**References**


Social health inequities are the main factors causing differences in mortality rate in developed countries. Roma communities around Europe create estimated amount of 8 – 10 millions Roma people living prevalently in Eastern and Central Europe. They belong to the most socially deprived and marginalized community in Central and eastern European Countries. Identifying Roma as an ethnic group brings the problem due the national policy in former CEE countries where nationality is voluntary in the census and the person can conceive a nationality as a personal feeling. In some selected areas of CEE reproductive results now showing increasing amount Roma deliveries also due to global lower reproductive rate or birth rate among non-Roma. Roma newborns creates 30 % what will bring multifactorial problems in the future. To improve situation of Roma including four priorities Health, Housing, Education and Employment have been lunched many activities forced by European programs as well as Roma Decade Inclusion launched by Soros Foundation. The paper is part of of MEHO project EU – Migrant and Ethnic Health Observatory.

**Results and priorities in the field of social health indicators:**
- reproductive health – protection of newborn confirmation of negative trends including low birth weight and multiple pregnancies among Roma, high smoking prevalence on pregnant Roma and unhealthy nutritional habits,
- cardiovascular health and child growth evaluation – extreme differences in body anthropometric parameters including body height – growth retardation comparing Slovak National Survey and also children living in the vicinity of Roma, differences in Roma and non-Roma considering BMI index and cholesterol and lifestyle factors – low consumption of fruit and vegetables and low consumption of dairy products among children – confirmed by nutritional questionnaires survey
- infectious diseases – lower rate of vaccinated children in Roma population.

**Material and methods.** Data from multicentre studies collected in 2003-2006 included clinical data and questionnaires of mothers from singleton pregnancies. Maternal obstetric and newborn reports were retrospectively collected on 8 regional gynecologic and obstetrical centers including east, middle and west part of Slovakia. Data included reports from Roma (947) and non-Roma (2.713). Newborn medical reports included data about birth weight, birth length, chest and head circumference, Apgar score for newborn vitality. Maternal reports included basic social health data (age of mother, smoking, marital status, education, employment, economic activity, coffee and alcohol drinking). Reproductive parameters (preterm delivery, low gestation age, interruption, spontaneous abortion, parity, mother’s weight increase, complications during pregnancy) were collected also from maternal and obstetric reports. Databases and statistical analysis outputs were created in SPSS. OR vs. adjusted OR ratios with 95 % confidence interval (Mantel-Haenszel) and linear regression model have been used.
Figure 1. Differences in socioeconomic factors between Roma and Non-Roma, Kosice, Slovak Republic, 2003-06 (n=947; 2713)

The distribution of socioeconomic characteristics and behaviors is in Figure 1. Output show the differences in parents’ education, employment status, marital status between Roma and non-Roma respondents. Roma mothers are more frequently unemployed, having lower education, having single status and living in rural areas.

Figure 2. Differences in risk factors between Roma and Non-Roma, Slovak Republic, 2003-06 (n=947; 2713)

The study also focused on the differences in risk factors between Roma and non-Roma (Figure 2). Roma mothers smoking more, but drinking less alcohol compared to non-Roma mothers. Roma mothers also have more often teenage pregnancy and low weight increase.
We compared with ANOVA test birth weight, birth length, head circumference, chest circumference, gestational age and Apgar score differences in Romany and non-Romany (Table 1). Roma infants had considerably lower birth weight (p<0.001), birth length (p<0.001) and somewhat shorter gestation (p<0.001). Statistical significant differences were found between the average head circumference (p<0.001), chest circumference (p<0.001) between Romany and non-Romany. No significant differences were observed in the Apgar score between non-Romany and Romany.

Table 2. Ethnic differences in birth weight (g) (Roma vs. Non-Roma, Slovak republic, 2003-2006)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ADJUSTMENT</th>
<th>Diff. (grams)</th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CRUDE</td>
<td>-401</td>
<td>(20)</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCATION (1)</td>
<td>-356</td>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMOKING (2)</td>
<td>-316</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SINGLE STATUS (3)</td>
<td>-150</td>
<td>(18)</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESIDENCE RURAL</td>
<td>-142</td>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEENAGE MOTHER</td>
<td>-131</td>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GENDER</td>
<td>-122</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EMPLOYMENT -121  (10)  <0.001  
BIRTH ORDER -79  (7)  <0.05  
ALCOHOL -55  (9)  0.12  
ALL COVARIATES -198  (10)  <0.001

Linear regression model for low birth weight (table 2) is confirming as the as the risk factors education, smoking and single status.
Linear regression model for low gestational age (table 3) shows importance smoking education and employment.

Table 3. Ethnic differences in gestational age in weeks (Roma vs. Non-Roma, Slovak republic, 2003-2006)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ADJUSTMENT</th>
<th>Diff. (weeks)</th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CRUDE</td>
<td>-2.2</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>&lt; 0.001</td>
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<tr>
<td>SMOKING (1)</td>
<td>-1.9</td>
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<td>&lt;0.001</td>
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<tr>
<td>EDUCATION (2)</td>
<td>-1.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>EMPLOYMENT (3)</td>
<td>-1.3</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEENAGE MOTHER</td>
<td>-1.2</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>&lt; 0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SINGLE STATUS</td>
<td>-1.2</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>&lt;0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALCOHOL</td>
<td>-0.7</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>&lt; 0.634</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GENDER</td>
<td>-0.63</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>&lt; 0.523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIRTH ORDER</td>
<td>-0.5</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>&lt; 0.568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESIDENCE RURAL</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>&lt; 0.928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL COVARIATES</td>
<td>-1.5</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>&lt; 0.001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conclusions. Statistical analysis confirmed for the group of Roma mothers statistically significant differences in unemployment rate, extremely low education level, more frequent single marital status, lower mother’s age, higher amount of smokers. Statistical analysis of newborn reports shows statistically significant lower birth weight of Roma. Other parameters of newborns also shows great difference in lower birth length, low head and chest circumference but no difference were found in Apgar score for newborn vitality. Roma have lower gestational age, more frequent preterm delivery, more frequent multiparity – number of deliveries, more frequent spontaneous abortion, tendency for lower pregnancy weight increase in mothers. The same results have been confirmed by our previous studies (Rimarova et. all., 2004; 2005; 2006; 2007)

Positive parameters for Roma are more frequent spontaneous delivery rate and lower frequency of caesarean sections. Prenatal gynecological disorders (f.e. eclampsia) and preterm
delivery are higher in the group of Roma mothers, but due to missing data we excluded this factor from analysis.

**Results and conclusions.** All received data confirm negative trends in health status of Roma comparing the majority population or national data. Reflection of social gap and social inequities on health is most visible in prenatal and childhood period. There is a gap in data collection in CEE countries, where approach for data receiving is personal from the existence epidemiological study. There is strong need to provide long term activities to support social empowerment of Roma including 4 priorities of The Decade of Roma Inclusion.

**Literature**

A Quantitative Analysis of Conversational Proficiency in the Japanese University EFL Classroom

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Abstract

Upon completion of a course in oral communication, conversational proficiency is often assumed to have been developed. Yet, what appears to concern a great many instructors is that for the majority of non-English major students the capacity to communicate beyond the expressions and routines contained in their textbooks remains elusive. Furthermore, given the large number of students in the average Japanese university classroom, for many instructors, finding opportunities for experimentation with the target language through one-to-one conversation – of the kind often experienced in the smaller conversation schools – continues to be somewhat of a Holy Grail. The purpose of this preliminary investigation was, therefore, twofold: Firstly, to examine the degree to which a structured course in conversation strategies, implemented on a regular basis would develop the students’ ability to open, maintain, and close a conversation according to the principles that are common to oral communication; and secondly, to determine whether the course and activities could be integrated into an existing syllabus and with minimal repercussions in terms of classroom management. The participants in the study were non-English major, Japanese sophomore students of a private university in Tokyo who were studying English communication as a required subject. Over the course of a
semester, students received ten-minute instruction and practice in conversation strategies in addition to their regular oral communication syllabus. Pre-test and post-test data was analyzed via paired T-Test statistical analysis. The results of the pilot study indicated statistically significant gains in conversational ability. Suggestions for increased implementation in terms of linking communicative theory to classroom practice as well as further directions for this research are presented.
The intention of this paper is to explore how women who exercise regularly frame their involvement in exercise with regard to discourses of femininity, fitness, consumerism, and healthism. Specifically, I examine how these contemporary discourses impact women’s exercise choices. The paper is based on a larger study in which open-ended, semi-structured interviews were conducted with women who exercise on average four times per week. The objective of the interviews was to elicit detailed information about the types of exercise these women are involved in, and how they come to choose specific types of exercise over others. A Foucaultian discourse analysis of the interview transcripts was undertaken to uncover commonalities and differences in how the sometimes competing discourses of femininity, fitness, consumerism, and healthism affect the types of exercise in which these women engage. Through an examination of the interplay between discourse, power/knowledge, surveillance, discipline, subjectivity, and the resultant construction of normative feminine ideals, this paper attempts to determine how women are constructed, and construct themselves, as regular exercisers and how this construction impacts the specific types of exercise in which women choose to engage.

Keywords: Discourse, Fitness, Femininity, Consumption
Sandino: Hero? Or Bandit?

“Remember that in the veins of the Nicaraguan people circulates the blood of Augusto Cesar Sandino!” — FSLN leaflet, November 27, 1963

In 1979, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) was able to successfully overthrow the Somoza dynasty, which had ruled Nicaragua with an iron hand since 1936. The FSLN claimed that their inspiration came from Augusto Cesar Sandino, whom they portrayed as a dedicated nationalist that waged guerilla warfare against the United States Marines from 1927-1933 in order to force the United States to cease their military occupation of Nicaragua and to recognize its sovereignty. During that same struggle, the international community portrayed him as a nationalist and anti-imperialist who was defending his country and defying the United States. Within Nicaragua, Sandino himself portrayed a different image, which focused on developing the concept of nation among his peasant supporters. He was perceived by his followers as the patriarch, or founding father figure, of a new national family that had to be defended against foreign aggression. So how does one weave through these various interpretations in order to discover who the real Sandino was? Karl Bermann in his book, Sandino Without Frontiers: Selected Writings of Augusto Cesar Sandino on Internationalism, Pan-Americanism and Social Questions (1988), attempts to clarify any confusion regarding Sandino and the followers of his legacy, the Sandinistas, by providing the reader with several texts written by Sandino himself, in order for the reader to come to their own conclusion about who Sandino really was.

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1 Samuel Brunk and Ben Fallow, ed., Heroes and Hero Cults in Latin America (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 2006), 165.
2 Brunk, 150.
3 Brunk, 150.
4 Brunk, 150.
Sandino Without Frontiers

Karl Bermann, who edited, annotated and provided the introduction for Sandino Without Frontiers, is a historian whose focus centers on international relations between the United States and Nicaragua placing an emphasis on the foreign policy that was in existence between these two countries since the mid-nineteenth century to the present. In Sandino Without Frontiers, Bermann attempts to clarify the confusion and apprehension that exists in the Western world towards the Sandinistas, who are currently in power at the time the book is published, by identifying who they are and where they come from. In order to better understand the Sandinistas and their ideology, Bermann traces their ideological origins to the man whom they named themselves after: Sandino. He includes two essays, which provide the necessary historical context, by two prominent Nicaraguan scholars who helped revive Sandino’s ideas and thoughts. The first essay, which is the central focus of this paper, titled “The Lad From Niquinohomo”, is by Sergio Ramirez, a leading Nicaraguan writer and intellectual. The second essay, called “Viva Sandino”, is by Carlos Fonseca, founder of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). Immediately following Ramirez’s essay are selected writings by Sandino in the form of his political manifestos and personal correspondence in order for “Sandino, the original Sandinista, [to] present his own ideas in his own words, undistilled and undistorted.” Bermann concludes the book by including a speech by Sergio Ramirez titled “The Relevance of Sandino’s Thought”, which demonstrates why Sandino’s ideas are important to the Nicaraguan nation and people and how his legacy has affected Nicaragua.

“The Lad From Niquinohomo”

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5 Bermann, 3.
Sergio Ramirez is a prominent Nicaraguan writer, novelist, historian, intellectual and literary critic. In 1977 he became the leader of the “Group of Twelve,” a group of prominent intellectuals, priests, businesspeople, and members of civil society who publicly stated their support for the FSLN in its struggle to topple the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza Debayle. Once the Sandinistas came to power in 1979 he became part of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction, where he presided over the National Council of Education. He then served as Vice President of the country 1985-1990 under the presidency of Daniel Ortega. In 1995, he founded the Movimiento de Renovación Sandinista (MRS) because of his differences with other leaders of the FSLN on issues of democratic reform. He currently lives in Managua.

Ramirez provides a sweeping history of Nicaragua, beginning with its inception once the Federal Republic of Central America had disintegrated and formed the autonomous nations that make up present day Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica. He then explains why Europe and the United States were interested in Central America, specifically Nicaragua and Panama: “the construction and operation, as well as military defense, of an interoceanic canal.”6 In 1849, Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt obtained a concession from the Nicaraguan government, which was under the control of the Conservatives, to operate a transport service for cargo and passengers across its territory, over the waters of the disputed canal route.7 Once conflict erupted between Vanderbilt and his two other partners, Morgan and Garrison, their clash would play out via proxy the Conservatives and Liberals, Nicaragua’s opposing political parties. In order to overthrow the conservative government of Don Fruto Chamorro of Granada, the Liberals of Leon enlisted the help of William Walker, who received support from Morgan

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6 Bermann, 15.
7 Bermann, 16,
and Garrison, who financed the purchase of arms, munitions and supplies. After defeating the leaders of both parties, Walker declared himself president of Nicaragua in 1856, annulled the concession granted to Vanderbilt and signed a new contract with Morgan and Garrison. Vanderbilt then went on to supply money and arms to the Central American countries as they sought to expel the intruders, who sought to dominate not only Nicaragua but also all of Central America. Walker and his allies were defeated in 1857.

In 1893 General Jose Santos Zelaya came to power through the establishment of a Liberal military dictatorship. During his reign he achieved national progress and territorial consolidation. Following his downfall in 1909, the United States Marines occupied Nicaragua. With the reinstatement of the Conservative government under Adolfo Diaz, U.S. Secretary of State Philander C. Knox imposed a series of conditions known as the “Dawson Pact”, which included “loans to “save the country’s finances”-contracted exclusively with North American bankers, a ban on concession with other powers…and …how the new regime was to be organized.” To enforce the Dawson Pact and safeguard its interests, the United States Marines remained in possession of the country. After a series of elections, coup d’états and resignations, the United States reimposed Adolfo Diaz as president. Liberal opposition took the form of a revolutionary army headed by General Jose Maria Moncada. President Calvin Coolidge then decided to send Harry Stimson to “arrange the situation there at any price.” Stimson offered Moncada two options: sign an armistice permitting Diaz to continue the presidency until the next elections in 1928, that were to be supervised by the Marines or confront the occupation army, which would

8 Bermann, 16.
9 Bermann, 16.
10 Bermann, 16.
11 Bermann, 20.
12 Bermann, 23.
proceed to disarm rebels by force.¹³ Moncada chose the first alternative and all were prepared to surrender except one: Sandino.

**The Life of Sandino**

Augusto Cesar Sandino was born on May 18, 1895 to a well-to-do ladino, Gregorio Sandino, and a peasant woman, Margarita Calderon, in the small village of Niquinohomo.¹⁴ Due to his illegitimate birth, he was forced to work hard to earn his keep once he was recognized and received in the paternal household. In 1920 he seriously wounded another man and was forced to flee to Honduras. He worked on a sugar plantation in Honduras, then on a United Fruit banana plantation in Guatemala, and finally in the Mexican oil fields as a skilled worker for the U.S.-owned Huasteca Petroleum Company.¹⁵ These experiences would lead him to organize agricultural cooperatives later in life. Sandino returned to Nicaragua in 1926 and began working at the U.S. owned San Albino mine. He had learned “that a revolutionary movement had broken out in Nicaragua…and got [involved] …in an active political life.”¹⁶ He began to organize and soon became the leader of the largest Liberal force in the Segovias. In 1927, Sandino met with Moncada only to learn about the eminent surrender of the revolutionary army. As Sandino returned to Cerro del Comun, which his soldiers occupied, he made the decision that would change his life. He decided that rather to surrender and demobilize his army, he would resist the might and power of the United States since he sincerely believed “that the United States had no right at all to invade a small country and humiliate it.”¹⁷ On May 12, he announced by telegraph

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¹³ Bermann, 23.
¹⁵ Brunk, 151.
¹⁶ Brunk, 151.
¹⁷ Bermann, 29.
to the authorities that he would not accept the capitulation and would continue to fight, knowing full well the consequences. On July 16, 1927, Sandino attacked the city of Ocotal, which was defended by a garrison of Marines. Sandino had announced to the world the beginning of a Nicaraguan war of liberation.

After suffering defeat and heavy casualties at Ocotal, Sandino created the Army for Defense of the National Sovereignty of Nicaragua and radically altered his tactics. Typical Sandinista guerrilla tactics now included “ambushing columns moving through the mountains, and assaulting garrisons in small towns. The objectives were simple and clear-to cause the greatest number of casualties with the least ammunition; to capture weapons, ammunition, and equipment; to avoid prolonged combat and withdraw in an orderly manner along paths known only to the guerillas, regrouping later at an agreed upon location; [and] to leave to tracks and to retrieve their own casualties.”18 The generals working with Sandino were campesinos and artisans, who each commanded their own column. In addition to their regular troops, the columns were also made up of paramilitary cadres-civilian volunteers who served as carriers and spies. 19 They also had a network of agents in the cities that supplied information on troops departing for the mountains or on the arrival of the airplanes.20 There were also many “orphans in the m mountain encampments who had a role to play in the army; they were known as the “choir of angels.” They aided in ambushes and attacks, yelling, shouting vivas and making all sorts of noises…sometimes giving the impression that the Sandinistas’ number was greater than it was, at others that reinforcements were arriving.”21 Once they were older and had acquired their own rifles they became regular soldiers. There was also an international brigade, composed mainly of

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18 Bermann, 32.
19 Bermann, 34.
20 Bermann, 34.
21 Bermann, 34.
intellectuals and students who came from all parts of Latin America. Some fought as soldiers, while others served on Sandino’s general staff as secretaries.\(^{22}\)

In 1927, after suffering several defeats, the Marines decided that “they would no longer commit their men directly to combat, but would use them only as “technical advisors.” The bulk of responsibility for the fighting would henceforth fall to a local army, created and trained by the Marines: the Guardia Nacional of Nicaragua.”\(^{23}\) In 1929, Moncada became president of Nicaragua and sought to maintain the presence of the Marines so that they could redouble their struggle against Sandino.\(^{24}\) During this time Sandino realized that he would have to maintain a prolonged struggle and in order to do so he would need modern weapons and ammunitions to do so for the growing number who had swelled his ranks. With an economic depression occurring worldwide, the Nicaraguan population suffered from unemployment, followed quickly by starvation. This, coupled with severe repression inflicted upon them by the Marines, motivated many to join Sandino and his struggle. Sandino left to Mexico in 1929 to receive support, only to return a year later with no concrete results. In 1930 the Marines suffered one of the most decisive defeats of the war. This greatly intensified the debates surrounding Nicaragua in the United States press and Congress. Stimson, now Secretary of State, declared in 1931 that the occupational forces would only remain in Nicaragua until the conclusion of the next presidential election in 1932.\(^{25}\)

In January of 1933 the last contingent of United States Marines boarded a ship and left Nicaragua. A truce was declared between Sandino and Sacasa, the new president. On February 22, a peace agreement was signed. However, tensions erupted between the returning soldiers of

\(^{22}\) Bermann, 35.
\(^{23}\) Bermann, 37.
\(^{24}\) Bermann, 37.
\(^{25}\) Bermann, 40.
Sandino’s army and the Guardia Nacional. Sandino met with the president and declared his concerns, saying that he “considered the Guardia Nacional to be an army created illegally by the occupying power and operating outside the country’s constitution and laws.” On February 21, 1934, the National Guard detained Sandino and several of his generals, took him to an unknown location, and there, “illuminated by the headlights of the truck, they were murdered by machine gun and rifle fire.” Anastasio Somoza García, head of the National Guard, who had ordered his henchmen to execute Sandino, then overthrew President Sacasa and elected himself president. His family, the Somoza dynasty, would remain in power for nearly half a century until the triumph of the Sandinista revolution on July 19, 1979.

**Political Manifesto, July 1, 1927**

This is Sandino’s first public declaration. In it, he declares that it is his Indian heritage that makes him a loyal Nicaraguan, “I am Nicaraguan and proud that American Indian blood, more than any other, flows through my veins, for it contains the mystery of loyal and sincere patriotism.” He describes himself as a “city worker, an artisan as they say in this country” but more importantly as someone who considers freedom to be a right and demands justice, “even though to reach that state of perfection it may be necessary to spill my own blood and that of others.” This demonstrates an understanding for the sacrifices must be made in order to achieve what he wants, even at the expense of his own life. However, he willingly considers it a viable option if it will guarantee a state of perfection: freedom and justice. Regardless, he still considers it “my greatest honor is to emerge from the bosom of the oppressed—those who are the soul and

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26 Bermann, 43.
27 Bermann, 44.
28 Bermann, 48.
29 Bermann, 48.
30 Bermann, 48.
nerves of the race, who have been disregarded and at the mercy of the shameless assassins who helped incubate the crime of high treason-the Nicaraguan conservatives who wounded the free heart of Fatherland, who persecute us viciously as if we weren’t all children of the same nation.”

He then condemns Adolfo Diaz and Emiliano Chamorro for allowing Nicaragua to be humiliated by the United States since the occupation clearly indicates that that U.S. does not believe Nicaragua is fit or competent enough to practice self-governance. He calls Moncada a deserter, someone who defected to the foreign enemy.

He then states that although he recognizes that he is only one man who seeks to achieve an impossible task, he remains undaunted by his endeavor, “The big shots say I am very small for the work I have undertaken; but my insignificance is overshadowed by the pride in my patriot’s heart, and I swear before the nation and before history that my sword will defend the nation’s honor and be the redemption of the oppressed. I accept the invitation to combat; I welcome it. I will answer with my battle cry the challenge of the cowardly invader and the traitors to my country.” In this passage he recognizes that his own person is insignificant, what truly matters is what he will come to symbolize: the oppressed who resist and challenge the power and hegemony of the developed countries of the West. Sandino challenges the might of the U.S. Marines, “Come, you bunch of drug addicts; come murder us on our own soil where I await you, standing firmly on my own feet at the head of my patriot soldiers, unconcerned with your number,” Sandino thus creates the imagery of the mythic persona he will become, which illustrates a lone soldier standing to fight, outnumbered, outgunned and outmaneuvered, against

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31 Bermann, 48.
32 Bermann, 49.
33 Bermann, 49.
an enemy that is technologically superior and sure to win but lacks the passionate fervor of a man fighting for freedom and justice for his nation and people.

Sandino then takes a moment to reassure the other nations of Central America that he has no intention of invading their countries, despite the large number of weapons he possesses because “I [Sandino] am not a mercenary, but a patriot who refuses to permit an outrage to our sovereignty.”³⁴ He then identifies the root cause of Nicaragua’s problems, “Nature has bestowed enviable wealth on our country, designating it the world’s meeting point. This natural advantage has caused us to be covetted to the extent that they would enslave us, and that is why I aspire to break the tether with which disastrous Chamorrismo has bound us.”³⁵ Sandino then discusses the various problems surrounding the creation of a Nicaraguan canal: although it will be created on Nicaraguan soil, all of the profits will go abroad to foreign interests. He believes that, “Nicaragua should receive the fees that by right and justice belong to it, which would give us sufficient income to crisscross our entire territory with railroads, to educate our people in the true atmosphere of effective democracy, and to be respected and not looked down upon with flagrant contempt as is now the case.”³⁶ He concludes his manifesto with the following: “Brother people: having set forth my ardent desire to defend our Fatherland, I welcome you in my ranks without distinction as to political coloration, so long as you come with good intentions and keep in mind that anyone can be fooled sometimes, but not everyone can be fooled all the time.”³⁷

To Hipolito Yrigoyen, President of Argentina, March 20, 1929

This letter articulates Sandino’s ideas concerning pan-American unity. He invites several nations throughout Latin America, such as Mexico, Bolivia, Columbia, Ecuador, Cuba, and the

³⁴ Bermann, 49.
³⁵ Bermann, 50.
³⁶ Bermann, 50-51.
³⁷ Bermann, 51.
Dominican Republic to name a few, and the United States to attend a conference. The objective of the conference is to

ensure Indo-Hispanic sovereignty and independence and the friendship, upon equitable bases, of our race’s America with the United States. Our project concerns the right of Indo-Hispanic peoples to express their opinions on liberty and independence of our republics, nearly all of which are today controlled, some militarily and others economically, by the United States of North America. The project concerns as well the fair natural endowments that God bestowed on these countries, which continue to be the cause of domination that is exercised or sought.38

Once again the main objective is to guarantee sovereignty and independence for the various Latin American states who are in attendance. Clearly, Sandino feels that these two items are just as vital as air or water. He also desires an equal friendship with the U.S., alluding to several of his other ideas and thoughts regarding the North. He is well aware that the U.S. is an incredibly powerful country and thus can become a formidable foe, so he aims to maintain friendly relations. However, he also recognizes that the power and might of the U.S., corrupted by greed or ambition, can become a fearsome force intent on dominating and humiliating a nation. Thus, Sandino advocates autonomy for all Latin American nations, making it a focal point of his argument. Sandino also believes that it is Nicaragua’s destiny to call the Latin American nations “with a fraternal embrace to unification. It is she who has been sacrificed and she will gladly permit her bowels to be opened if by so doing it will achieve the absolute liberty and independence of the Latin peoples of continental and Antillean America.”39

He then states that the creation of a canal is not the sole concern of the Nicaraguan people and those who invest in the actual construction project but rather it concerns the entire globe since all of Latin America “is progressing daily in industry and commerce.”40 This exemplifies

38 Bermann, 58.
39 Bermann, 58.
40 Bermann, 59.
his ideas concerning Pan-America unity by indicating that the opening of a Nicaraguan canal is a concern for all Latin America, since its location, which provides a relatively quicker passage from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean without having to go around South America, will benefit the commerce of all. At the conference Sandino also wants to hold an open forum discussing whether the Nicaraguan canal should be created using only U.S. capital. If those in attendance approve conceding such a privilege to the U.S., then the U.S. must sign a commitment stating that it won’t interfere in Latin American affairs or try to foment revolutions to topple Latin American governments.41 He warns of the danger that might arise if the U.S. is not forced to recognize its limits “with the Nicaragua Canal they would think themselves more powerful than God and would defy the entire world, bringing as a consequence the destruction of the great North American nation.”42 He concludes his letter by asking for a response and political asylum to attend the conference, if and when it takes place in Argentina.

Manifestos to the Peoples of the Earth and Those of Nicaragua in Particular, March 13, 1933 (excerpt)

This manifesto was published amid reports and rumors that were questioning Sandino’s integrity immediately following the peace agreement that was signed on February 2, 1933. Sandino recounts the difficulties and struggles that his men and family had to endure during the guerilla campaign against U.S. Marines. He then describes the various obstacles he had to overcome to achieve a truce. Sandino states, “For all that has been said, Nicaragua continues to be politically and economically, and so it will continue as long as the members of the government belong to a particular political party; for the moment our sacrifice has only

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41 Bermann, 59.
42 Bermann, 58.
succeeded in avoiding the presence of mercenary troops on our soil, at least checking the orgy and corruption that the Yankee filibuster occupation had unleashed in Nicaragua.”

Sandino then states that the political and economic well being of the Nicaragua rests in the hands of Sacasa’s government. His army will serve only as moral support. He then includes the texts of the peace agreement. His present goal is to take advantage of the free time that he has in order to “organize agricultural cooperatives.” This clearly demonstrates to his readers that Sandino is committed to keeping his word and promises to disarm his army now that the Marines have left. Sandino then turns his attention to the various territorial disputes that are occurring in various parts of Latin America. He firmly believes that “all Central America is unionist, and the vultures of the White House knows this. Today there are two unionist tendencies in Central America: the first is the people, who want to unite because they are brothers and also to defend themselves from the common enemy…The second is an imperialist tendency patronized by the North American bankers who would like to pick a Central American traitor to govern the Five Sections.”

This passage demonstrates Sandino’s strong belief in the solidarity that exists among people of Latin America. It ties into his ideas concerning a strong sense of fraternity among Latin American people as they share a similar history and culture. This unity is then reinforced as several Latin American nations attempt to repel the forces of imperialism as they seek to achieve recognition of their sovereignty. He returns to the territorial disputes claiming that they will be resolved at a future date because it is done by “order of the White House.”

Sandino then addresses his critics, “I have been the target of new calumnies and insults authored by those who, wringing their hands, expected that we could emancipate Nicaragua in a

43 Bermann, 98.
44 Bermann, 99.
45 Bermann, 99.
46 Bermann, 100.
single stroke, undoubtedly forgetting the roots that Yankee intervention has planted in all the
countries of Hispanic America, and even throughout the world, which makes it hard to untie one
knot from the midst of the tangle without dealing with the others.”47 This passage suggests that
Sandino’s critics are those who believe that he has not done enough to improve the conditions
that exist in Nicaragua. His critics appear to be individuals who wash their hands of the blame
and accuse Sandino of having had the capacity to do more. Sandino refutes these claims by
stating that he has only tackled one of the problems surrounding Nicaragua, namely the
challenge to their independence, although he recognizes that there are several other conflicts to
resolve. He realizes that imperialism and foreign domination are at the root of Nicaragua’s
problems. However, the conditions that result from the colonial legacy are incredibly
intertwined, so that when one strand is torn apart, all the others strands starting collapsing at the
seams. He concludes his manifesto with the following: “Brothers: the people of the earth and
those of Nicaragua in particular are competent to judge our attitude during the seven years of war
that we sustained for restoration of Nicaragua’s national autonomy-without having received any
support and without making political commitments to anyone.”48 Although he answers his critics
and the allegations they accuse him of, Sandino firmly believes that those who have followed his
struggle will absolve him of any wrongdoing, since they have come to know the sincerity of his
commitment to free Nicaragua from the bonds of imperialism. He also reaffirms the notion that
he is not a mercenary or tied to any political affiliations that might compromise his original
objectives.

Sandino’s Legacy

47 Bermann, 100.
48 Bermann, 100.
So who really was Sandino? A nationalist willing to die for his country? A resistance fighter struggling against the bonds of imperialism? An idealist consumed by ideas of Pan-Americanism and unity? He was and has come to represent all of those personas. In *Sandino Without Frontiers*, Karl Bermann provides the imperative historical context in which to understand the environment and conditions that spurred such a figure as Sandino. More importantly, by providing Sandino’s work, unedited and uncensored, Bermann challenges the readers to decide for themselves what to think about the man who inspired the Sandinistas.

Sandino has since then been reinvented to suit the needs of the Nicaraguan population. In Nicaragua, specifically during his lifetime, Sandino portrayed himself as a nationalist, anti-imperialist and patriarch. Following his death, his name was forbidden in Nicaragua. Somoza wanted no mention of his formidable foe fearing that Sandino’s memory might inspire others to insurrection and to challenge the legitimacy of the Somoza dynasty especially since Somoza had ordered the brutal execution of Sandino. It was a sign of incredible bravery and resistance when the Sandinistas chose to name themselves after Sandino. Once they successfully toppled the Somoza regime, they revived Sandino’s memory. They highlighted the various accomplishments he had achieved during his lifetime. They also created the image he now holds in Nicaragua: that of a national hero, which the population looks upon with pride as they claim that he is one of their own.

**Bibliography**


Rubén Darío, “Prince of Castilian Letters”

“Margarita”

¿Recuerdas que querías ser una Margarita
Gautier? Fijo en mi mente tu extraño rostro está,
cuando cenamos juntos, en la primera cita,
en una noche alegre que nunca volverá.

Tus labios escarlatas de púrpura maldita
sorbían el champaña del fino baccarat;
tus dedos deshojaban la blanca margarita,

«¡Sí... no... sí... no...!» y sabías que te adoraba ya!

Después, ¡oh flor de Histeria! Llorabas y reías;
tus besos y tus lágrimas tuve en mi boca y o;
tus risas, tus fragancias, tus quejas, eran mías.

Y en una tarde triste de los más dulces días,
la Muerte, la celosa, por ver si me querías,
¡como a una margarita de amor, te deshojó!
“Rubén Darío is a prophet, an inspiration, the anointed leader of the people. For us he is the treasure of hope, the master of tomorrow...[who] united all the Latin American countries, awakening in them the sense of their true greatness.”

- Salomon de la Selva, Nicaraguan poet

Rubén Darío is today considered the single most important literary figure in Spanish literature. He holds an even more prominent place within Latin America. He is seen as the greatest poet to have ever been born in the Latin America, spearheading a new literary movement. He inspired generations to achieve greatness, awakening in them a sense of pride in their Latin American culture and identity. Examining the life and work of Rubén Darío is in many ways similar to studying the history and cultural development of Latin America: both look to European art and literature and American economic prowess with admiration but eventually realize that Latin American culture is also valuable and unique, thus creating and espousing a distinctive Latin American identity. The French Parnassian and Symbolist movements heavily influenced Darío during the creation of Azul, the first stage in his poetic development, where he was able to effectively capture the essence of what their poetry concerned: versatility, flexibility and clarity. The second phase of his artistic growth witnessed in Prosas Profanas, which is considered the peak of his career, Darío illustrates his genius and talent by taking European art forms and completely making it his own, thus creating an example of Latin American poetry. The work produced in Prosas Profanas exemplifies the literary movement known as Modernismo, which examined European forms of literature and art but created work that had a distinctive Latin American identity. In Cantos de Vida y Esperanza, the last stage of Darío’s maturation, Dario fully embraces the culture and concerns of his native Latin America,
identifying core themes that constitute Latin American identity and confronting issues that challenge Latin American economic and political independence.

**The Life of Félix Rubén García Sarmiento**

In the years leading up to the 1870’s, intra-elite turmoil and relatively low foreign economic control had allowed Nicaragua to develop an internal market and a large free peasantry. This radically changed when growing international demand for coffee brought its widespread cultivation to Nicaragua. Coffee production required new lands and cheap labor. In the 1870’s the elite began to dispossess the peasant and Indian farmers in much of the northern highlands, offering them no alternative other than peonage on coffee plantations as they used chicanery, self-serving legislation and violence to achieve their aims. It was during this time period that Rubén Darío was born on January 18, 1867 in a small town named Metapa, renamed Ciudad Darío in his honor, to Manuel García and Rosa Sarmiento. His parents enjoyed a matrimonio de conveniencia, which ended in separation shortly thereafter. After leaving the country with his mother to go to Honduras, Darío’s uncle, the Colonel Ramirez asked permission to raise Darío as his own. Darío’s mother gave up custody of her child and rarely saw him afterwards. After the death of Colonel Ramirez, Doña Rita de Alvarado, who provided a home until he was able to earn a living, adopted him.

A precocious child, said to have learned to read by the age of three, Darío’s formal education was intermittent and inconsistent. It was through his own efforts that he was able to receive a decent education. However, as a child he was deeply affected by the weird tales told to

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3 Booth, 70.
5 Umphrey, 4.
him by servants and the religious superstitions of the old women whom he lived with that filled
his mind with fantastic conceptions of life. Darkness and death inspired vague fears that he was
never able to overcome and the mysteries of life were enigmas that worried him constantly. He
wrote love poetry before adolescence and from the beginning it was one of his ruling passions.
Darío gained renown within Metapa as a precocious genius. At the age of fourteen, Darío had
already begun to publish poems in various Central American newspapers, paying homage to
civic leaders and literary figures, praising the noble mission of the press in Nicaraguan,
defending the cause of anticlerical liberalism against the reactionary influence of the Pope and
the Jesuit order. Darío now had the recognition of the various Central American states as a
literary figure, specifically as a poet.

Receiving Artistic Recognition: Azul

In 1886, he left his native Nicaragua and chose to live in Chile because he wanted an
atmosphere that would be more appropriate for his studies and intellectual development. Chile
during this time had an active literary and art culture that appreciated the work being produced in
Europe. It was during his time in Chile that Darío was able to expand his scope and meet various
intellectuals and artistic figures within Latin America. A highly influential figure was Pedro
Balmaceda, son of the Chilean President, who highly admired contemporary French art and
provided Darío with French books and periodicals. It was during this time that Darío became
familiar with the avant-garde of French authors, specifically the Parnassians and the Symbolists.
The Parnassians were an artistic literary group whose style was characterized by certain aspects

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6 Umphrey, 4.
7 Umphrey, 4.
9 Chabot, 40.
of French poetry that existed during the nineteenth century. Théophile Gautier and his ideas concerning art for art's sake heavily influenced the Parnassians. Symbolism was an art movement of French and Belgian origin that occurred in the late nineteenth century. Symbolism in the arts such as literature and poetry represented an outgrowth of the darker, gothic side of Romanticism.

Both of these literary movements heavily influenced Darío’s poetic style and development. The Symbolist movement allowed him to explore the darker themes in his life that had plagued him since childhood such as darkness and death. The Parnassian movement encouraged him to produce aesthetic forms of poetry simply for its own sake. In 1888, Darío caught the attention of the entire Spanish-speaking artistic community when he published Azul, the first stage of his poetic development, which consisted of a collection of poems and short stories. In this collection the transformation of a clever imitator of the older poets turns into an original writer of cosmopolitan culture. What made Azul such an innovative piece of literature is that it contained qualities of style that were characteristic of the best French prose and also had real innovations in Spanish: flexibility, delicacy, clarity and precision of expression.

“Primaveral”

This particular piece is an ode to the spring season. In it the narrator describes his journey into the forest or woods as his poetic words gather the fragrance and honey of newly blossoming flowers for him and his beloved. The woods serve as their shrine, scented with the holy perfume of love. Birds flit around from tree to tree gathering a laurel to lay on the crown of his beloved’s fair head, rejoicing at her wondrous beauty. The trees and vines then form an arch worthy of a queen for his beloved to pass through. The narrator then revels in the glory of spring. He then describes lovely nymphs who bathe in a nearby fountain, who have great knowledge of the love

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10 Umphrey, 6.
11 Umphrey, 17.
poems created by the satyr Pan in Ancient Greece. He then tells his beloved that he will choose the sweetest phrase and sing it as sweetly as the sweetest Grecian honey as he joyfully sings in the season of spring.\(^{12}\)

This poem is beautifully written and yet simple. Each word is carefully selected to serve a specific purpose: to convey the author’s meaning. This poem, however, does not contain flowery words that distract the reader from the beauty of the prose. It was clearly inspired by Gautier and his ideas concerning art for art's sake since it celebrates beauty for beauty’s sake. This poem also clearly exudes a romantic quality, with an emphasis on describing the unassuming beauty of nature. Darío effectively uses imagery to create an image of a serene, clandestine area within a forest, somewhat resembling a meadow, that only these two lovers know of its location. Thus, infusing the entire setting with an aura of romanticism. More than anything this poem is an ode to beauty, the beauty of nature and that of his beloved.

**Traveling Abroad**

In 1889, Darío was appointed the official correspondent of La Nacion, a newspaper in Buenos Aires. This provided him the means of a livelihood for the rest of his life. It also sent him to Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala and Costa Rica on journalistic assignments. He was appointed as the Nicaraguan delegate to the Quadricentennial celebration of the Discovery of America, which took him to Spain in 1902. Once in Spain he was welcomed in literary circles and became acquainted with various writers already known to him in their writings. As he returned to Central America, he stopped in Havana, where he met poet Julian del Casal, and Columbia, where Rafael Núñez, a statesman and writer, promised him a consular position in

Buenos Aires. In 1893, the appointment as the Columbian consul, along with his first year salary, allowed him to go to Buenos Aires by way of New York and France.

In 1893, Darío met Cuban revolutionary and poet Jose Martí in New York. Darío had written effusively of Martí years before meeting him, thus he was familiar with Martí’s work. Undoubtedly, Darío read the various articles that Martí wrote, whose principal aim was to keep his Latin American readers informed of the latest political, social, economic and literary events that were occurring. A few of Martí’s recurring themes focus on “freedom from Spanish rule for his native Cuba, the liberation of Puerto Rico and [the] economic and political independence for the Antilles and Latin America.” Martí’s best-known work, “Our America” was published in La Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York in 1891. In it he talks about important themes, which determined the course of his work and ideology such as nationalism, pride in one’s homeland and the organic creation of forms of government resulting from the specific history, geography, politics, economics and culture of a given country rather than importing forms of government from abroad whose situation is completely different or accepting domination. Martí is careful to show ”the advantages as well as the dangers of life in a modernizing, capitalist society such as the United States, hoping to interest his fellow men in technical innovations while avoiding the social, racial and political strife he observed in New York.” Martí expresses a desire for unity within a given country in order to make that particular nation stronger against potential threats to its autonomy. He also advocates a special type of education that will familiarize the population with their country’s resources, geography, political, economic and societal climate in order to produce reforms and changes that will benefit the country and its population. This particular

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13 Whisnant, 17.
15 Schookal, 19.
work heavily influenced Darío later in his life. Upon Martí’s early death in 1895, Darío believed that Martí was a venerable martyr who gave his life for his “dream of a free Cuba” but also for “the true future triumph of America.”

**Prosas Profanas**

*Prosas Profanas* (1896), the second literary phase, represents the full development of Darío’s techniques. This book represents most of all a period of arduous intellectual and artistic activity during which Darío strove to justify his ideals of poetic expression. In *Prosas Profanas*, there is a great change of permanent value to Spanish poetry: the abandonment of all rules to prosody, which are the patterns of rhythm and sound used in poetry, that depended merely on their age and traditional prestige for their authority. This breaking away from conventional forms of verse was due in part to another characteristic of Symbolism, the close association of poetry and music. This musical suggestiveness is closely associated with the chief characteristic of Symbolism as regards content, the suggestion of ideas, sensations, moods, by means of symbols; by allusion merely, not by direct mention or description. Conscious of what he called the “hierarchy of poetic ideas” Darío sought to conjure strange, exotic visions of remote landscapes, pallid princesses and colorful birds.

**“Margarita”**

This poem begins as the narrator, presumably a male, asks the reader, who is unknowingly his love interest, whether they remember the time when they wanted to be a

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16 Whisnant, 17.
17 Chabot, 42.
18 Chabot, 43.
19 Umphrey, 20.
20 Umphrey, 20.
21 Umphrey, 21.
22 Chabot, 43.
Margaret Gautier. The narrator informs the reader that their exotic face is permanently etched in his mind the night they had dinner on their first date; a joyful night that will never occur again. The narrator recalls how the reader’s scarlet red lips sipped on champagne as their fingers plucked the petals of a white margarita trying to foresee, with the removal of each petal, whether the narrator loved the reader or did not love the reader. The narrator exclaims that it was then that the reader discovered that the narrator adored her. Then, like a hysterical flower, the reader laughed and cried; the narrator enjoyed both kisses and tears as the reader’s laughter, fragrance and complaints became his own. Then on a sad afternoon on the sweetest of days, Death, feeling jealous, plucked the reader away from the narrator, like a margarita of love, to see whether the reader loved the narrator.

A literary critic once wrote that to sincerely appreciate Darío’s poetry, it must be read aloud. This is certainly the case when reading the poetry contained in Prosas Profanas, since reading “Margarita” aloud allows the reader to fully enjoy the rhythmic flow of the words that sound like music. Not only that but Darío cleverly uses consonant sounds to create a particular atmosphere. For instance, in “Margarita” the “sh” sound is constantly being used, thus creating an illusion of the sea, which the reader assumes is the setting of the poem. Furthermore, the way that the words are arranged generates a particular cadence that enhances the heightened sense of emotions that are present throughout the poem. They words serve to enhance the beauty of the poem, by including a musical element to their tone. The words that are used, although still carefully selected to achieve a specific purpose, are different: they are elegant, sensual and emotional. In Prosas Profanas, we see an evolution of Darío as a person and as a poet.

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23 This refers to main character in Alexandre Dumas, “Dame aux Camelias” or “Lady of the Camellias.”
24 A daisy.
25 Umphrey, 134-135.
subject of the poem has also evolved. No longer is Darío merely rejoicing in beauty, as witnessed in “Primeveral”, we find that he is now in the next stage of his life: his subject is now in love as seen in “Margarita.” We also witness an exploration of the darker themes that exist in life such as death. Overall, the poetry presented in Prosas Profanas is seen as the finest poetry Darío ever produced over the course of his lifetime. It is also viewed as the quintessential piece of work that arose from the Modernismo movement.

**Modernismo**

Modernismo was traditionally seen specifically as a Latin American phenomenon that occurred at the end of the nineteenth century, focusing primarily on works of poetry. The Modernismo movement focused on works of literature that explored romanticism, beauty, inner passions, visions, harmonies and rhythms all of which are expressed in a rich, highly stylized verbal music. Its influences lay in the escapist dimension of European Romanticism and, more particularly, in the “art for art’s sake” mentality of French Symbolist and Parnassian poetry. The movement was seen as a reaction against national and patriotic writing, which banished literariness to a subordinate role, and therefore put an emphasis on aesthetic qualities of style and mood. The modernist generations were considered culturally European-centered. The movement and its leading proponents were accused of being Eurocentric, lacking any original style and innovation and simply imitating European forms and style. In reality, the Modernismo movement was an instance where various individuals within the literary art scene examined what

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27 Swanson, 39.
28 Swanson, 39.
European culture had to offer and completely made it their own, thus creating literature and poetry that had a distinctive Latin American quality to it: espíritu.30

Various individuals within the Modernismo movement espoused the notion that literature was a key component in the expression of a fundamentally Latin American identity.31 Indeed, most of the leading advocates of Modernismo were actually dedicated nationalists. Darío advocated Central American unity.32 Jose Marti unrelentingly advocated the independence of his native Cuba from Spanish rule, the liberation of Puerto Rico and economic and political independence for all Latin America. Jose Enrique Rodo, in his highly influential essay, Ariel, called for an opposition of the crass materialism of North American capital in favor of the ideal spirit of wisdom, beauty and spirituality that was transmitted by Spanish American intellectuals.33 In retrospect, the sense of escapism that appeared in Modernist literature is now seen as an expression of a crisis of faith in the wake of new philosophical ideas from Europe questioning conventional belief system and the positivist emphasis on social progress, which seemed to emphasize the material over the spiritual and encourage the breakdown of social patternings via technological change, urbanization, immigration and social mobility.34 Although modernismo was concerned with an esoteric questing for alternative spiritual meaning, fascinated with novelty and alternative worlds, it was able to express the crisis of modernity.35

Los Raros y Espana Contemporanea

Upon returning to Buenos Aires, Darío received a warm welcome from the Argentinean literary circles due to the publication of various poems and articles that he contributed to La

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30 Loosely translated as “soul” or “spirit”
31 Swanson, 123.
32 Chabot, 39.
33 Swanson, 40.
34 Swanson, 39.
35 Swanson, 41.
Nacion as a regular correspondent. In 1896, a series of critical studies of the French **decadents** and **symbolistes** and some of the older individualistic poets, such as Edgar Allan Poe, were collected into book form and published under the title, *Los Raros*. This established his reputation as an authoritative critic and master of Spanish prose. Spain’s defeat in the Spanish American War against the United States in 1898 fostered a deep sympathy for the mother country in all parts of Latin America. **La Nacion** sent Darío to Spain in order to describe “the present situation in which the mother country found herself.” In *Espana Contemporanea* (1901), which is made up thirty articles, Darío describes his first impressions of Spain. He was also sent to France to report on the French capital during the Exposition. From time to time Nicaragua assigned Darío consular and diplomatic duties in Paris and Madrid. Since these positions offered him an opportunity to travel and to receive prestigious honors, Darío gladly accepted these and other official commissions. Amid his journalist work, consular and diplomat assignments, and continuous traveling, Darío produced *Cantos de Vida y Esperanza* (1905), which has long been recognized as his greatest book.

**Cantos de Vida y Esperanza**

In *Cantos de Vida y Esperanza*, the last poetic phase that is to be examined, Darío shows his pride in the Spanish race and his firm belief in the renaissance of its spirit and ideals. It is here that he demonstrates that he was thoroughly Spanish at heart, “I am the son of America, I am the grandson of Spain.” Darío illustrates his abiding love of Spain, an awareness of the travails, both intellectual and political, of his native Latin America, and a distrust of the United

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36 Umphrey, 9.
37 Umphrey, 10.
38 Chabot, 48.
39 Umphrey, 10-11.
40 Chabot, 44.
41 Umphrey, 27.
States, seen as a threat to political independence. Love as a theme of inspiration no longer holds a dominant position, rather other feelings and passions, contemporary events and men of action supply material for poetical compositions in which the content becomes as important as the form. Throughout Cantos de Vida y Esperanza Dario demonstrates a greater maturity, sincerity, vigor and breadth of inspiration. It is at this point in his life that Dario views poetry as a mode that constitutes a probe into the absolute, into the nature of man and the universe.

**To Roosevelt**

This poem is set in the first person narrative. It is meant for Theodore Roosevelt. I come to you Hunter [The United States] with a plea that is religious in nature and poetic in verse. You are the United Stated, future invader of Latin America, who is a religious, Spanish speaking Indian. You exemplify the Anglo-Saxon race: proud, cultured, and skillful. You believe that life is fire, progress is an eruption and wherever you shoot, you hit the future. You are potent, great and rich. Your actions are tremors that are felt throughout the Andes. If you clamor, it is heard like the roar of the lion. You own the stars. But our America, those that once consulted the stars, that since the remote times of its life has lived on light, fire, perfume and love, the America of the great Montezuma, of the Inca, Catholic America, Spanish America, it lives. It dreams, loves, vibrates and is the daughter of the Sun. Viva Spanish America! The Spanish lion released thousands of cubs but Roosevelt would have to be a great hunter, in fact God himself to catch us [a Latin American cub] in your iron claws. Although you count on everything you lack one thing: God!

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42 Chabot, 44.  
43 Umphrey, 28.  
44 Umphrey, 11.  
45 Chabot, 44.
By accurately ascertaining the central characteristics that constitute Latin America, Dario is able to espouse a Latin American identity. Although Dario recognized the strength, culture, energy, and riches of the United States, he took his stand with his native Latin America in which Indian, Spanish and Catholic values appeared to him to combine the only set of values possible and desirable for his people.\textsuperscript{46} It is at this point in his poetic development that Dario focuses on themes and concerns that plague Latin America. No longer is he concerned with romantic ideas of love but rather, he focuses on the sovereignty of Latin America. Through such works Darío and other writers, such as Jose Enrique Rodo, restored a sense of collective destiny and solidarity among the consciousness of the Spanish-American reading public.\textsuperscript{47} They reactivated a continental nationalism, motivated for the first time by an anti-United States reaction.\textsuperscript{48}

An acute awareness of the potential threat that the U.S. poses to the independence of Latin America results from two factors. Jose Martí, poet, journalist, and revolutionary, was a highly influential figure in Darío’s life. As a young man, Darío had read and written extensively on Martí’s work, whose central theme focuses on the potential threat that the United States poses to Latin American political and economic independence. Martí’s fears were realized in the Spanish American War of 1898, which concluded with the Treaty of Paris where Spain transferred their territorial possessions of Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philippines to the United States. This confirmed Martí’s suspicions about the United States’ ambitions to expand their territories. It also proved that the United States was not an ally to the various Latin American nations but rather a formidable foe that one had to look upon with weary eyes. The realization of Martí’s warnings about the U.S., which manifested itself in the Spanish American War,

\textsuperscript{46} Monguio, 68.
\textsuperscript{47} Monguio, 68.
\textsuperscript{48} Monguio, 68.
propelled many Latin American writers to look within their own culture and celebrate what it offered: a distinctive Latin American identity that was threatened by the materialism of the North. This is what influenced Dario during the creation of *Cantos de Vida y Esperanza.*

**The Later Years**

In 1910, Dario’s health was giving away rapidly under the strain of his feverish activities and dissipations. Worried by the increasing difficulty of making a living by his pen, lacking the peace and quiet of a domestic life at an age when it becomes more essential for happiness, Dario lost his zeal for life and became more interested in his past achievements than in new endeavors. In 1912 he published *Rubén Darío Escrita Por él Mismo* in a popular periodical in Buenos Aires, *Caras Y Caretas.* He also released *Historia de Mis Libros* in *La Nacion* that same year. He was then persuaded to give a series of lectures in the United States. He was stricken with double pneumonia and left for his native country where he died on February 6, 1916.

Although Dario was born in Nicaragua he actually spent very little time there. He lived most of his life outside of Nicaragua, seeking an aristocratic social standing and cultivating upper class manners that were ambiguously related to his personal origins and the national culture of Nicaragua. In some respects, Dario was fighting to escape Nicaragua, especially its rustic provincialism and the financial insecurity and social marginality suffered by its writers. Regardless, he is seen as the nation’s great poet.

Examining Rubén Dario’s life and work gives one the opportunity to witness the shift that occurs in Latin America intellectual and cultural development. Rubén Dario, like Latin American culture, looked to European innovations in art, literature, and economics and examined

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49 Umphrey, 11.
50 Umphrey, 11-12.
51 Whisnant, 16.
52 Whisnant, 10.
their forms. The traditions and culture of the West were admired, emulated and applied to a Latin American setting. However, once Rubén Darío does that in *Azul* he is automatically considered Eurocentric, which then leads him to actively prove that he is in reality a proponent of Latin American culture. What Rubén Darío does is appropriate European techniques and transforms them to create distinctive Latin America poetry. This is witnessed in *Prosas Profanas*, where European styles of poetry have been adopted but radically altered to create something unique to Latin American poetry. At the turn of the nineteenth century political events occur that awaken all of Latin America to the danger that the United States poses to their economic and political sovereignty. It is during this time that a resurgence of nationalism erupts all over Latin America. It is within this context that Rubén Darío writes *Cantos de Vida y Esperanza* in which he firmly celebrates his Hispanic heritage and honors Latin American culture. By identifying the characteristics that constitute Latin American culture Rubén Darío is also able to help create a Latin American identity. This identity is then espoused through the Modernismo movement in which all of the writers, who lend themselves to the movement, reject U.S. forms of culture and materialism and advocate what makes Latin America so unique: espiritu. Although the attitude and perceptions that Latin American has towards Europe has changed over time and can be seen in moments of Latin American history, it is clearly expressed in the arts, as we see the rise of nationalist narratives and a new literary movement that has a distinct Latin American flavor: the Literary Boom of the 1960’s.
Bibliography


Abstract

It is well documented that the teaching of introductory statistics to higher education students is a major pedagogical challenge, particularly if we use traditional teaching methods of lectures, readings and handouts (Gelman and Nolan 2002; Mulhern and Wylie 2004; Garfield 2005; and Hulsizer and Woolf 2009). The challenges range from keeping students both motivated and interested to making accessible what can appear to be conceptually complex material.

The paper is an experiential account of a project designed to teach introductory quantitative research methods and statistics to social science students using innovative technologies to support teaching and learning and enhance the student-participative learning experience. The paper reflects on the adopted strategies in the context of the literature on teaching statistics to higher education students (Cobb 2001; Gelman and Nolan 2002; Mulhern and Wylie 2004; Scheaffer et al 2004; Garfield 2005; and Hulsizer and Woolf 2009).
Chinese Seafarers’ Responses to International Religious Encounters

1. Background
The PhD research I have been involved in was to look at the wellbeing of Chinese seafarers in the age of transition. Religion was taken as a case study to investigate the non-material side of the wellbeing. With the completion of the research, it answered if Chinese seafarers had been well taken care of by organizations, governments and individuals who control the fate of the seafarers in the transition.

The reason for taking Chinese seafarers as subjects was that I was a seafarer for many years. During my seafaring career, I noticed that I was completely open to Christian religion when I sailed on ships calling into ports round the world. On the contrary, Christianity had rarely been heard of back at home in China because China has been involved in the regulations and monitoring of religion since its establishment in 1949. These two different lives drew my attention to the impact on Chinese seafarers of their international religious encounters.

Further, Chinese seafarers have now become the second largest world seafarer pool after the cohort of Philippine seafarers, and the number of Chinese seafarers has kept increasing. So far, Chinese seafarers are a professional group worth attention for the benefits of world maritime industry and themselves.

The third reason for choosing Chinese seafarers was that I was aware that China has been getting through an enormous transition, and the seafarers were at the forefront of it. These were why I was interested in them.

The approach taken in the research was qualitative with semi-structured interviews. In total, a group of thirty Chinese seafarers attended and completed their individual interviews. The seafarer interviewees were recruited based on snowballing sampling method. The interviews took place in a northern port city, Dalian, over a course of three months in 2008. The interviewees provided a wide range of issues relating to on-board spiritual practices, and international religious encounters. This paper allowed the opportunity to explore the wellbeing of Chinese seafarers by looking into missionary efforts to help Chinese seafarers such as missionary visits on ships and transport provided freely by missionaries for seafarers.
Seafarers’ responses to those efforts were explored to see what Chinese seafarers felt from their contact with missions.

2. Missionary work perceived in port

The domestic religious policies of China have been implemented in a way that religions and their practices are set to be contained within their facilities by the law. Buddhism and Daoism and their practices can be seen in public because the Chinese have blurred the line between religion and Chinese cultures and tradition in dealing with Buddhism and Daoism. As a result of this containment scheme, most Chinese are unlikely to come into direct contact with Christian religion. By comparison Chinese seafarers operating internationally frequently recounted that they encountered missionaries and religious organizations.

Moreover, a major Chinese state owned shipping company has commissioned a research project on the wellbeing of its seafarers. The result of the project reveals that the company’s seafarers have received greater support from religious denominations and international seafarers unions than from their colleagues and company (Zhou and Zhang 2008 p. 170). The Chinese refer church-affiliated organizations, such as, the Mission to Seafarers, as international seafarers unions because in their eyes these organizations perform the function same as trade unions in China. Chinese trade unions are part of the organisational structures of state owned enterprises and they undertake a variety of activities such as holding conferences for workers, helping workers in need, and arranging funerals of deceased workers or their parents. Unlike the trade unions in western countries, Chinese trade unions are not involved in collective bargain activities or wage negotiations on behalf of their members. As such, the Chinese trade unions are more construed as charities.

2.1 Missionary activities in the eyes of Chinese seafarers

It was not easy for missionaries to get free contact with Chinese seafarers thirty years ago because the Chinese government wanted to protect Chinese seafarers from being contaminated by capitalist influences. Different methods of preventing them from falling under foreign ‘negative’ influences (including missionaries’) on board have been introduced. In the hope that foreign bad elements could be prevented from wrecking Chinese seafarers, a major state owned shipping company which represented almost China’s entire ocean-going seafarers had implemented a lot of regulations fitting Chinese seafarers into an ideological ‘straightjacket’. Even in 1991 the ‘straightjacket’ was not removed from Chinese seafarers of that state owned shipping company. The importance of keeping Chinese seafarers from
influences of foreign bad elements might be stressed instead in the wake of the 1989 Tiananmen Demonstration. In the company’s 1991 Code of Ocean-Going Seafarers Management, very details about how seafarers go ashore were listed in Section One of Article Fifty-Three of the code: ‘When seafarers need to go ashore in foreign ports, apart from attending collective land activities organised by international bodies or friendly denominations, the leadership of every ship can arrange landing for seafarers on the ground that the ship’s operation and safety are not undermined……[The ship’s leadership] must organise seafarers in a group of more than three persons to go ashore, and a seafarer should be designated as the head and is in charge of the group. The group have to keep tight while ashore. The ship’s leadership can decide a time for seafarers to return but the latest time to return must be before the local sunset. Seafarers who want to promenade in ports after meals have to walk at least in tandem’ (COSCO Human Resource 1991 p. 74). Although the regulation had been on the book of code for managing the company’s seafarers, implementation was hard to take place because the seafarers turned their blind eyes to such a regulation. However, such an unwelcome regulation has not been discarded in the company’s 2005 Code of Ocean-Going Seafarers Management and the only improvement was that seafarers in the new code were never asked to return before the local sunset (COSCO Human Resource 2005 p. 18). The regulation detailing seafarers’ landing can be seen as an on-board organisational mechanism of the state owned shipping company in relation to insulating its Chinese seafarers from foreign influences, in particular bad elements categorised by state owned shipping companies and the government, and religion, especially foreign religion, could not be exempted from the bad elements.

At present, things have changed on board. Although the prevention mechanism has still been found in the seafarers’ manuals of state owned shipping companies, no Chinese seafarer interviewees referred to the implementation of the restrictive rules listed in their manuals. As such, more visits made by missionaries were received on board ships manned by Chinese seafarers.

At the same time church-affiliated organizations increasingly focused on providing secular support to seafarers when their vessels called into ports (Kahveci et al. 2003). For instance, the Mission to Seafarers in its bulletin introduced the services of a new mission centre with the following: ‘In addition to ship visiting it will focus on providing transport, selling phone cards, providing access to religious services and working with the remaining [redundant]
seafarers’ (The Mission to Seafarers 2009). Apart from ship visits, the new mission centre focused on the provision of transport and phone cards because such provision was welcomed by seafarers who find it difficult to move around nowadays when ports were built out of town and the International Ship and Port Facility Security (ISPS) Code has prevented seafarers from walking freely around port areas. As a result of the growing attention of missionaries to the provision of secular services to seafarers, two categories - secular provision of help and religion-related activities of missionaries - were adopted when Chinese seafarers’ responses to missionaries were investigated.

However, despite the categorization of missionary activities, the boundary between the two categories was possibly blurred to some extent. For instance, transport offered by missionaries was seen as secular provision when seafarers used it as a means of easy and free landing whereas it was treated as a religion-related activity when seafarers were conveyed to missionary centres or churches to attend religious services. In the face of such complication, the categorization scheme was introduced because it helped reveal the increase of welfare-related activities undertaken by missionaries.

In line with their religion-related activities on board, missionaries kept meeting the needs of Chinese seafarers when they visited ships completely or partially manned by Chinese seafarers. Wellbeing of Chinese seafarers was addressed in fundamental ways. Gift giving was a prominent activity of missionaries and was recounted frequently in the interviews as a means of keeping seafarers’ morale. Christmas was one occasion when Chinese seafarers received gifts from missionaries when the ships the seafarers worked on called into ports [Interviews 5, 20 and 21]. For instance, the seafarer of interview 5 told: ‘Missionaries came on board and brought books and gifts with them to seafarers during Christmastime.’ However, Christmas was not the only occasion when Chinese seafarers took gifts from missionaries as a few more quotations from other interviews illustrate: ‘[I] sometimes accepted their [missionaries’] gifts’ [Interview 27]; ‘We were happy to see missionaries coming on board because they always brought gifts with them to seafarers’ [Interview 1]. Out of reciprocity, sometimes the visiting missionaries were served with meals on board according to one Chinese seafarer in interview 14.

In addition to ship visits, missionaries were keen to provide transport for seafarers. Bearing in mind the information given by seafarers in interviews in relation with transport issues, the provision involved nothing religious sometimes:
In South Africa, I met a lady who was like Mother Teresa. The mother-like lady was a Dutch. She drove in her car taking us to visit tourist sites of the area. It was back in 1997 [Interview 2].

In foreign ports religious denominations did well to serve the needs of seafarers. They sent seafarers in vans to do shopping and picked them up and sent them back on time [Interview 3].

In providing transport, the missionaries served to improve Chinese seafarers’ wellbeing by meeting their more immediate needs. There were more ways that seafarers used the transport provision to fulfil their secular demands ashore as more quotations illustrated:

Sometimes when our ship called into a new port about which we knew nothing, we would prefer to call missionaries to pick us up and let us visit their seafarer centres so that we could make calls back to China [Interview 3].

According to the same seafarer, it was easy for seafarers to gain access to the transport provision managed by missionaries in port. In the interview with him, the seafarer explained the method of getting transport:

They [missionaries] came on board and gave us the addresses of their facilities and contact numbers for free transport. Seafarers could call the numbers if they wanted to go shopping or visit seafarer centres [Interview 3].

The free transport was not always run for seafarers at will during seafarers’ port stay and there were times when Chinese seafarers needed to attend religious activities at seafarer centres before they were sent to do shopping and picked up after it. However, Chinese seafarers were still grateful to missionaries for the transport provision as some seafarers put it:

Many seafarers went and we could hitch a ride in missionaries’ cars to shopping malls after religious activities at their places. We felt good that they would send us back to ships after our shopping [Interview 12].

For instance, in South Korea there were seafarer centres which were associated with religious denominations. Korean missionaries took us in their cars or vans to their churches where we were given seminars. We were sent to city centres to do our shopping after the seminars [Interview 4].
In addition to the religious functions of missionary facilities, missionaries allowed the facilities to become places where seafarers took a break, made calls, and were entertained by playing sports free of charge [Interviews 5, 7, 10, 18 and 22]. Once again the transport offered by missionaries was necessary for all of those land activities to take place. Missionary provision of transport was, in the eyes of some Chinese seafarers, a means of allowing them to go ashore without pay out of their pockets. Those Chinese seafarers had been used to the way their state owned shipping companies had agents arranged transport for their landing in foreign ports in the past. Now fewer companies have operated in that way. Nonetheless missionary transport has filled the gap [Interviews 13 and 27].

Upon examining the interview data, there was one occasion when missionaries in Japan were asked by a Chinese seafarer to remit a large sum of money back to the seafarer’s home in China because the seafarer’s family was in need of the money and it was too late for the seafarer to remit the money himself before his vessel left the country. His relatives received his money in China eventually [Interview 5]. The fact that a Chinese seafarer left a large sum of his salary to the missionaries’ charge of remitting means a bond of trust formed between them. This domestic request completed by missionaries was an exemplar of expansion of missionary secular services to seafarers. Relative to the increasing security concerns especially in the ports of the USA after the Sept.11, the expansion of secular services appeared to be meaningful as one seafarer interviewee explained:

We sometimes did not have the US visas because of more restrictive regulations when our vessels called into the US ports. The fact was that we could not go ashore without visas, so far we were not able to land and buy prepaid phone cards. As such we depended on missionaries coming on board to deliver prepaid phone cards. They also helped us shop what we needed [Interview 15].

With the prepaid phone cards Chinese seafarers could call home from public telephones on the quayside. There were occasions when missionaries brought mobile handsets with them for the use of crews. In parallel to their secular services, missionaries made efforts to get Chinese seafarers in touch with religion, in particular Christianity. The free provision of missionary transport for the sake of seafarers’ convenience allowed missionaries to develop rapport between them and seafarers in a long run; in addition, the transport provision was seen as a bridge linking seafarers and missionary centres, and it was also a permit facilitating friendly ship boarding for missionaries.
According to the interview data, predominant religious activities on board taken by missionaries involved distributing religious publications to Chinese seafarers, and Bible copies most of time in English and sometimes in Chinese were the major part of the publications [Interviews 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 12, 14, 17, 18, 19, 25, and 28]. Some seafarers even received VCDs of the stories of Jesus [Interview 1]. Religious publications were also given to Chinese seafarers or allowed to be taken away by Chinese seafarers when they were at missionaries’ places [Interview 12]. The way missionaries distributed religious publications was a passive engagement, which demanded seafarers to read or watch them afterwards. Worse was that when Commissars removed the publications from the sight of Chinese crews (Interview 14).

Furthermore, a proactive way missionaries used to religiously stimulate Chinese seafarers on spot also emerged from the interview data that missionaries engaged Chinese seafarers in seminars, hymn singing, and listening to the preaching of the missionaries. These activities initiated by missionaries brought Chinese seafarers direct access to Christianity. The activities took place both on board when missionaries visited seafarers’ vessels and on land when Chinese seafarers went to missionary facilities in missionaries’ cars or vans.

Before looking at religious activities at missionary facilities, the activities missionaries conducted on board are introduced here by quoting seafarer interviewees:

Most of the time missionaries could board ships……They left ships after some activities such as hymn singing [Interview 14].

A few times, they [missionaries] came on board……and even held lessons for us [Interview 6].

Missionaries sometimes talked with seafarers about God after they came to board our ships [Interview 17].

These above quotations show missionaries’ collective activities on board for bringing Christianity right in front of Chinese seafarers. On top of that, another seafarer interviewee told a story of an individual mission when his ship called into a port:

When I was in South Africa, a Christian came on board preaching Christianity. He said that God is omnipotent and exists where light can reach…..He sometimes brought with him refreshments and some other time he took knitted hats with him
for the seafarers. Later I bought a souvenir cup in Shenzhen, China and gave it to him as a gift when the ship returned to the country. He thanked me for the gift and told me that he would attach to the cup with a sticker with my name on as a reminder of where the cup was from. He had a collection of different kinds of gifts from various seafarers. He has got names on every souvenir he received so that he could pray for those seafarers when they were at sea [Interview 16].

Even though the way missionaries approached Chinese seafarers was friendly and resulted in reciprocal behaviours from Chinese seafarers such as that in the above case, some Chinese seafarers showed indifference towards the missionaries and their endeavours of religious purpose. Later in this same interview, the seafarer interviewee elaborated on the differences amongst his Chinese colleagues in respect of the South African Christian:

He talked to those Chinese seafarers who were kindred spirits. Some seafarers turned him down after he boarded the ship so he did not talk to them further. He talked to those who were interested in his preaching [Interview 16].

According to the seafarer interviewees, on board missionary activities did not reach many seafarer audiences given seafarers’ different working patterns. Regarding missionary preaching lessons on board, a seafarer stated: ‘Only those whose jobs were not time demanding such as cooks and stewards would join the missionaries to listen to the preaching when these seafarers did not have chances to go ashore’ [Interview 6]. As such, missionary centres and churches were the places where Chinese seafarers experienced more contact with religion as they integrated themselves into a new religious environment with many other seafarers of various nationalities. According to an interviewee even Chinese seafarers alone made a record of a missionary centre in terms of the number of the visitors at one time:

There were once Chinese seafarers from seven Chinese vessels gathered at a missionary place in Tampa, Florida. One of the missionaries at the mission told us it was the first time when they had so many people [Interview 12].

Unlike missionary activities on board where sporadic seminars, hymn singing and preaching took place, these activities at missionary facilities were held for seafarers more often [Interviews 4, 12, 14, 26 and 29] as more resources were available for the use of religious purpose. A seafarer described these activities: ‘In Houston and New York, I went to the missionary facilities several times. In Houston, I was asked to attend their services. People in
a circle repeated what a missionary said and then we sang hymns’ [Interview 9]. Normally, Chinese seafarers were asked to take part in religious seminars and hymn singing at missionary facilities, but the elaboration of one seafarer on his experience of foreign religious contact was an exception that proves the rule:

Interviewer: Did you go to churches?
Chief Mate: Yes.
Interviewer: What did you do there?
Chief Mate: I remember that I went to churches and the churches of different countries were different. I recall that I was actually baptised in a church when the ship I worked on brought me to Japan.
Interviewer: Was it Christian baptism or one of Shinto’s?
Chief Mate: It was a Christian church. A car sent me there; we were all presented with a book and some words were read out from the Bible at a following lesson. After a priest led us to pray, we got through some rituals before we were led to change our clothing. Then we were helped to dip in water. We immersed in hot water first and got a cold shower afterwards.
Interviewer: How many seafarers were baptised there?
Chief Mate: Almost all the seafarers [the ship was manned by Chinese seafarers] apart from those keeping watch on board. We were given refreshments having been baptised. We could also read or entertain by watching TV or playing table tennis after the baptism.
Interviewer: Did you know who they exactly were?
Chief Mate: We were alongside the port of Kagoshima, Kyushu, Japan. They were Christians as we were given copies of the Bible to read.
Interviewer: What year was it?
Chief Mate: In 2003.
Interviewer: I understand that people need to believe in Christianity to be baptised in line with the practice of some Christian church.
Chief Mate: At that time language might be a barrier. Every body that went was baptised. The Japanese told us that we needed to accept a ritual if we wanted to be picked up to go to their place. Nobody knew what would really happen before hand.
Interviewer: Why did you accept baptism?
Chief Mate: At that time I thought copies of the Bible had been received on board so that I went and was baptised later.

Interviewer: Do you have religion?

Chief Mate: Now I have not put myself into any category of religion [Interview 23].

The Chief Mate revealed an extraordinarily religious undertaking accomplished by Japanese missionaries. Baptism is seen as a serious stage of getting religion and the new start of religious belief. It would not be imposed on non-believers under formal circumstances. However, in the above story, baptism was heavily handled and applied onto a group of Chinese seafarers all of whom were non-believers. As the Chief Mate admitted in his story, the barrier of language blocked the adequate communication between the seafarers and the missionaries about what would happen at the church. By and large, the barrier of language is not a major issue of the argument revolving round the baptism of the Chinese seafarers because these seafarers could have refused to go any further when they were brought to the verge of baptism without knowing. The reality was that they were all baptised by the missionaries in the face of the atheist frames of mind of this group of Chinese seafarers. The reason for this piece of reality is the fact that the Chinese have never been used to overtly rejecting others’ requests. Most of the time hesitation in Chinese society is actually a ‘no’ answer. Such hesitation cannot be picked out by people of different culture as a refusal. On top of that, they would like to retain their ‘faces’ as well as safeguard the ‘faces’ of others by not saying ‘no’ to others. Therefore, doing what the Chinese are not fond of doing is not abnormal in the eyes of the Chinese. A quotation excerpted from a passage in which another informant spoke of his visits to missionary centres is chosen to shore up this ethos of the Chinese in dealing with others:

From the bottom of my heart, I did not believe in it [religion], but I did not quit the religious services at the centres because I did not want to dampen their goodwill of wanting to help us. Regarding other situations, we just wanted to make them [missionaries] happy with our attendances and by allowing them to tell us what to do and how to do with respect to religious issues. They gave us some publications which we did not like to read but we did not refuse what they gave in front of them. They were so enthusiastic that we did not like to say no, and otherwise we should have disappointed them [Interview 9].
This quotation not only depicts a vivid picture of how Chinese ethos work but also, likely, brings a theme in need of investigation. The theme is obviously of how Chinese seafarers reflected on missionaries and their efforts to help and preach to seafarers.

2.2 The perspectives on missions of Chinese seafarers

In the first place missions were seen as predominantly present in the developed countries by Chinese seafarers. There was no report of the Chinese seafarer interviewees informing of any missionary presentation in poor countries they visited apart from an individual missionary in South Africa conducting missionary work for many years and having made a friend of a Chinese seafarer [Interview 16]. Answering if he met missionaries in every port his vessels called into, a seafarer interviewee said: ‘No. I almost met them [missionaries] in the developed countries. I met more missionaries in Vancouver. I cannot remember the names of some other places. However, there were no missionaries in poor countries such as Indonesia and India’ [Interview 6]. The missionary history of Christianity commenced amongst the first industrial countries of Europe and involved North America later. Over the century some newly developed countries such as Japan and South Korea where parts of their populations have been christened joined the previously developed countries to allow missionaries to preach to seafarers who come to the countries. The missionary work at present for seafarers is the continuation of the missionary history. Therefore, in the eyes of Chinese seafarers mission regarding seafarers was a monopoly of developed countries. Although the seafarer interviewees claimed that such mission only exists in the developed countries, I need to make it clear that it also takes place in developing countries such as Ukraine, India, Nigeria, Thailand and more (The Mission to Seafarers 2003). The reason for the failure of seafarer interviewees’ observation on missionaries in those developing countries is due to the low level of missionary activities undertaken by missionaries in the countries because of scanty numbers of missionaries and facilities.

A group of seafarer interviewees considered missionary activities as a humane way of helping seafarers, which is revealed by various kinds of seafarers’ rhetoric such as ‘I felt their humane efforts to help us’ [Interview 15]; ‘religious denominations in foreign ports did well to meet the need of seafarers especially with respect to free transport’ [Interview 3], and ‘I felt that missionaries were humane in a way that they did kind things for others’ [Interview 10]. The reflection of the seafarer interviewees on missionaries and their activities does not include religious outcome.
After he complimented on the humane work of missionaries, a seafarer interviewee gave a contrasting thought: ‘It seems impossible for these things [done by missionaries in order to help] to take place in China’ [Interview 9]. That seafarer interviewee’s assumption about the lack of philanthropic services in China for international seafarers also concerned a few more interviewees. One Chief Mate stated:

Let us think about charity, there is no compensation for doing it. This activity is gracious from my point of view. I know there are such organisations in Taiwan. And in the mainland China we desperately need those kinds of organisations. We were welcomed and helped by missionaries when our seafarers arrived at foreign ports. So do we have any charity organisations to take care of the wellbeing of the international seafarers coming to our ports? Nobody in China does this kind of charity and it is an undeveloped area …..When I first went to foreign countries and was welcomed and taken care of by these charity organisations, I was moved because some people came to pick me up and sent me to a nice place, allowing me to have a break from my on-board life even though I felt a bit alienated about the country the first time of my visit [Interview 23].

This is an excellent example telling of the influence of missionary activities on stimulating the deep thoughts out of Chinese seafarers on the commencement and development of Chinese charity for international seafarers visiting China. The above seafarer’s statement explained that these thoughts were formed and developed under the auspices of missionaries and their efforts by which he was moved. Missionary influence on Chinese seafarers is capable of stimulating Chinese seafarers to think philanthropically. Two more quotations are listed below to support this argument:

Interviewer: You said you were so kind that you helped others. Is your kindness related to your experiences of working with the Buddhist Captain and meeting missionaries while working on board?

Chief Mate: Yes. Before becoming a seafarer I helped but only the persons closest to me such as the members of my family. Today I start helping people in the street who are really in need in China. Despite trivial things sometimes, I also give my help. I once helped two visitors find a place to eat when I passed in front of the railway station. I definitely neglected their request if it was before. I think I have
been influenced by the philanthropic activities of missionaries and the Captain [Interview 5].

Interviewer: Have missionary activities impacted on you?
Officer: Yes. A few days ago, I talked to a Chief Mate about my thought of helping some poor children resume schooling by donating money to the Hope Foundation of China…..I would like to help others in need because I received the same treatment from missionaries [Interview 17].

Again the seafarer interviewees depicted the influence of missionaries on them in terms of kindness and philanthropy. The seafarer interviewees of the above quotes were willing to be philanthropic back in China but they did not speak of any impact of their religious encounters on them. In general, missionaries were welcomed by more Chinese seafarer interviewees because the missionaries brought conveniences to Chinese seafarers although missionaries’ religious activities were not praised very much by the seafarer interviewees [Interviews 1, 6, 12, 18, 26, 27 and 29].

The other seafarer interviewee explained his point of view about Chinese seafarers’ visits to missionary centres by saying: ‘Some Chinese seafarers came to missionary places without sincerity because the missionaries picked the seafarers up and sent them to the places free of charge. The Chinese seafarers could go there for a short period of entertainment or meals apart from attending the religious activities there’ [Interview 5]. The statement of this seafarer introduces some opposite perspectives of minority interviewees on missions. A Chief Mate successfully prevented his ratings from going ashore with missionaries as he disclosed:

Interviewer: Did you meet missionaries in ports?
Chief Mate: Yes. We met some in Inchon, South Korea. They came to board our ship asking us to visit their church. I did not go that time.
Interviewer: Why didn’t you go?
Chief Mate: My work was intense.
Interviewer: Did any seafarers go to the church with missionaries?
Chief Mate: No. Because I was Chief Mate on board, the seafarers [all Chinese] would not dare to go to the church without my permission.
Interviewer: Did you oppose the idea that the seafarers under your supervision go to the church?
Chief Mate: No. If other seafarers wanted to go, they could go. But the missionaries were not able to pass their notice onto other seafarers [on the ship].

Interviewer: Were you given notice by the missionaries about the church visit?

Chief Mate: Yes.

Interviewer: You did not inform other seafarers of the news of the church visit?

Chief Mate: No.

Interviewer: What made you to make such a decision?

Chief Mate: I thought seafarers would have less time for work if they had any religion. Therefore, it would affect their on-board work.

Interviewer: But seafarers could use their spare time to be involved in religion.

Chief Mate: Okay. It is alright for seafarers to spend their spare time on religious activities. In case, their religious practices ate into their working hours, [I prevented the seafarers from contacting religion]. I have heard that Muslim seafarers would stop doing anything when their times were up for prayer. They kneeled down to the direction of the sun or moon even during the time at work. Who would work for me if the seafarers all did in such a manner [Interview 8]?

He made a hypothesis at the end of the quote. The idea of quoting it is to show such an opposing attitude of the Chief Mate towards missionaries and religion on board that he even sabotaged the mission of the missionaries.

In spite of the opposing attitude, an insight from a seafarer interviewee offered much hope, ‘If there were two-thirds of Chinese seafarers on board behaving according to what missionaries preached after having attended their preaching, it would be great help to the safety and social stability on board a ship. If Chinese seafarers practiced what missionaries preached, they would correct their bad habits and their spirit would be uplifted’ [Interview 14]. In him religion was seen as a solution to the making of an ideal on-board society. By and large he had never been a religious person when the interview took place.

3. Discussion and conclusion

The growth of world trade has changed shipping industry to a great extent. The introduction of new technology in shipping sector has enormously upgraded ships, ports and relevant facilities. Unlike the old days when a ship was docked for weeks in a port, recently a modern container ship is able to leave a dock in a few hours after it was docked. The sea change in shipping has made seafarers more isolated when they serve on board. After the ISPS code was
implemented after the 9/11 attack, things have become worse for seafarers as they are no longer allowed to move freely in port areas. As such, apart from the social contact with missionaries in ports, it is difficult to have alternatives to keep in touch with land communities very easily when seafarers work on board. In the case of Chinese seafarers, they were more vulnerable because they often work for ten or more months on a ship. As a result, the help from missions was one reason for Chinese seafarers to say that they had received more support from missions than their colleagues and state owned shipping company. Missionary help was thus welcomed by Chinese seafarers as the help allowed the seafarers to break away from their small stagnant on-board society of about twenty people.

However, there was opposing attitude of some Chinese seafarers to missionaries and their help. This reflected the influence of the atheist character of China in those Chinese seafarers.

In dealing with missionaries, Chinese seafarers appeared to be utilitarian. In order to get free transport, they were willing to take part in religious arrangements by missionaries even though Chinese seafarers were not interested in Christianity at all. Chinese seafarers’ utilitarian tactics in dealing with missionaries implied the urge of the seafarers to get in touch with land communities while working at sea. Such a need of Chinese seafarers was not met by their state owned companies and their other employers when they relied heavily on missions for the purpose.

From the seafarers’ perceptions, there was lack of provision of missionary free transport in developing countries. Although it was not true, the perception of seafarer interviewees revealed that missionary free transport was too scarce to be noticed in developing countries.

Indeed there was help provided by missionaries to Chinese seafarers during their services at sea. Nonetheless, in terms of their wellbeing Chinese seafarers needed more attention from their employers, the Chinese government and other parties who could have done more.
Bibliography


1. **Title of Workshop Presentation:**
   Infusing Multicultural Perspectives into the Elementary School Social Studies Curriculum

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6. **Abstract of the Presentation:**
   The presenter opens the workshop session with a brief statement regarding the goals of multicultural education and the importance of infusing multicultural perspectives into the curriculum. He continues with an introduction to James Banks’ model (1) for infusing multicultural content. He gives explanations and brief examples of activities for implementing the Contributions Approach, the Additive Approach, the Transformation Approach, and the Social Action Approach.

   The bulk of the workshop content centers on strategies for
implementing the Transformation Approach (i.e., helping students perceive current and historical events and issues from multiple perspectives). The presenter guides the workshop participants in a consideration of the following scenarios: colonization and westward expansion through the eyes of Native Americans; the American Revolution from a Loyalist (Tory) perspective; slavery and subsequent reconstruction and segregation through the eyes of African Americans.

The presenter describes a classroom activity he has used to help fifth-grade students view a specific historical event from multiple perspectives. The activity centers on The Battle of the Alamo. The classroom teacher initiates the project by introducing the students to some primary source documents related to the historical event being studied. For this particular example, the following sources are considered: the correspondence of Colonel William Travis at the outset of the siege of the Alamo(2); Santa Anna’s letter to the Mexican Secretary of War in which he described the siege(2); and a report written by the mayor of San Antonio describing the altercation and subsequent battlefield carnage(3). The source documents are selected on the basis that they provide varying perspectives, including apparent inconsistencies, in describing the historical events under consideration.

After studying the source materials, the students are asked to enumerate and give possible explanations for the inconsistencies in the accounts. The following chart summarizes some of the discrepancies found among the various reports:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reports on the Siege of the Alamo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mexican Forces</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Possible suggestions for explaining the inconsistencies might include the hypotheses that whoever wrote the reports and their reasons for writing may have made a difference. Other factors might include the varying locations of the observers during the battle and the timing of their observations. Any feasible explanations should be accepted as possible causes for the discrepancies.

Subsequent to studying and discussing the source documents, the students are asked to write independent first-hand accounts of a common experience they have shared (e.g., what transpired during recess the previous day or what took place during a recent field trip). The following scenario is based on having the students share their observations related to what took place during recess on a given day. The students are asked to write independent accounts of the significant events that occurred during the recess period. The class then uses the reports to make a graph illustrating the frequency with which various events are mentioned in the separate accounts.

When the author carried out this project with a group of twenty fifth-graders, each member of the class mentioned a dodge ball game that most of them had participated in during recess. All but two class members mentioned an ensuing argument that had taken place related to “cheating” during the game. However, there were several contradictory accounts of exactly what had taken place to precipitate the argument and who had been guilty of “cheating.” These discrepancies provided impetus for subsequent discussions and activities.
At this point in the project, the students may be given opportunity to obtain additional accounts of the recess experience from differing viewpoints. Some possibilities might include conducting interviews with and/or soliciting written reports from the recess duty teachers, students from other classes, or anyone else who happened to be on the playground at the time. The information obtained from these individuals is then incorporated into the body of raw data related to the recess experience.

The culminating activity involves dividing the class into small groups and charging each group with the responsibility of writing its own historical account of what took place during recess, using all of the available source materials. Each group is responsible for determining which events to include in its history and how much emphasis to place on each event (e.g., only three students mentioned that a girl in the class had twisted her ankle during recess. Was this event significant enough to include in the historical account? It surely would be for the girl who twisted her ankle!). Each group is also charged with the responsibility for attempting to resolve any discrepancies among the various accounts.

After the groups have completed their work and reported to the class, the necessary groundwork will have been laid for a fruitful class discussion regarding the idea that records of historical events are influenced, sometimes even biased, by the backgrounds and perceptual frameworks of the individuals involved in the events as well as those who subsequently record the events for posterity. This project serves as an exciting vehicle for helping elementary students to become critical connoisseurs of written history while providing practical, hands-on experiences in some of the vital processes of historiography.
Sources:
Why does state subsidize some groups of farmers while discriminating against others? Why are some farmers more successful in protecting their interests and pressuring the state for public assistance than other farmers? Scholars previously argue that policy discrimination against some rural producers derives from the nation’s modernization purposes and the motivation to transfer public resources to their alliance (Bates 2005 (1981); Krueger 1992). However, they have rarely examined the impact of political and organizational factors that contribute to the state’s policy bias toward particular groups of farmers. In this paper, I find that political institutions of fragmented party systems and centralized administration allows policymakers and politicians to seek rents from agricultural policies by transferring state expenditures to highly organized farmers. I also find that organizational purposes of the farmers’ associations have an impact on policymakers’ choice of which farmers’ associations are more likely to receive public assistance. Farmers’ associations which concentrate on demanding state’s immediate and short-term assistance (i.e. price guarantee) are likely to receive more public assistance than the farmers’ associations which demand for state’s long-term assistance such as land reform or debt moratorium.
Machiavelli’s French Counterpart –
Claude de Seyssel (1450-1520):
Humanist, State Councilor and Political Theorist

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Machiavelli is typically presented as a solitary figure, unique in his time for his secular-minded pragmatism. But across the Alps, he had a counterpart in Claude de Seyssel, a Savoyard by birth but French in his affiliation. Like Machiavelli, Seyssel was an accomplished classical scholar; his translations of and commentaries on Thucydides, Xenophon, and other ancient authors show great erudition and like Machiavelli’s work, demonstrate the applicability of political lessons from antiquity to contemporary political concerns. Also as with Machiavelli, Seyssel combined his scholarship with practical experience as a political councilor. As a leading advisor to the French Renaissance Monarchy, he served both Louis XII and Francis I. This paper will highlight some of the more significant aspects of Seyssel’s political thought and its legacy, with comparisons to that of Machiavelli. It will also offer some explanation as to why, despite his prescience, Seyssel remains an obscure figure.
On Basic Keystones of Sustainable Development

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Extended abstract - proposal

The modern world is characterized by a whole series of dynamic instabilities. Accordingly, sustainable development of our world and society in a crucial degree will depends on a whole series of basic factors, in particularly - ecologic, economic, energy supply, mental.

The aim of the present study – to propose an attempt to develop a unified approach to revealing general common reasons of the rise of basic global instabilities and indicate possible ways how to provide sustainable development of global world being treated as a cybernetic system. We propose an unified approach to analysis of all selected factors - ecologic, economic, energy, mental - of development. The basic methodology of the present analysis - the W.R Ashby principle of requisite variety, stating that for successful development of a given system (e.g. human being(s)) in the external environment its internal variety or complexity of the given system should exceed the variety of its environment.

Application of this principle gives a criterion of sustainable development of the global world society: the internal variety of an individual/society shall exceed the variety of its external environment (denoted as the external variety). At the present stage the internal and external variety are defined on a qualitative level. The environment is basically defined as a multitude of material, financial, socio-economical, entertainmental benefits and conditions. The internal variety is regarded as a variety and wealth of the inner world of the individual/society, namely, the set of cultural, ethical and analogous qualities of the individual/the whole society.

1. Socio-economic aspect

Application of the requisite variety principle gives criterion of sustainable development of the global society treated as a cybernetic system: internal variety I of an individual/society - wealth of the inner world of the individual/society - shall exceed variety E of its external environment (external variety) - a multitude of material, financial, socioeconomic benefits.

Proposing the pace of the development be proportional to D=(I-E) and using Ashby principle we derive a self-regulation cycle of the global economics: 1) I » E: high cultural-ethical level of people ensures rapid economical progress and growth of material well-being; 2) the growing E causes the decrease of D, the society enjoys material wealths promoting further decrease of D resulting in D<0; 3) E > I, sustainable development is interrupted, rises socioeconomic crisis, drops material well-being; 4) in consequence E decreases, people activate inner resources increasing their I (>E), socioeconomic development renews.

Based on the cycle we derive two forthcoming goals:

a) to acquire a possibility to control self-regulation cycle, by regulating the variation of D, b) to reach and maintain stable D > 0 – by permanent enrichment of inner world – via developing knowledge, culture, ethics - by further improvement of education, thus finally providing steady socioeconomic progress.

2. Ecologic-energetic aspect

Analogously, the same principle is applicable to revealing the ecology and energy factors. Namely, one of reliable solutions of sustainable development - to increase the relative weight of nuclear energy, as production of the fossil-based energy increasingly leads to degradation of environment. Special features of nuclear energy management leads to aggravated public perception of basic risks associated with nuclear activities:

Basic feature of nuclear risks - their public perception markedly differs from their scientific assessment. Nowadays the public acceptance - a decisive factor in siting of novel
nuclear projects and will govern a forthcoming extent of peaceful use of nuclear energy and finally – sustainable development of our world.

These real and imaginary nuclear risks and the growing complexity of nuclear energy management on the whole forces to develop novel education, social communication and decision making approaches with the final aim to gain public confidence to find reliable and confident solutions of forthcoming use of nuclear energy.

Methodology - recognizing a key role of education in improving public attitude, we consider the role of knowledge and information in the solutions of socio-technical nuclear problems, taking into account that: i) the public awareness and knowledge level about nuclear energy problems is different, and ii) the inherent incompleteness in data on nuclear safety.

As key principles we choose the principles which could manage with the qualities knowledge and information qualities: a) a self-organization concept, b) the principle of the requisite variety. A primary source of growth of internal variety is considered information and knowledge. Comprehensive knowledge management and informational support first of all is needed in:

1) Technical issues:
   a) nuclear energy indicators of safety, reliability,
   b) extensive research programmes, advanced economic and safe technologies,
   c) multilateral cooperation – common projects, high technology standards;

2) Societal issues:
   a) general nuclear awareness, personnel education and training, staff renascence,
   b) risk management, engagement in decision-making,
   c) public education and involvement of all stakeholder groups in decision making.

There is shown: public education, social learning and the use of mass media and internet are efficient self-organization mechanisms, thereby forming a learning and knowledge-creating community. Thus, such an acquired and created knowledge could facilitate solution of key socio-technical issues of nuclear safety as a) public acceptance, in particular, of siting of novel nuclear power plant and radioactive waste disposal objects, b) promotion of adequate perception of risk, equity and trust factors, and c) management a set of uncertainties, including technical uncertainties related to safety assessment as well as uncertainties related to a series of unknown or unpredictable future social-economic life components. Taking into account that public confidence in management policy is one of key criteria of optimal nuclear energy management, it seems highly important to build multi-level confidence at global, regional and national levels.

3. Mental aspect – information and knowledge factors

Basic role of information and knowledge management in sustainability appears also on mental level – trying to develop qualitatively novel values and relations – with the aim to minimize a possibility to rise conflicts at all levels of human activities. As a possible approach one can propose to evolve the currently developing knowledge society towards a qualitatively higher civilization level centered on the humanity as the dominant value. A possible way to develop such humane relations and to create a sane society - comprehensible civilization of the knowledge. In parallel with the traditional approach - to appeal towards humane use of scientific progress, we shall develop a novel basis in the system of our views on the most valuable things of our world.

As a key point in the development of the necessary qualities and values is chosen a proposal to reorganize the education system towards development of system thinking. Our approach consists of: 1) adjustment of the principle of requisite variety to the case foreseeing the necessity to develop novel insight and apprehension of basic values; 2) recommendations for reorganization and optimization of education system, taking into account data on the brain hemisphere interactions. Only on the basis of development of the inner humane variety it seems possible further successful development of integral systems thinking approaches also for the aim of humane use of the contemporary knowledge, in particular, in peaceful and safe use of nuclear energy.

To conclude: preferential growth of internal variety – mainly via comprehensive advanced education, knowledge management, cultural and ethical development – are reasonably considered as basic general factors of sustainable development of our world.
The role of input in Language Acquisition

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Abstract

In the debate in SLA research as to why second language learners fail to acquire morphophonological properties in a native-like way, little attention has been given to the possible role of input. Two of the main positions have been: the Failed Functional Features Hypothesis (FFFH) (Hawkins & Chan, 1997) and the Full Access Hypothesis (Lardiere, 1998a, b; Prevost & White, 2000). Both hypotheses attempt to account for why L2 learners are not able to perform like native speakers, but for different reasons. The FFFH claims that adult L2 learners are not able to acquire grammatical features that are not available via the L1. On the other hand, the Full Access Hypothesis proposes that the syntactic properties at the abstract level are available to L2 learners via Universal Grammar and the problem is morphological (at the surface level) rather than a deficit in the syntax at the underlying level. However, neither view has paid particular attention to the possible role of input.

In the light of this, the current paper looks at the acquisition of some grammatical features associated with the Noun Phrase, the Adjectival Noun Phrase and the Verb Phrase (Subject-Verb agreement) in Standard Arabic (SA) as an L2 by native speakers of Chinese and Russian. While SA and Russian have those grammatical features, Chinese do not. The aim of this paper is to examine both hypotheses mentioned above in the light of the influence that L1 might have on acquiring functional properties in SA. The data come from 400 minutes of recorded spontaneous conversations with 40 subjects.

The results of this research seem to suggest that there is a factor which might play a crucial role in the acquisition of second language syntax; i.e. the input. It was found that both Chinese and Russian learners were successful in acquiring grammatical features in SA and this could be because of the fact that SA is a rich language in morphophonological realizations which provide learners with more evidence than other languages that were examined in previous research (namely English).
Utility of Transaction Cost Theory in Modern Economic Society

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to describe the utility of transaction cost theory in the modern economic society. To achieve this purpose, this study looks back on a study that greatly contributed to the advancement of the transaction cost theory—“Markets and Hierarchies”—a famous book that was published in 1975. Thirty-five years have already passed since the study in this book was conducted. Although the economic environment now is greatly different from that back then, the utility of transaction cost theory has not lowered. Up on comparing the situation of the older days with that of the present, the environment of the information and communication technology stands out as having greatly varied. The modern economic society is supported by the information and communication technology. Information and communication technology can help in economizing transaction costs. The evolution of information and communication technology extends the potential applications of the transaction cost theory.
“Real” Communication Activities Designed Around the IPA

9th Hawai‘i International Conference on Social Sciences

Honolulu, HI
June 2, 2010 – June 2, 2010

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Introduction

ESL/EFL teachers and Intensive English Programs (IEPs) are being held accountable for instructional practices and for using authentic materials and authentic assessment. As the field of English as a Second Language/English as a Foreign Language continues to evolve, we, as professionals, and our institutes are being held accountable for preparing our students to function at higher language levels and with more authentic materials. One way of addressing this is to use the Integrated Performance Assessment instrument. It is a way of taking typical activities that we might use and presenting them to our students in a “build-upon” concept so that students experience the activities via the interpretive, interpersonal, and presentational modes of language and are evaluated using authentic design that represents something that is “real and useful” to the learners.

What is an IPA?

IPA stands for the Integrated Performance Assessment developed by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) and reflects the national Standards for Foreign Language Learning in the 21st Century and the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines. The Standards for Foreign Language Learning in the 21st Century offer a vision of language and culture education; a rationale to include ALL students in language study; attainable expectations of student performance over time; a framework for assessment that is easily understood by both faculty and students; and a new way of looking at instructional resources. The ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines offer performance outcomes for novice, intermediate, advanced, and superior language learners; realistic outcomes that consider frequency, length, and continuity of language study; a framework for describing the domains of comprehensibility, comprehension, language control, vocabulary usage, communication strategies, cultural awareness; and criteria for assessment.

An IPA is also an outline for the teacher or professor and his/her students. First, the students complete an interpretive task within a thematic context (working on oral and reading comprehension of authentic material). Next, they use the acquired information in an interpersonal task (interacting in the target language in spoken and written forms). Finally, the
students accomplish a presentational task as a summative example of understanding, **demonstrating** to an audience of listeners or readers how well they comprehended the information. As always, the teacher or professor provides rubrics and feedback for each task.

Additionally, an IPA is *Standards*-based, reflecting the three modes of Communication (interpretive, interpersonal, and presentational) plus one other standard (Cultures, Connections Comparisons, or Communities – these in conjunction with Communication make up the “5 Cs”); performance-based that is meaningful, motivating, and age-appropriate; authentic, reflecting contexts and tasks that students would encounter in the real world; developmental in nature, reflecting novice, intermediate, advanced, or superior language levels; integrative, combining the three modes as in real-world communication; designed to be assessed with a rubric (Exceeds expectations, Meets expectations, Does not meet expectations); and valid and reliable, truly measuring what students Know and can Do.
What defines interpretive communication?

Interpretive communication focuses on listening to and/or reading authentic material (e.g. listening to news broadcasts or radio commercials; reading a magazine article, a short story, or a letter; viewing a film; etc.) Listeners/readers use the following:

- target language knowledge,
- background knowledge,
- discourse knowledge (i.e. how conversations flow, articles are arranged, etc.),
- short-term memory retention/retrieval,
- strategy usage variety to create meaning.

The interpretive mode is where the student acquires new information and perspectives. What’s involved?

- Previewing
- Meaning prediction
- Background activation
- Vocabulary anticipation
- Skimming and scanning
- Main idea/detail identification
- Implying and inferring

What defines interpersonal communication?

Interpersonal communication focuses on being active and interactive; among/between individuals; spontaneous; attending to feelings, emotions, opinions; negotiation of meaning; and initiation of, maintaining, and sustaining a conversation. It’s important to note that interpersonal communication is not memorized dialogues. Some examples follow:

- face-to-face conversation (speaking),
- requesting information (e.g. birthdates, asking what time a movie starts),
- telephone conversations (speaking),
- emails (writing).
• “old-fashioned” letters (writing),
• warm-up activities to lower the affective filter,
• pre-thinking activities/graphic organizers to activate thinking,
• models of interpersonal communication for analysis.
• movement AWAY FROM scripts and notes,
• spontaneous creation,
• multiple opportunities for “thinking-on-their-feet,”
• practice with evaluation,
• opportunities for information-getting (e.g. asking for clarification),
• communication between language ability levels.

What defines presentational communication?

Presentational communication focuses on communication of a message to an audience of listeners or readers; no negotiation of meaning is possible; usage of only one-way communication; language product creation; a building upon interpretive and interpersonal tasks completing the Integrated Performance Assessment (IPA). After having done interpretive and interpersonal tasks and receiving feedback, students are prepared for more formal presentations which may include the following:

• written or oral presentations; representing what students would do OUTSIDE the classroom – what REAL people would do with the language;
• process-oriented consideration;
• feedback on message and not just accuracy;
• opportunities to share with audiences frequently for practice.
Summary

The IPA is

- *Standards*-based, reflecting the three modes of communication (interpretive, interpersonal, or presentational) PLUS one other standard;
- Performance-based that is meaningful, motivating, and age-appropriate;
- Authentic, reflecting contexts and tasks that students would encounter in the real world;
- Developmental in nature, reflecting novice, intermediate, advanced, or superior levels;
- Integrative, combining the three modes as in real-world communication;
- Designed to be assessed with a rubric (Exceeds expectations, Meets expectations, Does not meet expectations);
- Valid and reliable, truly measures what students Know and be able to Do.
Resources


About the Author

Dr. Alan D. Lytle, the teaching director of the Intensive English Language Program at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock, USA, has a background in second and foreign language education (ESL/EFL, German, and French) as well as 19 years of ESL teaching experience at all levels, in academic-preparation programs, conversation programs, English-for-Special-Purposes programs, and topic-specific programs.
Naturally Magical:

Understanding How Romantic Frames Violate Romantic Expectations

Rebecca Propes

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For centuries there has been a standard formula of sorts for the depiction of heteronormative romance in literature. In general, the heroine meets a man; she either likes him initially or finds him objectionable. Something tragic will then occur, but he usually saves her from some sort of demise or returns to her side after an absence. They fall in love, marry, and live happily ever after thus ending the story. Before television and film and maybe even still today, books have allowed readers to believe that their lives, particularly their romantic lives, could also play out in real time much like the characters’ lives happened on paper. Television and particularly films permit viewers to see on screen all that they had imagined when reading. No longer was it up to the reader to visualize the characters, their clothes, their houses, and their relationships with others; the visualizations were already made and ready to be consumed. As technology advanced, so has the quest for different media outlets; but even as we become more influenced by several sources such as radio, the internet, magazines or television, movies are still one of the most popular ways that we are shaped.

We learn many things from one another and from the models that we use to mold ourselves. As children, we learn how to play with other children through the guidance of our parents with such classic phrases as, “play nicely” or “sharing is caring;” we learn our manners, and how to politely communicate with other members of society. We learn what is okay to say and do and what is not. We use our parents as social meters and they pass along what generations before us have. While we learn most social graces from interacting with society at large, we also gather our understanding of the world from media and although our parents used to serve as models for romantic relationships, more frequently than not children are beginning to use television and film as their models instead (Bandura, 1969). Angell, Gordon, and Begun (1999) as cited in Steele (2002) found that ten to fifteen year olds rank movies and television
ahead of their friends, school, moms, dads, the internet, and magazines as sources from which they learned (p 67). While using these particular models is not necessarily a horrific change, and in some situations the visualized character models may be a better example of romantic love, it is worth questioning how our television and film representations of heteronormative romance distort future relationships that are set in our reality. Pardun (2002) writes that “movies help determine the romantic frame for adolescents . . . the adult community needs to understand that teens may be experiencing a major disconnect about the matter in which relationships work in real life” (p 223) because as a result of the way romance is framed, teenagers are unable to see the links between characters’ romance and long term relationships, including marriage. Part of the reason for the disconnect, according to Pardun (2002), is that although many couples are shown as being in love with one another, they rarely ever announce their love for each other.

The representation of romantic relationships in film is not a widely discussed topic, especially the use of romantic frames designed for adolescents and children. While one could argue for ways to fix how movies are written, the structure is rooted in oral story telling and literature. Instead, this paper seeks to understand how viewers become engrained with certain notions of love as they are depicted on movie screens and how viewers make sense of the disconnect between the screen fantasy and reality, if at all through the lens of Bandura’s (1969) expansion of Social Learning Theory in Identificatory Processes, Uncertainty Management Theory (Brashers, 2001) and expectancy violations.

Contextualizing the Problem

In a study focused on twenty G-rated movies that were released between 1990 and 2005 (seventeen coming from Disney), Martin and Kazyak (2009) found that eight movies presented love as its main plot line and in seven movies love was a secondary plot line. It is important to
note that fifteen movies out of the twenty (75%) had a romantic relationship as a major component because as Martin and Kazyak (2009) claim, “media is important in shaping cultural understanding” (p 316) and “media is an important avenue of children’s sexual socialization” (p 317). Fairy tales are significant arenas for learning how to fall in love and the stories teach us what is considered normal when seeking romance. Many of the movies sampled, such as Beauty and the Beast, Aladdin, and The Little Mermaid among others, would not have been plausible stories without the love and romance elements. In fact, Martin (2009) found that moms of three to six year old children suggest that particularly their daughters know about falling in love, weddings, and how a marriage is supposed to work from princess movies, most often produced by Disney. This finding goes back to Bandura’s (1969) claim that more often children are using television and films to create an understanding of the world, rather than using parents or other models.

Although learning about how to fall in love from an animated or even live action film does not have to be a bad thing, while watching the film observers learn the behaviors on screen and can perform them when reaching a socially acceptable and permissible age (Bandura, 1969) which in turn can become problematic as reality is not scripted. When considering that the audience members for Disney movies are younger children and when they reach an age where romantic relationships begin to take center stage, the ideals that they learned from the movies start to manifest and shape how the person addresses romantic situations. Martin and Kazyak (2009) note that romantic relationships, like the ones featured in Disney films, are presented as “special, distinct, exceptional form[s] of relationship[s] – different from all the others” (p 324). For example viewers are taught that romantic relationships are more important and should be take more seriously than a friendship. That is not to say, however, that other films do not do the
same or that there are movies that shy away from presenting romance in this way, the romantic comedy is a popular genre that takes the ideas of children’s romance and puts an adult twist on the story. This type of representation is extremely common in the animated, children’s genre and a particularly important issue to remember about these animated films is the way in which the main female character(s) finds herself surrounded.

As Martin and Kazyak (2009) point out, more often than not, the characters are enveloped by swelling music, flowers, candles, fires, ballrooms, dim lighting, dancing, fancy clothing, and elaborate dining options to name a few. Also, nature’s inherent beauty is used to set the scene for falling in love: sunsets, fireflies, butterflies, a gentle breeze, falling snow, etcetera. In fact, the first thing that comes to mind is a scene from the movie *The Little Mermaid*. In the scene, Ariel and Prince Eric are in a little row boat. The full moon is out, creating the dim lighting and casting a shadowy, yet romantic glow about the boat. Sebastian, the crab, is singing while using the other animals as backup singers and instruments, the turtles become drums. The animals coax Prince Eric into kissing Ariel by setting the “scene” for the perfect smooch. Fireflies light up, circling around the boat thus creating a whimsical feel, the smaller fish sing and leap from under the water, flamingos dance, and some bigger fish also circle around the boat spitting water up in order to create the illusion of fountains. As Ariel and Prince Eric move in closer to each other, the animals excitedly whisper, “kiss the girl, kiss her, go on,” but then the boat is flipped over by the evil eels, Flotsam and Jetsam essentially ruining the perfectly magical moment. Although the moment is spoiled, the elements of the scene are more memorable than the overturning of the boat, so memorable in fact, that as one ages he or she may expect a similar setting when waiting for a first kiss. In fact, in the Disney movie *The Princess Diaries*, the main character, Princess Mia, knows that the kiss she shared with Josh was not magical enough
because her foot did not pop up like it should. Mia explains to her mom that in all the movies, a girl knows the boy is right for her because her foot picks right up off the ground when they kiss.

In these Disney films, romantic relationships having a hint of magic is just as important as the romance itself. Martin and Kazak (2009) claim that in the movies, the romance almost begins with a spark and that “romantic relationships are natural and magical at the same time” (p 325) creating an impossible illusion for viewers. Pardun (2002) asserts that portraying romance in film as a spark and as an “innocent phenomenon” (p 224), we allow for love to continue having no relevance in real life because as the romance moves forward into something more serious, it becomes a mystery. Pardun also states that the lack of declarations of love in films perpetuates the notion of love as a mystery because it “just happens” and then “somehow, you [sic] just end up married” (p 224); essentially, your foot will pop. As we age, our romantic endeavors often go nowhere because the spark just was not there or the relationship was not magical enough. One has to wonder though if the notion of true love does actually occur the way in which movies claim it does or if we seek out what the movies say is there. Pardun (2002) concludes by claiming that these particular and understated messages of romance are “potentially more problematic than overt sexual scenes” in movies (p 224).

But how important are these ideas set forth by Disney movies and romantic films in general and is it the idea or the framing? Taylor (2008) asserts that how the media frames life’s components, such as relationships, affects how people make decisions. He says that this is because the framing itself affects the importance of certain factors that influence a decision maker, so that we think a topic may be more important than it actually is. In fact, Hoffner and Cantor (1990) posit that all of the information given to an audience has been purposely designed to construct a precise picture of the topic being discussed on screen. However, movies and the
way in which romance is framed is especially important according to Jeffres (1997) because
teenagers and perhaps younger children find it challenging to talk with adults about love and
romance. As a result, many turn to the media for its interpretations on the subjects and in the
case of romantic films, love is shown as a magical, yet natural thing that will just happen.
Romance, love and marriage are rarely depicted as topics that must be worked at in order to have
a successful relationship.

Although romance in movies is supposedly a natural occurrence, the characters that we
watch on screen will generally look into each others’ eyes and instantly know that they are
connected somehow. Not only did they feel a spark together, but more than likely they heard a
full symphony or appropriate indie rock song accompanying the dialogue and fireworks will go
off in the background. So what happens when that does not happen in real life? We often use
what we have seen on screen to help guide our decisions on the worthiness of a relationship if in
one; we also use what we have seen in order to understand if a relationship exists at all. So what
happens when we no hear the music or when it begins to fade? Should we believe that
something is wrong, either with ourselves or the relationship itself or should we wonder where
our notions came from?

It is common to hear that the spark is no longer present between two people when a
relationship ends or that the magic is not there. Again, is this the result of what is really
happening or an effect from the way love is framed in film? Is it possible that years of watching
romance play out in films has contaminated the way in which relationships occur organically?
Shapiro and Kroeger (1991) examined how a person’s exposure to popular media influenced his
or her attitude toward his or her own intimate relationships. The researchers found that people
who have higher exposure rates to popular romantic media had more dysfunctional and
unrealistic beliefs about romantic relationships. In their discussion, Shapiro and Kroeger (1991) raised an interesting question, “does the media create dysfunctional beliefs about relationships or do the people with dysfunctional beliefs expose themselves more to the popular media to confirm or reinforce those beliefs?” (p 233). Could the researches be correct in that this is simply a version of which came first, the chicken or the egg?

Shapiro and Kroeger (1991) also found that while there was no significant correlation between being exposed to romantic media and being satisfied in a relationship, there was a trend relating to married women: the married women who had had more exposure to romantic media were more likely to claim that they were less satisfied with their current romantic relationships. The researchers reported that their study has “significant psychological and social implications” (p 234) in that people’s beliefs about romantic relationships are affected by their media exposure – either through its influence on the beliefs or the reinforcement of beliefs already in existence. Shapiro and Kroeger (1991) assert that “this influence is probably most seriously internalized by children and adolescents…” (p 234) and what immediately comes to mind is the influence that children’s movies have on children. Giroux (1996) writes, “Disney plays [a role] in shaping individual identities and controlling fields of social meaning through which children negotiate the world” (p 96) which could not be truer. Steele (2002) asserts that movies and their influence are so important because movies are able to take viewers, especially adolescents and young children, to “places they may never have been before and introduce them to situations they may not yet have experienced” (p 228).

As mentioned earlier, Disney is not the only producer of these romantic relationship ideals. MacKinnon (2003) writes that romantic relationships, especially hetero romances, are a fundamental element of every movie genre and while this is true, the paper is focused only on the
representations within children’s movies and romantic comedies such as She’s All That, Pretty Woman, and Kate and Leopold. The romantic comedy is a relatively popular movie type among adolescents and young adults. According to Westman, Lynch, Lewandowski, and Hunt-Carter (2003), while films are an important part of an adolescent and young adult’s life, very little is known about how they use media in order to form ideas and beliefs about romance which is interesting to note because films do have an impact on shaping viewers.

Westman, et. al (2003) hypothesized that the mass media, particularly television, would greatly influence an adolescent’s ideas about romantic relationships, especially if the relationship was deemed realistic or as presenting a goal that was worth striving for. Using a sample of fifty-two young adults, Westman, et. al (2003) found that realism is a key factor and that when television shows, particularly sitcoms, are perceived as a realistic representation; young adults were more likely to use it as a model for their own lives and to seek out the show’s ideas for romantic relationships. The researchers also noted that the young adults were more likely to utilize their observations of perceived happiness between their parents in order to also help formulate ideas about romantic relationships. At the same time, however, Westman, et. al (2003) claim that the television families used as sources were “clearly out of line with real-world families” (p 1117) as not everybody can be like the Cleavers or the Huxtables. Yet, it is possible that the ideals portrayed by the television families were ones to strive toward. Regardless, this finding is important to note because, according to Westman, et. al, what young adults found worth striving for as portrayed by television families also plays into what people may work towards in romantic relationships.

It is not to say, however, that we just go about our lives believing the messages that film and television set forth for us because that is what we are supposed to do. Rather, we use the
representations to help develop our own identity because a lot of what is learned is done so through learning socially.

**Social Learning Theory of Identificatory Processes**

In his “Social Learning Theory of Identificatory Processes,” Bandura (1969) explains that the word identification refers to a process in which a person adopts the actions, feelings, or thoughts of another person that has been chosen as a model. The problem, however, is that sources of adopted behaviors are difficult to pinpoint because the process becomes complicated, especially since people and particularly children are constantly exposed to multiple models: teachers, other neighborhood adults, friends, and more often today television and movies (Bandura, 1969). Bandura (1969) explains that children acquire behavior patterns observationally and are able to maintain them over extended periods of time even if the performance of the behavior is not overt; so that children learn how they are supposed to act, but only do so when the behavior is appropriate.

The primary definitional properties of identification, as recognized by Bandura (1969), are the behavior itself and its antecedents. This is an essential distinction because a single occurrence of similarities between the behavior of the model is typically the result of the model’s conduct serving as “determinative cues for matching responses” (p 217). At the same time, however, when and if “perceptual sequences are repeatedly elicited, a constituent stimulus acquires the capacity to evoke images of the associated stimulus events even though they are no longer physically present” (p 220). In other words, while watching and absorbing images of modeled behavior, a person has the ability to store them mentally and recall them when a guide is needed in order to match certain behaviors. Although people possess this ability, there is no guarantee that by simply exposing people to unique models they will pick up on the cues and
accurately perceive them in order to employ the cues at a given time; so that even if children, adolescents, and young adults are continuously exposed to romantic situations through film, this does not necessarily mean that they will utilize them in real life. This could be attributed to Bandura’s (1969) claim that most of the processes that standardize our cognitive processes are verbal and not visual even though Berger (1997) posits that “audiences, through willing suspension of disbelief, become emotionally affected by these images, sounds, and music and also often identify with characters in films and learn something about themselves and about life in the process” (p 147).

Further complicating the matter, Bandura (1969) writes that dominant models are attended to, practiced and reproduced regardless of whether or not observers have direct interaction. So, what does all of this have to do with representations of love in the movies? Bandura asserts that this theory of identification assigns a role to observational learning so that emulated behaviors are gained through continuous interactions, whether directly or indirectly, with a model and the performances of “observationally learned identificatory responses” (Bandura 1969, p 255) are marked by continual reinforcement of the behavior. By repeatedly watching the Disney films and romantic comedies children, adolescents, and young adults learn how they are supposed to behave and gain a romantic identity by directly observing the models on screen. Bandura states that based on a mimicry view of modeling through language, children are able to build an “infinite variety of sentences that they have never heard. Consequently, instead of imitating and memorizing specific utterances that they may have heard at one time or another, children learn sets of rules…” (p 253). Although he is discussing children’s language acquisition, this is also a way in which children learn romantic behaviors from movies. Rather than just memorizing and regurgitating movie scenes or a character’s lines, children learn the
rules of romantic behaviors. These behaviors, although not necessarily directly observable, such as hearing a swelling symphony, feeling a spark and popping a foot when sharing a kiss, that are positively accepted by the romantic partner, friends or family continue and create the sense that all relationships happen in this manner and reinforce the “rules” learned by observation.

Bandura concludes that traditional ways of discussing identification as a passive process that starts in early childhood and is fostered by parents; whereas social learning theory claims that creating one’s identity is a continuous process in which learned behaviors are modified to accommodate new experiences so that even though people still carry around the values and behaviors learned from romantic movies, they are able to alter the behavior in case certain situations do no work out as they would have in a scripted film.

Uncertainty Management Theory

Many things in life can cause and contribute to uncertainty: a new job, a new school, moving across the country or even meeting a supervisor, among others. A major source of uncertainty stems from relationships, particularly new ones and arguably new romantic relationships (Brashers, 2001). We are unsure of new partners because we have not necessarily adapted to all of their behaviors or vice versa. Brashers says that this is because their behaviors and actions may be unpredictable or inconsistent with what we are already accustomed to. Bandura (1969) would most likely argue for the establishment and enactment of certain rules that we have learned over the years through observation in order to reduce the uncertainty that may be felt and while having uncertainty in a relationship can cause stress for both partners, Brashers (2001) states that it can also foster ideas of hope and optimism. First though, it is important to identify and understand principles of uncertainty so that we can, in turn, learn how to manage it.
Brashers states that uncertainty exists when certain situational details are not clear, they are complicated, they rely on probability or when they cannot be predicted. Uncertainty can also manifest when a person is unsure of their level of situational knowledge or of their knowledge in general, or when information is inaccurate and inconsistent. By understanding the different types of uncertainty we increase our ability to identify and describe the influence that uncertainty has on particular kinds of behavior while also developing strategies for coping with the uncertainty (Brashers, 2001).

Important factors when handling uncertainty are emotion and appraisal because how people respond to uncertainty is shaped by these factors. By appraising the situation, people are able to assess what relevance an event has in their life. Baxter and Montgomery (1996) as cited by Brashers (2001) assert that although in relationships uncertainty is valued because it can account for spontaneity, uncertainty can also change over the course of the relationship, either for the positive or negative. Of course, uncertainty also brings forth several emotional responses as well as the appraisals. When appraised negatively, uncertainty elicits a negative response and can be viewed as dangerous or threatening which can also induce panic. Yet when uncertainty is framed as a positive addition to the relationship, positive emotional responses occur, allowing for those feelings of hope and optimism as mentioned above. Neutral emotional responses are also viable reactions as are a combination of negative and positive responses or even a change in reaction over time (Brashers, 2001). After assessing the kind of uncertainty in our lives, Brashers presents four methods for putting uncertainty management into action: seeking and avoiding information, adapting to chronic uncertainty, obtaining assistance with uncertainty management through social support, and finally managing uncertainty management.
In line with Bandura’s assessment that we seek and utilize models to create our identities, Brashers (2001) asserts that we use others to gain knowledge. In order to decrease uncertainty, people use information gathered in order to differentiate one option from another. Information sought can also allow for people to create meaning for life events as well as manipulate the uncertainty into a more desired outcome. Behaviors common to seeking information include asking directly for the information, asking others for information, or observing certain behaviors. Brashers notes that the information given does not necessarily have to be accurate but that it must produce particular perceptions of reason. He also points out that different types of information can and often do come from many sources so that people customize what they are learning in an effort to affirm or contradict their beliefs. However, it is possible to avoid any new information as well. By consciously or unconsciously avoiding new information, people create shields that protect them from information that is overwhelming or difficult to handle; essentially maintain a comfortable level of uncertainty. This is important to note because often people seek information about love and romance from movies in an effort to better understand what may or may not be happening in their current relationship. Films provide an escape from reality; reaffirming or contradicting certain behaviors.

Brashers’ second method for managing uncertainty is adapting to chronic uncertainty. Although he focused his work on managing uncertainty in the face of medical issues, his methods are applicable to many other areas of life, including relationships. In the second method, Brashers (2001) calls for people to redefine tasks; claiming that people are able to change the way in which they make decisions when they cannot achieve predictability. Predictability is a key element in the reduction of uncertainty because people can foresee what will happen next. Another key element, however, is knowing how and when to adapt. Brashers
Naturally Magical 15

says that people can “buffer the effects of uncertainty by developing structure and routines” (p 484). Stereotyping is a way to do this because stereotypes often promote the use of familiar and recognizable patterns for developing meaning. Morse (1994), as cited by Brashers, says that people need to “keep reality at a tolerable level, so they can function in a comfort zone and cope with day-to-day uncertainty” (p 959). Stereotypes often do this and romantic movies are a stereotype in and of themselves. They offer a predictable story line and the viewer always knows that the couple will remain together. However, real life is not always predictable and therefore people seek comfort in characters on film. Because we do not live scripted lives and are unable to have multiple takes for the same scene, we reduce our uncertainty by changing how we define our tasks and the way in which we decide how to go about life; we essentially create our own buffer zones by establishing patterns in reality that we might have seen on screen.

Social support as assisted uncertainty management is Brashers’ third method. He writes that people seek the support of others and the support givers facilitate uncertainty management with messages or behaviors that will either increase or decrease certainty or uncertainty. The behaviors of social supporters rely on the experience of uncertainty as well as the appraisal process or the selection behaviors of uncertainty management. Seeking social support in uncertainty is important because it often affects the uncertainty event by providing stability through validation, the opportunity to vent or by minimizing social uncertainties. Brashers describes social supporters as those who “encourage people to refocus on other salient questions, reappraise uncertainty, or to change their perspective that uncertainty can be a normal part of life” (p 485) who also act as either direct or indirect sources of information. He does not, however, emphasize that a social supporter has to be a person. A movie or movie characters could arguably be perceived as a form of social support. When attempting to manage uncertainty
or to at least attempt to understand reality, it may be safe to assume that people will seek comfort in the familiar; particularly when the source of the uncertainty is a romantic situation.

The final method that Brashers (2001) discusses is called managing uncertainty management. In this method, Brashers notes that uncertainty management can become complicated by the nature of the information type or even by the fundamental complexities of how the information was gathered. Balancing uncertainty management with other tasks leads to competing goals particularly when social support is involved because it can be difficult to synchronize the goals of the support seekers with the support givers. Brashers chalks this up to the fact that on occasion, the seeker wants to decrease uncertainty while the giver wants to increase uncertainty among other combinations. Brashers (2001) concludes that the efforts put into uncertainty management need to be “adapted to the influence of others” (p 486) and that people should continue to focus their attention on the experience and meaning of the uncertainty, the appraisal and emotional response processes of uncertainty as well as the “corresponding behavioral inventions” (p 486). Finally, Brashers notes that although used interchangeably, reducing and managing uncertainty are not synonymous so that while we may use films to ease our minds, if the goal was to manage or to reframe our uncertainty that is how the movie was used.

*Expectancy Violations in Interpersonal Communication*

“People who interact develop expectations about each other’s behavior, not only in the sense that they are able to predict the regularities, but also in the sense that they develop preferences about how others *should* behave under certain circumstances” (Jackson, 1964, p 225, as cited in Burgoon & Hale, 1988).
Burgoon and Hale (1988) developed the nonverbal expectancy violations model in an effort to further explain the circumstances in which people violate social norms and expectations when communicating. The authors identify certain elements of expectancies which aid in understanding the model. First, it is important to know that people develop expectations and preferences for their communication partners’ nonverbal behaviors and when the partner deviates from those norms, a violation has occurred. It is also imperative to know that not every violation is a negative one even though it assumed that all normal behaviors are positively valued. In general, when a communication partner and for the purpose of this paper, a romantic partner, operates within their regular expectancies, all nonverbal behavior occurs outside of awareness so that the other would not notice that something was not correct. When and if a partner does adequately violate the expectancy then the other becomes aware and must evaluate the degree of the violation in order to assess if it was negative or positive.

For example, it would be expected that friends have certain rules and boundaries that they would abide by. Stafford (2003) writes that opposite sex friendships are, in fact, maintained in part by the expectancy that no flirting will happen. However, if partner A violates the agreement by holding partner B’s hand or by leaning in too close during a conversation then it is up to partner B to evaluate those violations; meaning that if partner B welcomed the change, it was positive, but if partner B became put off by the action then it was a negative violation. As an example from the movie *When Harry Met Sally*, Harry tells Sally that he loves her. She responds by asking just how Harry expects her to respond. Harry says, “how about ‘I love you too’?” To which Sally replies, “how about ‘I’m leaving.’” (Reiner, 1989). It can be difficult for opposite sex friends to know how to properly evaluate the violation and perhaps this can be
attributed to the way in which friendships are portrayed in the two genres of film that were discussed earlier: children’s animated movies and romantic comedies.

In the Martin and Kazyak (2009) study, they noticed that while there were plenty of scenes and depictions of friendships throughout their movie sample, the friendships were not shown has having the same magical elements that the romantic scenes had. The friendships in the animated films were “funny, silly, gross and fun but never serious, special, powerful, important or natural” (Martin & Kazyak, 2009 p 326). Many of the opposite sex friendships occur between humans and small animals or inanimate objects, therefore eliminating any possibility of romance potential. For instance, in Beauty and the Beast, Belle is friends with Mrs. Potts, a teapot; Cogsworth, a clock; and Lumiere, a candlestick. In Pocahontas, she is friends with Flit, a hummingbird and Meeko, a raccoon. Ariel from The Little Mermaid is best friends with Flounder, a fish; Sebastian, a crab; and Scuttle, a seagull. It is easy to believe that if an opposite sex friend violates the expectancy of no flirting or falling in love we would not know how to respond because of how we are conditioned at a young age to view friendships. Essentially, we are taught that romance cannot exist between friends.

As discussed earlier, children and adolescents use movies as models and if they are being bombarded with images of romantic love occurring only between opposite sex people who are not friends, it can likely be argued that adolescents and children start to believe that and friends are no longer thought of as potential partners. Thus, heteronormative love is distorted.

Conclusion

Relationships are complicated and adding in an element of romance or love further messes with the flow of things. Although we use movies, television, and various other forms of media in order to escape our reality, these outlets simply further inform and shape our reality.
Any reasonable audience member should and most likely knows that the way in which things happen on screen does not mean things will happen the same way in real life even if we do model our behavior after what is seen in movies. It is imperative, however, to remember that the depictions, particularly those of romance, are guides for our behavior – not necessarily the rule book. We do become engrained with these notions about how love is supposed to work and how we will know the exact moment that we find our soul mate. We expect the random music and singing. Fireworks will explode or the fireflies will light up indicating that this is the moment. Too often though, we become disappointed, disheartened, and discouraged when our expectancies for romantic love are violated because we are expecting what we see in film to happen and we begin to think that something is wrong if we never have that “moment” and often we are unprepared or ill equipped to fully assess the violation resulting in another negative outcome.

By simply acknowledging that we do in fact use the models on screen in order to formulate our actions and behaviors as well as by understanding how we employ what we view in movies in order to make sense of our lives, we can then begin to reframe possible negative violations into more positive ones. Most movies create certain relationship expectancies by depicting opposite sex friendships as unnatural and romantic relationships as natural, yet magical.

This research and paper are inherently flawed, however. As researchers of romantic relationships, we operate under the notion that we know what pure and uninfluenced love is. In reality though, how we understand how romance functions is intrinsically contaminated by outside factors. So, perhaps the solution or at least a step in the right direction is to start creating different models of how heteronormative love or love in general is depicted . . . by discussing the
struggles that occur in relationships after the “happily ever after” or by showing that friends can in fact be natural romantic partners. Perhaps in doing so, we can then create different models from which to learn and move toward a better understanding of uncontaminated love as we see it through a flawed lens.
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Title: Family Centered Care of Stroke Survivors and Care Partners during Constraint Induced Therapy (CARE-CITE)

Topic Area: Cross disciplinary area – Psychology and Patient-Centered Health Care

Presentation Format: Poster - Work in Progress Report

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As current health care trends shift towards decreased lengths of stay, care partners of stroke survivors have an increased role in care. This role often leads to increased stress, fatigue and depression in the care partner, as well as having a negative impact on family functioning. Stroke survivors with good family support have better rehabilitation outcomes, but currently, very few care partners are involved in the rehabilitation therapy aspect of the process. Constraint induced therapy (CIT) increases use of the more affected upper extremity (UE) and includes patient and family involvement in the home environment, which may increase care partner burden. The primary goal of this preliminary study is to assess the feasibility of a family-focused educational intervention [Care Partner Constraint-Induced Therapy Evaluation (CARE-CITE)] for patients receiving CIT on 10 stroke survivor-care partner dyads. The effect of CARE-CITE on care partner stroke knowledge, depression, fatigue, family functioning and self-efficacy will be assessed as well as stroke survivor UE motor function, self-efficacy, and memory and behaviour. It is hypothesized that CARE-CITE will have a positive effect on these outcomes. Measurements will be taken at baseline, post-intervention and at
1-month follow up. The stroke survivor will participate in a 2-week CIT intervention. The care partner will participate in clinic and with home activities in an educational packet including sections on CIT, self-efficacy of stroke survivor and care partner, information on stroke and depression, supporting the stroke survivor, and reducing stress and burden. Collaboration of the care partner and stroke survivor may increase effectiveness of interventions and improve quality of life for stroke survivors and care partners. Results will help develop educational materials for care partners of patients receiving CIT and may span to other pathologies for family-centered care educational interventions.
Teaching Evaluation: Cross-Disciplinary Research on Graduate Training in Public Health and Educational Administration

A paper for presentation at the Hawaii International Conference on the Social Sciences Honolulu, Hawaii

June 2 – 5, 2010

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Abstract

Even before the current economic recession, public health and education shared obligations to evaluate programs for maximum benefit and continuous improvement. Professional standards in both fields require evaluation competencies. But, there has been limited research into how evaluation skills are taught in graduate programs. Program evaluation is advocated for its cross-disciplinary models for inquiry. Lessons from on-going studies of evaluation training in public health education, epidemiology, and educational administration, provide a framework applicable for investigation to evaluation in discipline-specific contexts of graduate programs of study.
Introduction

At a glance, public health and educational administration appear an unlikely teaming for an investigation. Evaluation, a mostly cross-disciplinary pursuit, however, provides a useful focal point. Recent research into the teaching of evaluation in master’s of public health (MPH) and epidemiology and doctoral (Ed.D. and Ph.D.) programs in educational administration offer useful lessons in methods, context, and frameworks to study how evaluation is taught.

Description of Evaluation

Michael Scriven, a guru of modern evaluation, staunchly advocates evaluation strategies and concepts as a distinct discipline with a “clear definition, subject matter, logical structure, and multiple fields of application” (Donaldson & Scriven, 2003, p. 19). In other words, evaluation is a profession, with a sets of skill, competencies, and methodological approaches usable in applied social science research when the goal is to “systematic determination of the merit, worth, and significance” (Scriven 1967, p. 32) of social programs, organizations, or activities.

Intrinsic to evaluation is the overarching goal to solve social problem through what Shadish, Cook, and Leviton (1991, p. 20-21) refer to as the idealized sequence of: a) recognizing a problem, b) applying alternatives to reduce obstacles, c) evaluating new approaches, and d) adopting those that seem the most suitable. These authors and others credit modern evaluation theories as derived from the work of several early theorists. Ralph Tyler’s approach in education is now common - one in which educational objectives was measured against student performance to assess effectiveness (Tyler, 1935). Kurt Lewin (1948) in social
psychology advocated small-scale immediate action research, also commonly applied today.

Lazarsfeld and Rosenberg (1955) expanded sociological methods.

These and other models set the foundation for modern evaluation that incorporates multiple approaches. For example, Patton (1997) seeks to ensure that information can be utilized by institutions. Donaldson (2007) approaches evaluation by constructing the setting and organization to find the actual theory driving the program. Others seek to empower otherwise disenfranchised (often minority) participants (Fetterman, 2000). While others move towards improvement by appreciating what is done well leading to inquiry into what is not (Preskill & Catsambas, 2006).

What modern evaluation practice shares is a common past. The field is largely derived from post World War II economic expansion and the growing federal role in social policy beginning in the 1960s with landmark legislation such as the Civil Rights Act, passage of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), and the growing role of the government in public aid, human health services, criminal justice, and other social programs. It formally began as a profession in the 1960s, with professional organizations, centers of practice, support from foundations, and growth of professional identity (LaVelle & Donaldson, 2010).

Over the last fifty years, evaluation has burgeoned into a profession offering a base of literature, theoretical models, performance standards, and shared professional identity. Within a few decades, evaluation has developed its own theories and unique body of knowledge that differentiates evaluation from other specializations and led to what Shadish et al. (1991) defines as an intellectual unity and what Scriven (1991) defines as the logic of evaluation. These
shared characteristics include: 1) agreed standards for ethical professional practice; 2) focus on righting social ills; 3) an underlying assumption that existing programs can be improved – either through incremental changes or better design of new programs; 4) varied approaches for specific context and situations; and that ultimately 5) the purpose of evaluation is to provide some value judgment on what works and what does not work. Evaluators’ work is to provide information from which decisions can to made, ultimately leading to program improvement.

Cross-disciplinary research, including that in evaluation, is based on a postmodernist perspective that knowledge production, particularly to solve complex problems, necessitates crossing traditional academic boundaries. These studies should provide new perspectives on issues too intricate to be solved from a single viewpoint. Increasingly, recognition of the complexity and multifaceted aspects of human behavior and social constructs has led researchers, public agencies, and organizations to use various theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches to monitor outcomes and assess policies. This diversity is typified in the variety of evaluation models, suggesting that, as an over-arching practice, evaluation could be embraced by many disciplines within social science.

Problem Statement and Purpose of the Research

Over the last twenty years, public health practice has consistently recognized the value of evaluation of programs and services for evidence-based decision making. In the past ten years, education has adopted data-based decision making as its new mantra for improving schools. In both fields, evaluation and assessment are incorporated into professional competency standards, expected for funding and review, and increasingly integrated into
accreditation requirements for academic programs. It would seem predictable that given the current environment, evaluation skills would be important for working in these fields. Yet, in both public health and educational administration, it is difficult to assess the extent to which managers and staff have been academically trained to use evaluative data for organizational improvement. Also, there is contradictory information about the number of evaluation training programs at universities in the United States.

There has clearly been an explosion in the number of professional evaluators, requirements of evaluation for grant funding, and use of evaluation in public and non-profit domains. What is less clear is the extent and manner in which evaluation theories and practices are taught in graduate programs in specific fields of study. This session presents an argument supporting a contextually rich framework from which to investigate the prevalence and characteristics of evaluation training in professional programs.

Approaches of the Two Studies

The master’s in public health (MPH) study focused on Council on Education in Public Health (CEPH) accredited programs in epidemiology and health education in the United States. The researcher completed 1) an extensive review of program websites; 2) an online survey of professors; and 3) review of abstractions from over 1,000 courses from more than 51 institutions of higher education with public health programs. The level of comprehensive of this study will provide valuable information particularly about courses classified as having primary focus on program or intervention evaluation.
The Educational Administration study similarly involved 1) an extensive review of program websites; 2) phone and online survey of select program representatives; and 3) review of course catalog descriptions from courses. A total of 133 doctoral programs in educational administration and leadership were found from among over 300 designated by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (2008) as “high” or “very high research” doctoral-granting institutions with programs in educational administration or leadership. Only programs that were inclusive of or specifically geared to PK-12 administrators were included. Additionally, 21 of those programs were additionally categorized as “reform” programs based on their participation in the Carnegie Project on the Education Doctorate. These programs participating in the initial national effort toward curriculum revision were selected as a comparison group to the other administration programs. In an era of curriculum reform for educational administration, this study is particularly timely in measuring the perceptions and prominence of evaluation training for school leaders.

Study results are yet to be published. Yet, initial findings already suggest that research into program coursework and professional milieu produces contextually richer information than any one approach. Additionally, current reforms in graduate training and professional standards impact programs and require detailed understanding to see how evaluation is positioned within those changes.

Website Review

Both studies initially used university and program websites to investigate whether evaluation courses were present within programs of study, the presence of single courses in
evaluation, and possible hints to whether evaluation was required or elective courses for study. Websites also provided useful contact information for additional investigation. Subsequent data collection was determined based on initial findings in order to more accurately uncover the actual nature of evaluation training in single courses and as components of other content courses.

Survey Questionnaires

The limitations of available website information required additional data collection by contacting programs and researching specific information about evaluation teaching. This includes questions about single courses and content within other courses offered as part of professional graduate programs. Although survey instruments were different between the two studies, they each represented a thoughtful presentation of the contextual issues related to evaluation within the context of the disciplines.

Catalog Descriptions and Syllabi

Both sources provide more detailed description of the content and objectives of courses. Syllabi in particular are useful artifacts of the scholarship of teaching and learning. They document delivery systems, student learning activities, and the instructors’ cognitive mapping of themes, major concepts, and objectives of coursework. This also provided valuable information about how evaluation theories and practices can be integrated within courses and content that otherwise does not appear to be evaluative.
Professional Context: Standards

The review of professional standards indicates that evaluation competencies are incorporated into professional standards, although requirements are differentially phrased and unevenly dispersed depending on the field.

Public Health/Epidemiology

Evaluation is an essential competency for public health practitioners across many social and behavioral sciences. Seminal reports released by the Institute of Medicine from 1988 through 2003 developed ‘core’ evaluative functions in public health – assessment, policy development, and assurance (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, n.d., Institute of Medicine 1998, 2003a, 2003b). In 1994, the Public Health Functions Steering Committee included evaluation as one of ten essential services (Public Health Functions Steering Committee, 1994). In 2001, the Council on Linkages between Academia and Public Health Practice, a coalition of 17 national public health organizations, adopted competency areas with two of these, policy development/program health activities and cultural competency skills as directly related to evaluation (Public Health Functions, 1994). In addition, the Council of State and Territorial Epidemiologists (CSTE) with the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) established “surveillance evaluating responsibilities” for all applied epidemiologists, requiring cost-effectiveness, cost-benefit, and cost-utility competence for all except entry level epidemiologists (CDC and CSTE, 2007). Overall, a review of literature points to inclusion of evaluation skills as key competencies, although specific interpretations of what how those competencies are developed or implemented are not detailed.
Educational Administration

Professional standards for educational administrators from the Interstate School Leaders Licensure Consortium (ISLLC) have been nationally approved through the Council of the Chief State School Officers (CCSSO) with participation of the State Consortium on Education Leadership and the National Policy Board for Educational Administration (HPBEA). The standards, first adopted in 1996 and updated in 2008 represent an internal process of “reculturing the profession” (Murphy, 2003, p. 5) of school leadership from the 20th Century tradition of school management into a contemporary model in which school leadership is about “students, learning, and teaching” (Donaldson, 2001, p. 30).

The ISLLC standards comprise six major function areas that define strong leadership including evaluative skills. Within the six function areas, the term “evaluation” only appears five times. However, like professional standards in public health, there are hints to competencies that could be construed as evaluative. These include: data-based decision making, competency to assess instructional and professional development programs; and the ability to ensure effective management and safe environments, including collaboration with and responsiveness to community interests and needs within political, social, legal, and cultural contexts (ISLLC, 2008; Wright & Gray, 2007). These standards also are used as guidelines for Praxis Administrator Exams often required for state school administrator certification (ETS, 2008).

Academic Context: Accreditation Requirements

Accreditation appeared to factor into programs in both disciplines, but knowledge of evaluation and minimum training requirements seemed unspecified.
Uneven evidence of accreditation aligned with evaluation is found in health policy and management, health education, and other public health practitioners. Beginning in 2008, accreditation for institutions awarding health policy and management master’s degrees requires courses covering organization and policy evaluation (Commission on Accreditation of Healthcare Management Education, 2007). Also, Certified Health Education Specialists (CHES) must be able to developing evaluation plans, analyzing data, and interpreting findings (Adeyanju, n.d.; Gilmore, Olsen, Taub, & Connell, 2005; National Commission for Health Education Credentialing, n.d.). The Association of Schools of Public Health (ASPH) Education Committee requires MPH students to design and conduct evaluations. Additionally, the National Board of Public Health Examiners developed voluntary credentialing exams with evaluation content (Gebbie et al., 2007; National Board of Public Health Examiners, n.d.). Overall, a review of literature shows recognition that professional knowledge in public health includes evaluation, although specific academic accreditation requirements vary.

Educational Administration

The ISLLC standards are used as guidelines for academic preparation of pre-service school administrators including accreditation by the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) for educational administration programs. This has been the result of a progression of reforms in educational administration. By the mid-1980s, efforts had begun to more precisely define skill sets for school administrators and create standards for preparation programs. The National Policy Board for Educational Administration (NPBEA) with
other groups developed a national inventory of school principal competencies, and by the
1990s, the University Council for Educational Administrators (UCEA) accelerated the national
discussion. By 2001, the Interstate School Leaders Licensure Consortium (ISLLC) established
professional standards for school administrators, not in their second iteration, and merged with
the NCATE official review protocol for educational administration preparation programs.

Historic Contexts: Curriculum

Public Health/Epidemiology

Historically, public health developed curricula and incorporate evaluation content in a
varied manner. Literature indicates that schools of public health at the University of Michigan
(Wortman & Yeaton, 1986), the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (Davis, 2006), the
University of Alabama at Birmingham (Leviton, Collins, Laird, & Kratt, 1998), and the University
of South Carolina (Kronenfeld, 1981) taught and reported on teaching evaluation:

- The University of Michigan master’s and doctoral programs included one elective course
  in evaluation, focused on research methodology, and created to produce critical
  consumers of research, while it emphasized “policy over theory” (Wortman & Yeaton,
  1986, p. 45).

- University of South Carolina’s course lead students through planning and completing
  evaluations using various approaches (evaluability, process, or outcomes), while
  implementing a quasi-experimental research design bolstered with lectures and
  readings (Kronenfeld, 1981).
• The University of Alabama at Birmingham’s evaluation course included fieldwork and assessment of a program identified by the instructors (Leviton, et al., 1998).

• The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill offered a one-semester course with fieldwork and lecture formats oriented around the popular Centers of Disease Control (CDC) Framework for Program Evaluation in Public Health (CDC, 1999; Davis, 2006).

Educational Administration

Teaching of evaluation in education has more closely lined up with behavioral testing and measurement and research skills, often in departments of Educational Psychology (Sanders, 1986). According to LaVelle and Donaldson (2010), more recent trends indicate an upturn in evaluation training in departments of education including methods and research, policy, and administration and leadership. This supports the continued presence of evaluation as at least a component of inquiry, research, and assessment. It is less clear, however, the extent to which evaluation skills specifically are taught to future school administrators.

Interest in evaluation, assessment, and research methodology grew during the mid-twentieth century introduction of federal involvement in education, especially spurred by the passage of the ESEA. This and other programs ushered in a new era in educational evaluation. Within a few years, there were heard complaints in the field about the lack of training in evaluation, most often centered against the single courses offered in graduate programs. Stufflebeam (1968) and others argued that these courses were inadequate, overly focused on single method, experimental, or quasi-experimental research design excluding qualitative, case study, action research, and other approaches. An influential work by the Phi Delta Kappa
National Study Committee on Evaluation defined and instructed educators on concepts and processes of evaluation (Stufflebeam et al., 1971). The literature indicates, however, that single courses in evaluation remained the norm through the 1980s, with content largely focused on history, models, and methodology (Davis, 1986; Sanders, 1986).

Education took a fundamental shift in the 1990s with the passage of the No Child Left Behind reauthorization of the ESEA. A focus on reform and improved student achievement reshaped the role of building, district, and state administrators. At universities, the result has been increased training in measurement, assessment, and data-based decision making, and less on theory. At the same time, the Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI) grant requirements drove for large-scale, quasi-experimental, and randomized designs. Currently, administrators appear most focused on accountability, student performance, and standardized testing.

Conclusions and Discussion

These two studies show that:

- There is evidence of professional competency requirement for evaluation in both public health and educational administration;
- Initial review of programs of study using online data collection is useful but not conclusive;
- Investigations into single courses in evaluation do not appear to tell the whole story and that content in other courses should be considered;
• Evaluation training may be found in course content within discipline-specific terminology, and multiple types of course content and learning experiences;

• Of possible importance is the extent to which evaluation principles, ethical perspectives, and professional identity are joined with standards of behavior within specific professions; and,

• Research and evaluation skills may be reinforced throughout many courses. The recurring learning may be more valuable to reinforce concepts than a single course primarily focused on evaluation (Stevahn, King, Ghere, & Minnema, 2005a & b).

The identification of evaluation taught within different disciplines may best be investigated using alternative methods, including website mining and use of a framework similar to the ones described above. Indicators to consider include: context and history of evaluation within discipline, professional standards, accreditation requirements, prevalence of single courses, and inclusion of evaluation in other course content. General discipline perception and interest in evaluation will be expressed in learning materials, experiences, and patterns of graduate programs.

Preliminary findings indicate that public health and educational administration professional graduate programs integrate evaluation with discipline-specific teaching. Since the primary purpose of these programs is to train for substantive knowledge in the discipline, it seems logical that evaluation skills, even when important in the field, are relegated to secondary roles.
Some would argue that **knowing the field** is more important for professional competency than evaluation skills. Some evaluation scholars agree that expert-level content knowledge of the subject requires that evaluators “become familiar with the substantive domains related to the problems of interest in order to formulate, prioritize, and answer key evaluation questions” (Donaldson, 2007, p. 13; Chen, 1990). Others, including Michael Scriven endorse evaluation as a trans-discipline for its capacity to cross traditional lines with practices that analyze and judge to improve social programs. In both public health and educational administration, it appears that professional standards include guidelines incorporating evaluation competencies. Academic training, however, remains chiefly focused on a range of content specific to each discipline. Therefore, it appears that evaluation competencies are couched within their respective disciplines.

Overall, it appears that in both fields the academic community may be producing what Morris (1994) has referred to as a ‘household handyman’ one whose academic training in evaluation enables them to assume some role as consumer or staffer who can learn as needed on the job. Particularly in education, however, there appears to be a growing number of highly specialized researchers and statisticians. What is still under investigation is whether this represents 1) more teaching of evaluation, or 2) if school administrator practitioners are participating in this type of advanced training.

Another more challenging question is the degree to which terminologies and discipline differences may be overcome to allow a more sophisticated discussion of the role of evaluation for professionals in the field. To what extent is being an ‘educated consumer’ or a ‘household
handyman’ sufficient, especially in light of the tremendous social problems, resource limitations, and need for public institutions to find new avenues to conduct programs and reach solutions? To what extent should evaluation be left to the specialist or integrated into general practitioner knowledge? Is there a difference between evaluation training between master’s and doctoral levels? Generally, what is the role of evaluation across disciplines?

Forty years after education’s Phi Delta Kappa’s Research Advisory Committee provided detailed conceptual and methodological information about educational evaluation in light of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and ten years after seminal reports by the Institute of Medicine, it seems that academic programs for educational administration and public health are still in the process of explicitly aligning evaluation in practice with evaluation in training. Research within health, education, and other professions should continue in order to investigate how this most cross-disciplinary practice of evaluation should be integrated and taught. By looking outside our respective disciplines, we may find new tools for solutions that improve human condition, society, and institutions.


Abstract
In this paper, we use data on secondary school graduates for Hawaii during 1969-2007 to examine the effect of education on output growth in Hawaii. The secondary school graduate data are divided by the employment data to form the graduate ratio as a proxy for human capital. Preliminary test shows that the series has autocorrelation problem of AR(1) form. Hence, the Generalized Least Square method (GLS) is used to correct for this problem. The results show that Hawaiian secondary graduates affect the productivity positively. However, growth of output per worker has no significant affect on human capital accumulation.

JEL classification: O47, E23

Keywords: productivity growth, human capital, secondary school graduates.

1. Introduction
The importance of human capital in fostering productivity growth is heavily emphasized in Economic development theory. The Original Solow model, modified by Endogenous model on growth, extended to allow for human capital in the theory labeled “new-growth.” This model was originally developed to study the effect of research and development on output in a closed economy and it has been further modified to allow for secondary school enrolment as a proxy of investment in human capital. Research using across-nation data shows that school enrollment has a positive affect on productivity growth. Our paper is unique in that very few papers use the number of graduates, a stock variable and thus a better measure of human capital. Even less use are state level data to investigate this effect as in our paper.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows: Section 2 discusses existing literature, Section 3 introduces the theoretical model and data issue, Section 4 analyzes the empirical methodology and the estimated results. Section 5 concludes.

2. Existing Literature
2.1 Theoretical Literature
There is plenty of theoretical literature on human capital and productivity growth. The neoclassical model on this subject is the Solow (1957) growth model, where labor productivity,
defined as output per worker, depends solely on capital per worker. Lucas (1998), Romer (1990), and Aghion and Howitt (1992) extended this Solow model in the so-called “new growth” theory. It was originally developed to study the effect of research and development on output growth in a closed economy, it is further modified by Kremer (1993) for productivity growth in a closed economy and by Barro et al. (1995) for an open economy.

Bils and Klenow (2000) write an influential paper on the possible two-way causality between economic growth and education. They develop a dynamic optimization model in which a firm’s output depends on capital, labor and, the stock of human capital, where the stock of human capital is equal to the aggregate product of the number of workers in the firm and their level of human capital. The consumer maximizes his utility subject to the constraint that his wage is at least as great as his sum of lifetime consumption and his expenditures on education at an early age. They show that the optimal quantity of school enrollments depends positively on the total factor productivity of a country. Concerning the effect of schooling on economic growth, they show that human capital only has very weak effect on growth of GDP per capita and GDP per worker.

In Thirlwall (2006) and Lynn (2003) books on economic development they argue that an increase in per capita income fosters the willingness to invest further in education. Hence, there is a self perpetuating positive feedback cycle of economic or productivity growth and human capital, where education increases productivity growth, which in turn increases school enrollments as per capita income rises. Thirwall also points out that social investment in education often yields lower returns, as measured by per capita income, than private investment. This inspires us to add private total expenditures to our econometric model.

2.2 Empirical Literature

Though many “new growth” models are developed for productivity defined as GDP per worker, most empirical studies have focused on GDP per capita instead of productivity. Barro (1991) is the pioneer in the new growth approach. He uses cross sectional data for 98 countries, single equation estimation, and ratios of primary and secondary enrollments to population. His results show that education has a positive effect on GDP per capita. Levine and Renelt (1992), Mankiw et al. (1992), Barro and Lee (1993), Levine and Zervos (1993), and Kremer (1993), all confirm Barro’s results in their slightly modified models using single equation estimations.

Knowles and Owen (1995) find that when life expectancy and based-period output per capita is added to the model the effect of human capital on growth is not statistically significant. Caselli et al. (1996) even show that the secondary school enrollment ratio affects economic growth negatively. On the contrary, Temple (1999) finds that several outliers cause the observed weak effect of human capital on growth. After removing these outliers he finds the effect of this secondary school enrollment ratio is positive.

Papers investigating the effect of economic growth on human capital accumulation are scarce. Behrman and Knowles (1999) find that children in higher income families receive more education than those in lower income families. A careful observation of the historical data from the United Nation and the World Bank also reveals that countries with higher productivity levels tend to have higher rates of school enrollments. Thirwall (2006) and Lynn (2003) development theory arguments are supported by this particular paper and the corresponding data.

Bils and Klenow (2000) also carry out empirical studies to examine the effect of productivity on school enrolment in their paper. They use single equation and OLS regressions on a dataset with 85 observations. They find a positive effect of productivity on school
enrolment. Though they express their concerns on the possible simultaneity problems they also show that with a cross sectional dataset it is very difficult to find appropriate instruments for the endogenous variables. Kumar (2003) is the single author who attempted the simultaneous equation estimation using 2SLS approach. As discussed earlier, he find that the effect of productivity on the school enrollments are negative.

In the following section we introduce our model and data issues.

3. Model and Data Issue

We use an augmented Cobb-Douglas production function similar to a "new growth model:"

\[ y_t = D + \theta h_t + \sum_{j=1}^{n} C_j \]  

(1)

where \( D \) is the shift parameter, \( y \) is output per worker and \( h \) is human capital, which can be measured by school graduates per worker. \( t \) time index, and \( C \) is a vector of control variables such as imports, population and tourism.

The data set contains numbers of graduates in the State of Hawaii from 1969 to 2007. This data is way too short to take a 4 to 5 year average so we carry out the estimation using the original yearly data in this case utilizing GLS to control for auto correlation problems.

4. Methodology and Results

The initial regressions showed a significant positive two-way relationship between human capital and per worker. First we studied the effect of human capital on output per worker with population, tourism, and imports as control variables. We tested for heteroskedasticity using the White test and found a chi-squared stat of 9.30 greater than the 95-percentile critical, 7.82. Null hypothesis rejected we found heteroskedasticity. Similarly, testing for AR(1), the Lagrange Multiplier test yielded a chi-squared stat of 7.65 well above the 95-percentile critical 3.84. After correcting both heteroskedasticity and auto-correlation with Newy-West standard errors we find, as seen in Table 1, a significant positive affect of human capital on output per worker.

Next we considered the effect of output per worker on human capital accumulation. We regress secondary school graduates on output per worker, population, imports and tourism and test for autocorrelation and heteroskedasticity. The White test yielded a chi-squared stat of 9.19 implicating heteroskedasticity. Similarly the Lagrange Multiplier test yielded a 8.71 implicating autocorrelation. Correcting for both issues with Newy-West standard errors, we find no significant effect of output per worker on secondary school graduation as shown in Table 2.

One explanation for the lack of correlation might be that there are two different groups in Hawaii. The first group might be the parents of the high-school students, who see increases in their own incomes as a means to keep their children in schools so that their children can finish with their high-school education. This is the income effect of an increase in productivity, which in turn increases per capita income. The second groups might be the high school students, who see an overall increase in per capita income as an increase in the opportunity cost to stay in schools and decided to drop out to support their families. This is the substitution effect of an
increase in productivity. It is especially true to many areas in Hawaii, where a great deal of high school students getting married and dropping out of high school every year.

We also found that tourism did not have a significant effect on productivity. This can be easily explained. Tourism can increase output or income, but it also increases employment, which is the main purpose of promoting tourism. Since productivity is defined as output per worker, increases in both variables result in a constant productivity. Since population does not increase as fast as employment, per capita income increases. This the second goal of tourism.

6. Conclusion

Using the ratio of secondary school graduates to employment as a proxy of human capital we discovered that human capital has a positive and significant effect on output per worker. We also found that output per worker does not have a significant effect on human capital accumulation and postulated a hypothesis for the lack of correlation. We also noticed that tourism did not have a significant effect on either output-per worker. Further studies should be carried out once more data become available, such as income from tourist spending, or large sample size.
References


Table 1. **Effect of Human Capital on Productivity**
Dependent Variable: Productivity = Output Per Worker

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>St. Error</th>
<th>t-stat</th>
<th>p-value</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Human Capital</strong></td>
<td><strong>2237845</strong>*</td>
<td><strong>726187.4</strong></td>
<td><strong>3.08</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.004</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>.178544***</td>
<td>.0280766</td>
<td>6.36</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imports</td>
<td>2.647862*</td>
<td>1.489201</td>
<td>1.78</td>
<td>0.084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism</td>
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<td>.0017331</td>
<td>0.56</td>
<td>0.578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-219340.1***</td>
<td>45961.98</td>
<td>-4.77</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: *** and * denotes 1% and 10% significance levels, respectively.
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<tr>
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<th>St. Error</th>
<th>t-stat</th>
<th>p-value</th>
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<td>Productivity</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
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<td>625.051</td>
<td>19.66</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Note: *** denote 1% significance level.
Inbetween Place as Fabricating Embodied Networks in Life-Space

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Abstract

Inbetween place is a conception that an interval layer manifests itself as embodied presence of edging junctions and associative relationships between neighboring realms.\(^1\) It thus becomes relevant to environmental, place-making for establishing fabric mediums of interconnectedness and definition, rather than simply a transitional space. To be lived-in a community, places in juxtaposition cannot be isolated and need to maintain their identities. This paper reviews theoretical grounds to identify inbetween place in relations to constructing the communal web in life-space. The review focuses on interdisciplinary modes that allow the inbetween, environmental networking, and sustainable place-making to be merged, based on an assumption that for aesthetics of survival, an ecological, sustainable community must support and prolong life for interlinks with environments. Priorities of the inbetweens may help clarify complexity and significance of environmental networking in a discourse of environmental sustainability. If inbetween places have any kinds of patterns that lend themselves to “Significant Forms” of linkages, then these embodied intervals can launch potentiality that draws systemic networks and meaningful places towards a contribution to a sustainable neighborhood as an experiential, living whole.

Keywords:
Inbetween Place, Environmental Interconnectedness, Edge of Place, Place Networks

1. Introduction

To juxtapose spaces/places together in the same location, the third condition systematically emerges, known as the inbetween. Similarly to Plato’s admonition, “Two things alone cannot be satisfactorily united without the third; for there must be some bond between them drawing them together.”\(^2\) In this context, an inbetween place announces itself as the third articulating place of an edging interval as a critical bond that bridge relationships between neighboring domains.\(^3\) Inbetween place is
environmental networking of life-space emerging out of the following concepts of spatial-relations, theory of urban web, and edges of place to which I add the concept of life-space—life-relational environments supporting personal experiential and objective needs.

Architecture of place and the inbetween are interwoven in relative dimensions. A place, on a phenomenological worldview, announces itself a living entity; in turn, it cannot be completely isolated from others and its environments. Therefore, diverse places in the same domain need to be united by which to create collective and networking fabrics, so called the inbetween, so as to form an interconnected community and a sustainable neighborhood. Opposed to modernism statement of continuity between the inside and the outside as flowing space, Aldo van Eyck proposes the inbetween as the architectural reciprocity reconciling between differences: the inside and the outside, one space and another, creating “twin-phenomena.” William Kleinsasser points out that inbetween space in a community allows individuals to extend and explore their outside territories in life-space. However, both van Eyck and Kleinsasser’s concepts of the inbetween space only originate the inbetween significance in architectural realms as reconciling and shared places, respectively. This paper will focus on the construction of inbetween place as the place-link network. Because humans have basic activities of exploration of their environment, they, as traveling from one place to another, experience which lies in-between that enables them to explore. Inbetween places generate a series of spatial sequences of place-to-place excursions. If systematically fabricated as sharing and organizational elements of neighborhoods, inbetween places are possible to create a designed place-link fabric. An understanding of inbetween place and how it constructs the web of place interconnections will offer insights of significance of inbetween place towards creating systemic, living place-link network in a neighborhood.

2. Inbetween Place in Environmental Creation

The inbetweens in environmental design are pertinent to the conception of juxtapositions of spaces/places as manifestations of differences, an articulation between spaces with a transitional realm. Moreover, the conception of the inbetween is congruent to place-making of sustainable, living community in that the critical core of sustainability and ecosystems fundamentally lies in aesthetic survival with connectivity. Inbetween realms, in this way, can induce associative relationships and reinforcement of place identity at once “with respect to place and occasion.”
Also, for William Kleinsasser the inbetweens are considered as potential, undesignated spaces “that can develop into places responsive to two or more sets of conditions at the same time.” To articulate the conception of environmental juxtapositions, the inbetweens must present themselves as mediums: expressive forms leading to experience of spatial-relations. Forms of the inbetweens thus convey structures of juxtaposition as well as modes reinforcing the reciprocal promotion of separation and unity between domains.

Inbetween realms vary in several formal elements: from thresholds, stairways, corridors, arcades, colonnades, promenades, niches of a façade, gateways, courtyards, left-over spaces, alleys, to streets. For place-forms, the inbetweens must retain “Significant forms” — as defined by Susanne Langer —of a lived sensibility of edging, interconnective domains. Inbetween places thus lie in inbetween settings and layers concurrently expressing place-forms and inbetween modes. Inbetween places manifest themselves as a place: 1) a lived, environmental entity as presence of vital, living forms of inbetween modes; 2) being situated in edging junctures, the ways in which the interval realm connects juxtaposing domains; and 3) performing as transition and connection of the less predetermined (programmed) nature.

Inbetween “Significant Forms,” in this context, emerge out of manifestations of intermediary places as vital as layers of neighboring interactions: separations and connections and parts and the whole. In other words, inbetween “Significant Forms” can only express through inbetween place-forms of the sensible and tangible relationship between different realms. In contrast, “Significant Form” cannot be introduced by inbetween spaces of linear moving channels and left-over spaces of unidentifiable scales and functionality, both of which are deprived of concrete, definite layers of meaningful links. For “Significant Forms,” inbetween places must suggest living interval domains for possessions in junctions and associations with environmental juxtapositions. From symbolic presentational forms of interval domains, inbetween “Significant Forms” emerge as the following:

1. Significant pauses and a place of refuge and associations
2. Detached participations
3. Spatial reinforcement strengthening juxtaposing realms
4. Spatial clarification creating sequential-making, hereness-thereness between places.
5. Spontaneous uses: spacious clarity, possession in movement, and lingering on edges.
The presence of place modes of inbetweens enables meaningful potential for the engagement in the environment: dwelling/being and events to take place. In turn, the presence of the inbetween modes gives a place the “Significant form” of connectedness, pauses, transition-making, spatial sequences, and orientation-shifting. Inbetween places are thus reinforced by the embodiment of place and the inbetween, reciprocally. Meaningful inbetween places need to contain the possibilities for life to be lived in presence of intervals domains.

3. Spatial-Relations
To move from a place to another, inbetween domains function as articulating mediums in spatial-relations. Spatial-relations are fundamental embodied concepts which allow humans to understand how spatial form exists and how spatial inference is defined. Humans indicate nearness and farness of objects by referencing them with landmarks: they discern one entity as in, on or across from another entity. Moreover, humans perceive readily in three and four-dimensional conceptual schemas. The container schema consists of an interior of varying scales of place, a boundary or landmark identified as being between interior and exterior conditions, and one of existence of outside. If humans travel from one container toward another container, the source-path-goal schema is logically built (Figure 1).

Figure 1. In a domain, a boundary identifies a location setting apart from surroundings, according to a container schema. A path links between a gate as a starting point and a landmark as destination, related to the source-path-goal schema.

The source-path-goal schema is comprised of following elements: a moving object, a starting location, a intended destination, a path from the source and the goal, the actual trajectory of motion, the object’s position at given time, the object’s direction at that time, and the actual final location of object. Path from the source and the goal is alternatively topological: it relies on many chaotic factors: the object’s motion, direction, position, and what lies in its path, all of which could lead to different experiences before reaching final location. As moving toward some place, humans generally interact with place utilizing frontal vision considering anything they pass along the way behind them. The concepts of front and back are basic spatial-relations related to the human body: bodily projection which humans project relationships by using basic body metaphors. Humans employ their bodies and their positions/locations to create fundamental spatial orientations in both orienting themselves and perceiving relationships between objects.

Observed here is significance of edges/boundaries and of the inbetweens in relations to environmental perception. To identify a place or a neighborhood as a definite domain, edges of place perform their roles as bordering junctions indicating spatial differences. Edges therefore embody a place as if it has a body through metaphor. As humans are moving toward some place, inbetween places develop into critical factors so as to encourage experience of place by providing “Significant Forms" of pauses, a series of environmental sequences, orientation, and progressive movement, all of which lead humans to be lived-in an embodied place, through presence of edges and well-defined complexity of inbetween places.

4. Place, Path and Edge
Places varying several scales in architectural context manifest itself as distinguishable identities. Identity of place is defined by inner gestures or paths and tangible boundaries or edges as Thomas Barrie mentions J.G. Davies to identify a place as “a readily comprehensible shape that possesses a discernable and concentrated form with pronounced boarders.” As Kevin Lynch states in The Image of the City, paths, lying in the structural elements of the urban images, which link places, nodes, districts, and landmarks need to convey senses of characteristics, directionality, and continuity between origins and destinations. Paths as active passages consist of a sequence of events along the path. Paths could create motion awareness: "senses of passage, distance, rhythm and time." Additionally, according to Kent and Bloomer and Charles Moore, paths encouraging experiences
intensify place of destination. Paths become the significant anatomy of domains that is interrelated to fabrication of place’s identity.

Identifiable paths are delineated and recognized by characteristics of the edge. Edges convey either separation or amalgamation of the parts of domains and essentially enable to identify particular regions of domains. Edge effects emerging out of detailed facades can furthermore create “a place to pause”. As Jan Gehl proposes in *Life between Building*, popular places for pausing or staying are found along the facades in spaces and in-between places or transitional zones where it is possible to view juxtaposed domains or spaces, simultaneously. Edge effects can be explained; for instance, the edges of forest, beaches, groups of trees are preferred place for staying; the open plains are not used until the edge locations are completely occupied. Placement or insertion at the edges of spaces enables individuals to observing places, locations, and occasions going on in place and meanwhile to be less exposed to the public (Figure 2). Also, being close to facades or at the edges allow individuals or groups to keep intimate space or distance from others.

![Figure 2. Colonnades become a place to stand and pause. People are inclined to congregate at the edges of facades or transitional locations.](image)


In addition, edges such as building facades create closure encouraging expectation and continuity as one is traveling along the path from one place to another. As Gordon Cullen notes, closure—the cutting up of linear systems of paths
and passages that contrasts to enclosure which provide a private space—offers the sense of progression and anticipation. Closure impacted by irregularity or asymmetry of layout leads the path from source to goal to not be automatically revealed, thereby dividing the path into a series of recognizable statements.\(^{23}\)

A path allows for movements and connections of the urban web.\(^{24}\) An edge or closure enables to pause and generate a series of sequences for social encounters. Both become integral elements of the urban setting which allow people to explore and experience place’s identity through spatial sequences in a particular domain.

5. **Generating the Urban Web**

While edges of place are focused, it is important if they disclose a symbol of environmental relations to take place in interval domains. “Significant Form” of edging intervals presents itself as a means of sequences of environmental juxtapositions and associations, thereby possibly creating networks or place webs. Theory of the urban web derives from the connective processes among urban elements including mathematical consideration, as Nikos Salingaros proposes. The urban web is a complex organizing structure of existence in spaces between buildings: exterior and connective elements—path systems: pedestrian, streets and roads; architectural elements: facades, edges, walls; and spaces: external nodes and open spaces.\(^{25}\)

The urban web is composed of complexity and sufficient systemic organization, thereby contributing to the living “organized complexity” of connectedness in a neighborhood. Web connections are generated from three principles: nodes as anchors of human activities whose interconnections make up the web, connections forming between complementary nodes, and hierarchy of connections on several different levels of scale.\(^{26}\) Successful connections of the urban web consist of many small segments, non-rigid irregularity and a multiplicity of alternatives. Connective processes of the urban web are similar to fluid flow occurring merely between points of different potential. The urban web is constructed when contrasting nodes are located to provide active linkages between like nodes: multiple connections are established between complementary nodes, then joined together into paths which also connect like nodes. For example, the need to go from home to a store, an office, a school, a park creates web connections; on the other hand, connections are unlikely to occur between the need to go from one house to another.\(^{27}\) In other words, web interconnections will take place in organized, diverse
environments of uses against segregated and concentrated functional contexts. Moreover, intermediate nodes need to be placed between two nodes in order to generate a web of path connections.

Figure 3: A path along which is defined by complex edges can turn to be an inbetween places. Embodied presence of a network in a domain gives people senses of place, sequences, and rhythms as they are wandering through a neighborhood network. (Source: Paul Oliver, *Dwellings: The Vernacular House World Wide* [New York: Phaidon, 2003], p. 142.)

To be experienced as an embodied place, a place network capable of interconnectivity needs to be identified as an inbetween containment of interrelations between places as the whole, a body of living form of intervals defined by organized complexity of edges (Figure 3). Inbetween places, like other places, announce their own “significant forms.” Other than pause, sequential-making, and detached participation, inbetween places embody an anatomy of place-link fabrication through their edging presence of environmental tactility.
6. **Life-Space**

“In our daily lives we need support from many facilities, services, and spatial qualities (varieties, closeness, interest). These extend well beyond the four walls of the places in which we live. In fact, we live in extended space. This extended space is our life-space.”

In ecology, life circuits; humans need a diversity of life-relational environments to serve and support their experiential, emotional, and objective needs-called life-space. Kleinsasser proposes the concept of life space as experientially supportive environment for each individual and for each life circumstance: it must be stimulating, meaningful on several levels, full of possibilities of spontaneous involvement and effective use, and full of varieties and choices for those inhabit it.

Life-space for one person is not the same as that for anyone else; the same place may be supportive for one person but unsupportive for others. Or, many people possibly find the same common places as their experientially supportive environment and share those places in their life-spaces. Life-spaces therefore embody particular and shared environments, experientially supportive for both individuals and groups.

The concept of life-space leads to further questions: how can those life-spaces be connected, how do individuals experience realms in-between each life-space function as they are traveling from one place to another, and how do inbetween places fabricate experiential and supportive environments as linkages in a neighborhood?

The concept of life-space mainly concerns the combinations of individuals’ life-spaces: facilitating and supporting lives in four dimensions—three basic embodied schemas and extended time. In the concept of life-space, relations between life-spaces chiefly rely on path as extended and choreographed inbetween domains. On the one hand, in Kleinsasser’s view, inbetween settings in life-space are to extend individuals’ outside territories and to be shared as communal spaces.

On the other hand, the concept of life-space needs to develop meaningful, experiential relationships between place to place through inbetween places.

7. **Conclusion: Inbetween Place as Constructing Embodied Networks**

Inbetween places enable people not only to share spaces and extend their territories but also to embody and explore places. Grant Hildebrand supports exploration as one of the fundamental human activities for survival success including ingestion, procreation, and the securing of appropriate habitation. Exploration essentially becomes significant modes for architectural perception and experience.
places contribute our experience to exploring environments by allowing pauses between one place and another. Pauses between places lead to strengthening place-to-place connections: environmental relationships are interlocked into sequences and comprised of episodes—overlapping scenes of place and social occasions.

Inbetween places with tactile presence attract us to pause at the edges. A pause at a boundary is crucial because our meaningful experience of itineration through place is established into a series of events: prior undergoing, present pause, and fore-preparation. A pause at an inbetween domain allows for detached participation with others, events, and neighboring environments. With pause and detached participation, places in juxtaposition enable one to be interconnected into a network of environmental fabrics; the integrated whole emerges out of spatial sequences.

Figure 4: A living street performs as an inbetween place in a neighborhood, developing an embodied, environmental network and holistic experience of place.


Extending from the domestic sphere to an urban scale and ecological scale, inbetween places that are full of living presence and considered as complementary and intermediate nodes allow humans to enter and explore, thereby creating web interconnections of places (Figure 4). Fabricated as organizational and complex,
interconnected components of a neighborhood, inbetween places link the experiential places to networks constructed in life-space and create living, meaningful web-place connections.

The inbetween places perform as vital layers of interconnection, making us incorporate new information and sustain our living in the complex system of neighborhoods. We as embodied entities are integrated with the environments by the embodied nature of spatial-relations.35 We understand domains we live in through bodily metaphors to project, navigate, and create a place. To be an embodied network in a neighborhood, a series of inbetween places must be established through complex edges of interconnections. Well-defined inbetween places retaining lived sensibilities of environmental sequences provide choreographing rhythmic movement and gestures of place, contributing to imports to sustain our identity and connectivity so as to support life that they define for aesthetic survival in place.

8. Notes

1 See Narongpon Laiprakobsup, *Inbetween Place: The Emergence of the Essence* (Berlin: VDM Verlag Dr. Muller, 2008), p.142.
3 Narongpon Laiprakobsup, p.142.
9 Aldo van Eyck.
10 William Kleinsasser, p. 92.
11 Narongpon Laiprakobsup, p.132.
12 George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, p. 30-31.
13 Ibid., p. 32.
14 Ibid., p. 33.
15 Ibid., p. 34.
18 Thomas Barrie, p. 38.
20 Thomas Barrie, p. 38.
25 Ibid.
26 Ibid.
27 Ibid.
28 William Kleinsasser, p. 70.
29 Ibid., p. 64.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid., p. 57.
33 See Phillip Thiel, *People, Paths, and Purposes; Notations for a Participatory Envirotecture* (US: The University of Washington Press, 1997), p. 33. The episode refers to the interval between the setting of the goal and its realization. Human life in chronological time, and therefore environmental space, is thus composed of the multitude of simultaneous overlapping episodes of different points of origin and durations.
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35 George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, p. 30.

Crop Productivity and Farmers Coping Strategies in Jhum Chash (Shifting cultivation) System: A Case Study in Baghaichari Muk Village, Khagrachari Hill District of Bangladesh

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Abstract: Jhum (Shifting cultivation) system of rice in the study village is undergoing dramatic change. Due to the construction of Kaptai Dam, privatization of the hill lands and the resettlement program, ethnic minorities, particularly the Chakma are losing plain land. This drastic social change in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) has created the shortage of Jhum land in the hill, ultimately resulting in shorter fallow period. There is a great yield difference among Jhum rice, plain land rice and riverside planted rice. This variation is due partly to the cultivation of crops in Jhum land in a mixed pattern with low level of management, whereas plain land and riverside rice fields get the maximum management. So, although the Jhum farmers intend to grow more plain land rice, they cannot do this due to severe land shortage with some edaphic problems. Farmers also try to cope with this sort of problems. As in the Jhum land crops are grown in a mixed way and the number of crops are more here than that of plain land (where only mono rice crop is grown) and it has been found that the total gross profit for one hectare of Jhum rice in one year is about 36310 Tk., which is rather low in
comparison with plain land rice (gross profit is about 72040 Tk. in one hectare of land in one year). The present paper aims to compare the yield, production cost and gross profit of *Jhum* crops with that of plain land paddy and to find out the locally adopted coping strategies of *Jhum* problems in socio-economic aspect, especially in the utilization of Non Timber Forest Products (NTFPs). Finally, it is concluded that *Jhum* functions as safety-net for the poorer people who also depend on selling the various NTFPs in the local markets.

**Keywords:** *Jhum* (Shifting) cultivation, crop productivity, farmers’ problem and coping strategies.
1. **Title:** Do we speak the same language? Exploring classroom management strategies used by School Social Workers and Teachers for students with ADHD in inner city schools

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6. **Abstract:**

   Although a school’s primary mandate is to educate children, there is increasing understanding that in order to meet the conditions for teaching and learning, attention must be paid to the psychosocial issues of children, especially those in inner-city environments. Regardless of the school based mental health models utilized to address these issues, it is the collaborative effort of school personnel that has been most influential in the classroom management of students with challenging needs (Adelman & Taylor, 1997; Adelman & Taylor 1991; Duerr & Duerr, 1996; Lynn, McKay, Atkins, 2006; O'Neill, Williams, Sprague, Horner & Albin, 1993). The prevalence of ADHD has presented such a challenge and school social workers are positioned as critical collaborators for teachers in developing interventions for students with this condition. Using semi-structured interviews of 25 inner city school teachers and social workers, this study will explore the current strategies utilized to manage the behavior of students with ADHD in inner-city classroom settings. Findings will help to improve the
collaborative efforts between teachers and school social workers in addressing the needs of students with ADHD.
A Semiparametric Time Trend Varying Coefficients Model: With An Application to Evaluate Credit Rationing in U.S. Credit Market

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In this paper, we propose a new semiparametric varying coefficient model which extends the existing semi-parametric varying coefficient models to allow for a time trend regressor with smooth coefficient function. We propose to use the local linear method to estimate the coefficient functions and we provide the asymptotic theory to describe the asymptotic distribution of the local linear estimator. We present an application to evaluate credit rationing in the U.S. credit market. Using U.S. monthly data (1952.1-2008.1) and using inflation as the underlying state variable, we find that credit is not rationed for levels of inflation that are either very low or very high. For the remaining values of inflation in the sample, we find that credit is rationed and the Mundell-Tobin effect holds.

**Key words:** non-stationarity; semi-parametric smooth coefficients; nonlinearity; credit rationing

**JEL codes:** C14, C22, E44

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1 Introduction

Recently, semiparametric varying coefficient modeling techniques have attracted much attention among econometricians and statisticians. For theoretical development of varying coefficient model with independent and stationary data, see Cai, Fan and Li (2000), Fan, Yao and Cai (2003), Li, Huang, Li and Fu (2002), among others. The semiparametric varying coefficient model specification has been used in various empirical studies. For example, Chou, Liu and Huang (2004) examined health insurance and savings over life cycle. Savvides, Mamuneas and Stengos (2006) studied the problem of economic development and the return to human capital. Stengos and Zacharias (2006) investigated the intertemporal pricing and price discrimination of the personal computer market. Jansen, Li, Wang and Yang (2008) studied the impact of U.S. fiscal policy on stock market performance.

In this paper, we propose a new method of estimation and inference that extends the application of semiparametric smooth coefficients models to the case where the dependent variable is non-stationary because it contains a time trend component regressors. Let $Y_t$ denote the non-stationary dependent variable ($Y_t$ contains a time trend), and $X_t$ be the set of stationary regressors. We also define $Z_t$ as a stationary underlying state variable. To capture the time trend behavior of $Y_t$, we use a time trend, denoted by $t$, as part of the data generating process. In this paper, we propose two alternative empirical specifications of a semiparametric smooth coefficients model. These specifications vary in their treatment of the time trend.

We consider a semiparametric model which includes a stationary vector variable $X_{1t}$ and a time trend as regressors, all of them have varying smooth coefficients. The model is given by

$$ Y_t = X_t^T \beta(Z_t) + u_t = X_{1t}^T \beta_1(Z_t) + t \beta_2(Z_t) + u_t, \quad (1) $$

where $X_t^T = (X_{1t}^T, X_{2t}) = (X_{1t}, t)$ is of dimension $1 \times d$, $\beta_1(\cdot)$ and $\beta_2(\cdot)$ are smooth functions of $Z_t$ and they are of dimension $(d - 1) \times 1$ and $1 \times 1$, respectively. We assume that $X_{1t}$, $Z_t$ and $u_t$ are both stationary, while $Y_t$ is non-stationary due to its time trend component.

Model (1) differs from the varying coefficient model considered by Cai, Li and Park (2009),
and Xiao (2009) who consider the case that $X_t$ contains integrated non-stationary regressors (i.e., regressors having unit roots), while our model considers a time trend non-stationary regressor.

We also consider a simpler model in which the trend variable enters the model linearly

$$Y_t = X^T_t \beta_1(Z_t) + \gamma t + u_t,$$

where $\gamma$ is a constant coefficient.

We subsequently discuss and apply this new semiparametric specification to evaluate empirically whether credit are rationed in the U.S. credit market. We start with a simple model with frictions in credit markets. We use general equilibrium techniques and consider a nonlinear structural model that has the micro-foundations required for monetary growth economies. This model builds, in a simplified way, on Hernandez-Verme (2004) and Azariadis and Smith (1996), and it has testable implications with respect to whether credit is rationed or not in equilibrium. We go directly from the model and its testable implications through estimation and inference.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. In Section 2, we describe our theoretical econometrics model and we propose to use a local linear estimation method to estimate the coefficient functions. We derive the asymptotic distribution for our proposed estimator. Section 3 presents an empirical application. We study a simple model of credit rationing, discuss its testable implication and then use a varying coefficient specification to investigate whether US credit market is rationed. Section 4 concludes the paper. The proof of the asymptotic results is given in the Appendix.

## 2 Estimating the Semiparametric Smooth Coefficients Model

Our semiparametric varying coefficient model is given by

$$Y_t = X^T_t \beta(Z_t) + u_t = X^T_{t1} \beta_{1}(Z_t) + t \beta_{2}(Z_t) + u_t, \quad t = 1, \ldots, n,$$

where $Y_t$, $Z_t$ and $u_t$ are scalars, and $X_t = (X^T_{t1}, X_{t2})^T = (X^T_{t1}, t)$. We only consider the scalar $Z_t$ case since the extension to multivariate $Z_t$ involves fundamentally no new ideas but only
2.1 Local Linear Estimation

We use a local linear approximation to approximate the unknown coefficient function. When \(Z_t\) is close to \(z\), we use \(\beta(z) + \beta'(z)(Z_t - z)\) to approximate \(\beta(Z_t)\), where \(\beta'(z) = d\beta(z)/dz\). The local linear estimator is defined via the following minimization problem.

\[
\hat{\theta}_0 = \arg\min_{\theta_0, \theta_1} \sum_{t=1}^{n} \left[ Y_t - X_t^T \theta_0 - (Z_t - z) X_t^T \theta_1 \right]^2 K_h(Z_t - z),
\]

where \(K_h(u) = h^{-1}K(u/h)\), \(K(\cdot)\) is a kernel function and \(h\) is the smoothing parameter. It is well known that \(\hat{\theta}_0 = \tilde{\beta}(z)\) estimates \(\beta(z)\) and \(\hat{\theta}_1 = \tilde{\beta}'(z)\) estimates \(\beta'(z)\). (4) has the closed form expression for \(\tilde{\beta}(z)\) and \(\tilde{\beta}'(z)\) and is given by

\[
\begin{align*}
\tilde{\beta}(z) & = \left[ \sum_{t=1}^{n} \left( X_t \right) \right] \otimes K_h(Z_t - z) \left[ \sum_{t=1}^{n} \left( X_t \right) \right]^{-1} \sum_{t=1}^{n} \left( X_t \right) Y_t K_h(Z_t - z),
\end{align*}
\]

where \(A \otimes B = A B^T\). We present the asymptotic theory regarding \(\hat{\beta}(z)\) in the next subsection.

2.2 Asymptotic Properties

Recall that \(\hat{\beta}(z) = (\hat{\beta}_1(z)^T, \hat{\beta}_2(z)^T)^T\), and that \(\hat{\beta}_1(z)\) and \(\hat{\beta}_2(z)\) are the coefficients of \(X_{1t}\) and \(t\), respectively. We will show that \(\hat{\beta}_1(z)\) and \(\hat{\beta}_2(z)\) have different convergence rates. To establish the asymptotic properties of \(\hat{\beta}(z)\), we define \(D_n = \begin{pmatrix} I_{d-1} & 0 \\ 0 & n \end{pmatrix}\), where \(I_{d-1}\) is an identity matrix of dimension \(d - 1\). We also define \(M_0(Z_t) = f_z(Z_t)E(X_{1t}X_{1t}^T|Z_t)\), \(M_1(Z_t) = (1/2)f_z(Z_t)E(X_{1t}|Z_t)\) and \(M_2(Z_t) = (1/3)f_z(Z_t)\), where \(f_z(Z_t)\) is the density function of \(Z_t\). Finally we define

\[
S(z) = \begin{pmatrix} M_0(z) & M_1(z) \\ M_1(z)^T & M_2(z) \end{pmatrix}.
\]

We also make the following assumptions.

(A1) (i) \((X_{1t}, Z_t)\) is a strictly stationary \(\beta\)-mixing process with size \(-2(2 + \delta)/\delta\) for some \(\delta > 0\), \(u_t\) is a martingale different process satisfying \(E(u_t^2|\mathcal{F}_t) = E(u_t^2) = \sigma_u^2\), and \(E(u_t^4|\mathcal{F}_t) < \infty\), where \(\mathcal{F}_t\) is the sigma field generated by \(\{X_{1t}, Z_t\}_{t=1}^{\infty}\). (iii) \(\beta(\cdot)\) has a bounded and continuous second order derivative function.
(A2) (i) \( K(\cdot) \) is a bounded symmetric density function with \( \int K(v)v^2 dv = \mu_2(K) \) being a finite positive constant. (ii) \( h \to 0, \ n h^2 \to \infty \) and \( n h^5 = O(1) \) as \( n \to \infty \).

The above regularity conditions are quite standard and provide sufficient conditions to establish our Theorem 1 below. However, they are not the weakest possible conditions. For example, the conditional homoskedastic error assumption can be relaxed to allow for conditional heteroskedastic errors.

**THEOREM 1** Under Assumptions A1 - A2 given above, we have

\[
\sqrt{nh}D_n \left[ \hat{\beta}(z) - \beta(z) - h^2 \mu_2(K) \beta''(z) \right] \to N(0, \Sigma_{\beta}(z)) \text{ in distribution},
\]

where \( \mu_2 = \int K(v)v^2 dv, \ \beta''(z) = d^2 \beta(z)/dz^2, \ N(0, \Sigma_{\beta}(z)) \) denotes a normal distribution with mean zero and variance matrix given by \( \Sigma_{\beta}(z) = \sigma_{\beta}^2 v_0(K) S(z)^{-1}, \ v_0(K) = \int K^2(v)v^2 dv, \) and \( S(z) \) is defined in (6).

Detailed proof of the above Theorem is provided in Appendix A.

Note that Theorem 1 shows that while the coefficient of \( X_{11} \) has the standard rate of convergence: \( \hat{\beta}_{(1)}(z) - \beta_{(1)}(z) = O_p(h^2 + (nh)^{-1/2}) \) because \( \text{var}(\hat{\beta}_{(1)}(z)) = O((nh)^{-1}) \), the coefficient function of \( t \) has a much faster rate of convergence: \( \hat{\beta}_{(2)}(z) - \beta_{(2)}(z) = O_p(h^2 + (n^3 h)^{-1/2}) \) because \( \text{var}(\hat{\beta}_{(2)}(z)) = O((n^3 h)^{-1}) \) (due to the extra \( n \) factor at the lower diagonal position in matrix \( D_n \)).

### 3 An Empirical Application

#### 3.1 A Simple Model of Credit Rationing

In this section, we present a simple model of the financial system that can be used to evaluate whether credit is rationed or not. In this economy, there is an adverse selection problem in the credit market. Depending on the state of the economy, the Incentive Compatibility constraint associated with this problem may or may not be binding. We let \( r_t \) denote the real gross interest rate on loans. Borrowers and Lenders each take \( r_t \) as given.

We introduce reserve requirement as a first building block of the monetary policy in this economy. In general, these required reserves must be held in the form of currency, either do-
mestic or foreign. It seems reasonable to assume that the reserve requirement is binding, so henceforth we suppose that this is the case.

The second building block is the evolution of the money supply. The monetary authority directly control over the domestic money supply. The evolution of the money supply \( M_t \) is given by

\[
M_t = (1 + \sigma)M_{t-1},
\]

where \( \sigma > -1 \) is the rate of money growth set exogenously by the Federal Reserve System. We use \( \pi_t = \frac{p_t - p_{t-1}}{p_{t-1}} \) to denote the domestic rate of inflation at date \( t \).

Clearing in the Credit Market with a binding reserve requirement and the evolution of the money supply then requires that the equilibrium real interest rate on loans \( r_t \) is an increasing function of \( \pi_t \), the inflation rate at time \( t \) highlighting the role of the reserve requirement. The intuition behind this result is as follows: higher inflation rates reduce the return that banks receive from their currency-reserves holdings, and \( r_t \) must increase for banks to be able to compete for deposits in the market.

### 3.1.1 General Equilibrium and Alternative Credit Regimes

In this section, we show that the combination of \( r_t \) and other state variables will determine whether the Incentive Compatibility constraint binds or not in equilibrium, which will in turn control the regime that a particular allocation belongs to. There are two possible credit regimes that we discuss in detail below: a Walrasian regime - where credit is not rationed - and a Private Information regime - where credit is rationed.

#### A Walrasian Regime

We say that the economy is in a Walrasian regime at a particular point in time when a Walrasian equilibrium occurs. Let \( k_t^W \) denote the per capita capital stock when the economy is in a Walrasian equilibrium at date \( t \). The economy is in a Walrasian equilibrium when

\[
f'(k_t^W) = r_t,
\]
where $f'(k) = df(k)/dk$. This condition is fairly common in standard economic theory. In this particular model, when condition (8) holds, the Incentive Compatibility constraint is not binding, meaning that the private information problem is not binding either. In this case, we say that credit is not rationed, since borrowers may borrow as much as they can at the equilibrium interest rate $r_t$.

In terms of comparative statics, we observe that when credit is not rationed, increases in $r_t$ translate into increases in the marginal product of capital. Given standard decreasing marginal products, then, $k^W_t = k^W(r_t)$ is a decreasing nonlinear function of $r_t$. This means also that $y^W_t = f\left[k^W(r_t)\right]$, and, thus, output per capita in a Walrasian equilibrium is also decreasing in $r_t$. In summary, an increase in the equilibrium interest rate on loans reduces output per capita in equilibria where credit is not rationed.

### A Private Information Regime

When a Private Information equilibrium occurs at a particular date, we say that the economy is in a Private Information regime, and we observe that the link between the marginal product of capital and the market interest rate on loans is broken. Let $k^P_t$ denote the capital stock per capita when the economy is in a Private Information equilibrium at date $t$. The economy is in a Private Information equilibrium when the following inequality holds:

$$f'(k^P_t) > r_t. \quad (9)$$

When Condition (9) holds, borrowers are willing to borrow arbitrarily large amounts at the market interest rate on loans $r_t$. In such a situation, lenders must make the Incentive Compatibility constraint binding to avoid potential default problems, and this causes Credit Rationing.

Under the circumstances mentioned above, an increase in $r_t$ serves the purpose of relaxing the Incentive Compatibility constraint, increasing the amount of credit available and borrowed and, thus, $k^P_t$. Thus, $k^P_t = k^P(r_t)$ is an increasing nonlinear function of $r_t$. This means that $y^P_t = f\left[k^P(r_t)\right]$, and output in a Private Information equilibrium is also increasing in $r_t$. In summary, an increase in the equilibrium interest rate on loans increases output when credit is
rationed, and a short-run version of Mundell-Tobin effect prevails.

3.1.2 Testable Implications of the Model

We can use a reduced-form equation that is consistent with the model presented above and that can also be used to evaluate whether credit is rationed or not. In particular, for the sake of parsimony, we use the following semi-parametric equation:

\[ y_t = \beta_1(\pi_t) + \beta_2(\pi_t) r_t + \beta_3(\pi_t) t + u_t, \]  

(10)

where the underlying state variable is the inflation rate, while \( \beta_1(\pi_t), \beta_2(\pi_t) \) and \( \beta_3(\pi_t) \) are smooth coefficient functions that depend on the inflation rate \( \pi_t \). By using this flexible specification, we can evaluate whether credit rationing is present or not, together with the region of the state-space for which this is true. In particular, let \( \hat{\beta}_2(\pi_t) \) denote the estimated function of \( \beta_2(\pi_t) = \partial y_t / \partial r_t \). Then, the regions in which \( \hat{\beta}_2(\pi_t) > 0 \) is associated with Private Information equilibria and, thus, credit will be rationed. The complementary regions in which \( \hat{\beta}_2(\pi_t) < 0 \) is associated with Walrasian equilibria and credit will not be rationed.

3.2 Econometric Methodology

3.2.1 Model Specification

We start from the simple linear regression model

\[ Y_t = X_t^T \beta + Z_t^T \gamma + u_t, \quad t = 1, 2, ..., n, \]  

(11)

where \( X_t^T \) is a 1 \( \times \) \( d \) vector with one component being 1, \( Z_t^T \) is a 1 \( \times \) \( q \) vector, and \( \beta \) and \( \gamma \) are constant parameter vectors with dimensions \( d \times 1 \) and \( q \times 1 \), respectively. Equation (11) will be the benchmark against which we will compare our results.

Our choice of specification of the empirical model is consistent with the simple theoretical framework that we presented in the previous section. Thus, we propose to use the following semi-parametric varying coefficient specification:

\[ Y_t = X_t^T \beta(Z_t) + u_t, \quad t = 1, 2, ..., n, \]  

(12)
where the coefficient function $\beta(Z_t)$ is a $d \times 1$ vector of unspecified smooth functions of the underlying state variable $Z_t$.

This model specification allows for a more flexible functional form and also avoids the “curse of dimensionality” associated with a fully nonparametric model. Under the assumption that model (12) is correctly specified, $E(u_t|X_t, Z_t) = 0$. Pre-multiplying both sides of (12) with $X_t$, taking conditional expectation $E(\cdot|Z_t = z)$, and then solving for $\beta(z)$ yields

$$
\beta(z) = \left[ E(X_tX_t^T|Z_t = z) \right]^{-1} E(X_tY_t|Z_t = z).
$$

(13)

We next replace the conditional mean function in (13) by some nonparametric estimator, say by the local linear kernel estimator, and we obtain a feasible estimator of $\beta(z)$.

In our model, the dependent variable is the industrial production per capita, which we denote as $Y_t$. Since the industrial production per capita has an obvious time trend, the explanatory variable $X_t$ includes the time trend $t$. $X_t$ also contains the growth rate of the real gross interest rate on loans $\Delta \ln(r_t)$, since the real interest rate is nonstationary. The explanatory state variable $Z_t$ is the inflation rate $\pi_t$. Since the non-stationarity of industrial production per capita is caught by the time trend, we redefine the coefficient smooth function of $\pi_t$ associated with the time trend $t$ as $\beta_3(\pi_t)$. So, we can rewrite the model in (12) as

$$
Y_t = \beta_1(\pi_t) + \beta_2(\pi_t) \Delta \ln(r_t) + \beta_3(\pi_t) t + u_t.
$$

(14)

The coefficient for the intercept, $\beta_1(\pi_t)$, is a function of the underlying state-variable $\pi_t$ (inflation rate), and so is the coefficient $\beta_2(\pi_t)$ that measures the effect of the real interest rate on the industrial production per capita at date $t$.

We obtain an alternative model specification when the time trend $t$ enters the model linearly, which means that the effect of the time trend is constant and independent of the state variable $\pi_t$. So, the smooth coefficient function of $t$, $\beta_3(\pi_t)$, reduces to a constant parameter $\gamma$. Under these conditions, the alternative nonlinear model with constant time trend becomes

$$
Y_t = \gamma t + \beta_1(\pi_t) + \beta_2(\pi_t) \Delta \ln(r_t) + u_t.
$$

(15)
The corresponding linear regression model (11) is given by,

$$Y_t = \beta_{1,0} + \beta_{2,0} \Delta \ln(r_t) + \beta_{3,0} t + \beta_{4,0} \pi_t + u_t,$$  \hspace{1cm} (16)

where $\beta_{j,0}$s ($j = 1, 2, 3, 4$) are constant coefficients.

In the remainder of the paper we will refer the simple linear model in (16) as model 1, the partially linear varying coefficient model (15) as model 2, and the general varying coefficient model in (14) as model 3.

### 3.2.2 Model Specification Testing

As is standard in the literature, we first test whether the varying coefficient models 2 and 3 represent the data significantly better than the standard linear OLS model or model 1.

We start from the benchmark model 1, a linear regression model with time trend, as described in (16). We use the Generalized Likelihood Ratio (GLR) test as suggested by Cai, Fan and Yao (2000) to conduct model specification tests. Particularly, we test whether the linear specification model is adequate for the data, with the linear model as the null hypothesis and one of the varying coefficient models as the alternative. We do so first with model 3, and next with model 2. The test is based on the difference of the sums of squared residuals between the two competing models as follows:

$$GLR = \frac{\sum_{t=1}^{n} \tilde{u}_t^2 - \sum_{t=1}^{n} \tilde{u}_t^2}{\sum_{t=1}^{n} \tilde{u}_t^2} \hspace{1cm} (17)$$

where $\tilde{u}_t$ is the residual from the null hypothesis linear model, and $\tilde{u}_t$ is the residual from the alternative smooth coefficient model. Typically, one rejects the null hypothesis of linearity when large values for the $GLR$ statistic are obtained.

We now turn to explain the multiple steps involved in this test. Cai, Fan and Yao (2000) suggest using a bootstrap approach to evaluate the p-value of the test. In particular, they bootstrapped the centralized residuals from the nonparametric fit instead of the linear fit, because the nonparametric estimate of the residuals is consistent under both the null and alternative hypotheses. We use $u_t^*$ to denote the bootstrap error - which is obtained following the fitted residual from the varying coefficient model. The bootstrap error $u_t^*$ follows the ‘wild’ bootstrap distribution
conditions (see Cai et al (2000) for more details). We then obtain the GLR statistics and critical values via the following five steps:

**Step 1:** For each \( t = 1, 2, \ldots, n \), we generate values for \( u_t^* \) that satisfies the ‘wild’ bootstrap distribution conditions. We then compute \( y_t^* = X_t^T \hat{\beta}(\pi_t) + u_t^* \), where \( X_t^T = (1, \Delta \ln(r_t), t) \) for \( t = 1, 2, \ldots, n \).

**Step 2:** We obtain the least square estimator by using the bootstrap sample

\[
\hat{\beta}_{ols}^* = \left( \sum_{t=1}^{n} \tilde{X}_t \tilde{X}_t^T \right)^{-1} \sum_{t=1}^{n} \tilde{X}_t y_t^*,
\]

(18)

where \( \tilde{X}_t = (1, \Delta \ln(r_t), t, \pi_t) \) for \( t = 1, 2, \ldots, n \). Next, we obtain the estimated bootstrap OLS residuals by using \( \tilde{u}_t^* = y_t^* - \tilde{X}_t^T \hat{\beta}_{ols}^* \).

**Step 3:** We obtain the kernel estimator of \( \hat{\beta}(\pi_t) \) using the bootstrap sample, as

\[
\hat{\beta}^*(\pi_t) = \left( \sum_{j=1}^{n} X_j X_j^T K \left( \frac{\pi_j - \pi_t}{h} \right) \right)^{-1} \sum_{j=1}^{n} X_j y_j^* K \left( \frac{\pi_j - \pi_t}{h} \right).
\]

(19)

Then, we proceed to calculate the estimated bootstrap residuals using \( \tilde{u}_t^* = y_t^* - \tilde{X}_t^T \hat{\beta}^*(\pi_t) \).

**Step 4:** We compute the bootstrap statistic using

\[
GLR_n^* = \frac{\sum_{t=1}^{n} \tilde{u}_t^2 - \sum_{t=1}^{n} \tilde{u}_t^*}{\sum_{t=1}^{n} \tilde{u}_t^*}
\]

(20)

**Step 5:** We repeat steps 1-4 a number of times, say \( B \) times, and obtain the empirical distribution of the \( B \) test statistics of \( \{GLR_n^* \}_{j=1}^{B} \). Let \( GLR_{n,(\alpha)}^* \) denote the \( \alpha^{th} \) percentile of the bootstrap statistics. We then reject the null hypothesis at the significance level \( \alpha \) if \( GLR_n > GLR_{n,(\alpha)}^* \) obtains.

### 3.3 Empirical Results

#### 3.3.1 Data

In order to focus on the short run relationships described by our theoretical model, we use monthly data. The following variables were obtained from the FRED data set of the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis: the industrial production index \((IP_t)\), the bank prime loan rate \((I_t)\), the CPI \((P_t)\), and population \((POP_t)\). The data spans from January 1952 to January 2008 with
a total of 673 monthly observations. We calculate the series of industrial production per capita, $IPP_t$, by using the industrial production index and population series as follows,

$$IPP_t = \frac{IP_t}{POP_t} \times 1,000.$$  \hspace{1cm} (21)

The population is expressed in thousands of inhabitants. Therefore, $IPP_t$ is an index of industrial production per million people, and we found it to be nonstationary. It is stationary after detrending. We calculated the inflation rate ($\pi_t$) from the CPI, by using $\pi_t = \left( \frac{P_t}{P_{t-1}} - 1 \right) \times 100$.

Next, we adjusted the Bank Prime Loan Rate series ($I_t$) by the inflation rate ($\pi_t$), obtaining the real gross interest rate $r_t$, by using the formula $r_t = \frac{1 + I_t}{1 + \pi_t}$. We found the real gross interest rate, $r_t$, to be nonstationary. However, this estimation method requires stationary covariates, and we proceeded to find a stationary representation of this series. Thus, accordingly, we took the log difference of the real gross interest rate, $\Delta \ln(r_t) = \ln(r_t) - \ln(r_{t-1})$ and found $\Delta \ln(r_t)$ to be stationary.

### 3.3.2 Results of Model Specification Tests

For the model specification test, we use the methodology introduced in section 3.2.2. The null hypothesis of the GLR test is that the linear model, model 1, fits the data best. We use different types of nonlinear models as alternative hypothesis: model 2 and model 3.

In the Table 1 below, we present the bootstrap critical values in columns three through six for different nominal values. In the sixth column, we display the GLR statistics, and column seven reports the $p$-values. The $p$-value for the linear model against model 3 is less than 0.001, while the $p$-value for the linear model against model 2 equals 0.003. The testing results indicate the existence of strong nonlinearities in the output, inflation and interest rate relationship.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Models</th>
<th>Critical Values</th>
<th>GLR</th>
<th>Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Models 1 v.s. 2</td>
<td>0.041</td>
<td>0.036</td>
<td>0.033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Models 1 v.s. 3</td>
<td>0.053</td>
<td>0.049</td>
<td>0.045</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Our comparisons of model 2 and model 3 each against the linear model have thus verified the presence of strong nonlinearity. However, we also need to take a step further: to treat model 2 as the null model and test it against the more general model 3. To do so, we used a test statistic that was based on a similar GLR methodology (and a bootstrap procedure). The testing result show that we cannot reject the null hypothesis that model 2 is adequate against model 3 at any conventional significant level. Therefore, our econometrics analysis will be mainly based on the more parsimony model 2 in the remaining parts of this paper, though we will also present the estimation result of model 3 in the Appendix B for readers’ convenience.

3.3.3 Estimation Results

In this section, we discuss the main traits of the estimated coefficient functions as well as the economic intuition behind them. We present empirical evidence on the scope for credit rationing in the U.S. credit market.

The Estimated Coefficient Functions

We present the estimation results of the partially linear varying coefficients model 2. Here, we focus on the nonlinearities displayed by the estimated coefficient functions with respect to the inflation rate. Figure 1 displays the estimated coefficient functions of model 2. Recall that model 2 is represented by (15). We will denote the corresponding estimated functions by \( \hat{\gamma} \), \( \hat{\beta}_1(\pi_t) \) and \( \hat{\beta}_2(\pi_t) \). The estimated value for the constant parameter \( \gamma \) is \( \hat{\gamma} = 0.0004 \), with an associated standard error of \( 2.77 \times 10^{-6} \). So that \( \hat{\gamma} \) is (highly) significantly different from zero. This is expected because there is an obvious trend behavior in the output data.

The first panel in Figure 1 displays \( \hat{\beta}_1(\pi_t) \). In this model, \( \hat{\beta}_1(\pi_t) \) represents the varying intercept. In a standard linear regression, this coefficient would be constant and independent of the inflation rate: its diagram would take the form of a perfectly horizontal line for all values of \( \pi_t \). However, we observe that the shape of \( \hat{\beta}_1(\pi_t) \) is somewhat closer to a V shape with \( \hat{\beta}_1(\pi_t) \) taking positive values between 0.095 and 0.118. Thus, \( \beta_1(\pi_t) \) is a nonlinear function in \( \pi_t \) is supported by Figure 1.

The second panel in Figure 1 displays the estimated coefficient function \( \hat{\beta}_2(\pi_t) \) and it is of
particular importance to our analysis. One of the main hypotheses from our simple theoretical model is that the interest rate on loans having a nonlinear effect on output per capita and this effect depending on the level of the inflation rate. It is apparent that our hypothesis was verified and that the effect of $r_t$ on $Y_t$ varies significantly for different values of $\pi_t$, giving rise to threshold-effects. One can see that the second panel in Figure 1 looks (roughly) like an inverse U (or V) shape showing an obvious sign of nonlinearity.

Notice that the following transpires: for $\pi_t \in (-1, -0.6)$ and for $\pi_t \in (1.3, 1.8]$, the effect of the interest rate on output per capita is negative. The economy is in Walrasian regime. Credit is not rationed.

When $\pi_t \in (-0.6, 1.3)$, the effect of the interest rate on output per capita is positive. The economy is in Private Information regime. Credit is rationed.

**Evidence on the Scope for Credit Rationing**

Most of the previous research on credit rationing in the U.S. credit market has focused on the micro perspective. For example, Berger and Udell (1992) is based on the information of commercial bank loan contracts; Petrick (2005) is based on the household data; Duca and Rosenthal (1991) investigates credit rationing in the mortgage market.

In this paper, we supply a new perspective of how to look at the credit market at the aggregate level, one that allows for private information and expectations to effectively constrain this market. As we will show next, we find that the empirical evidence supports this opinion. In particular, we estimate the Walrasian region and Private Information region based on short-run

Figure 1: Coefficients of Model 2, Local Linear Estimator
Our results from Figure 2 indicates that there exist two threshold, \( \pi_L \) and \( \pi_H \), for inflation. The estimated values of \( \pi_L \) and \( \pi_H \) are \(-0.6\%\) and \(1.3\%\), respectively. Only when the monthly inflation rate is sufficiently low (i.e. \( \pi_t < -0.6\% \)) or high enough (i.e. \( \pi_t > 1.3\% \)) and thus credit need not be rationed. However, for monthly inflation rates between \(-0.6\%\) and \(1.3\%\), the incentive compatibility constraint bind and reducing the amount of credit available in the market. Moreover, the severity of the adverse selection problem, seems to vary with the inflation rate as well, explaining why the peaks occur in the function \( \hat{\beta}_2(\pi_t) \). As a final conclusion, we have that the “indirect” effect of \( \pi_t \) and \( Y_t \) is nonlinear and non-monotonic, and it varies significantly for different values of the monthly inflation rate indicating to some extent the information problem in the U.S. credit market.

The analysis of the effects of inflation on output per capita is also of the utmost importance in Macroeconomics (see Fisher (1993), Bullard and Keating (1995), Khan and Senhadji (2001) and Drukker et al (2008)). Our approach differs from the standard in the use of semiparametric estimation techniques, but our results are still comparable with the literature: we can also obtain functions that describe the magnitude of the impact that \( \pi_t \) has on \( Y_t \), given the nonlinear effects of inflation.

**Marginal Effects**

We analyze the marginal effect of inflation as the partial derivative function of \( Y_t \) with respect to \( \pi_t \) keeping the interest rate \( r_t \) at a fixed value. When \( r_t \) is fixed we have \( \Delta \ln(r_t) = 0 \). As a result, the marginal effects function for Model 2 is given by

\[
\frac{\partial Y_t}{\partial \pi_t} \bigg|_{r_t \text{ fixed}} = \frac{\partial \hat{\beta}_1(\pi_t)}{\partial \pi_t}.
\] (22)

One advantage of using the local linear estimation method is that, one also obtains the derivative estimates at the same time which we plot in Figure 2. From Figure 2, we can observe the marginal effects vary nonlinearly with the inflation rate. For example, when the initial inflation rate belongs to the interval \([-0.8\%, -0.5\%)\), an increase of inflation of one percent point reduces absolute output by 0.03 percentage points on average. However, as the initial inflation...
rate changes and it belongs, say, to the intervals [0.0%, 0.5%) or [0.5%, 1.0%), the effect on output is an increase of 0.0075 and 0.012 percentage points on average, respectively.

We can make three points from these results. First, the partial marginal effects increase with the inflation rate. Second, negative partial marginal effects are associated with rates of inflation that are low enough. And, third, positive partial marginal effects are observed for rates of inflation that are sufficiently high.

Figure 2: Marginal Effects with Fixed Interest Rate

4 Conclusions

In this paper, we extend the standard semiparametric smooth coefficients model to allow for nonstationary dependent variables by introducing a time trend among the regressors. We find the varying coefficient associated with the time trend \( t \) and other stationary regressors have different convergence rates. We establish the asymptotic properties of the new estimation.

We applied this new technique of estimation and inference to evaluate whether credit rationing is present in the U.S. credit market. We directly test for the following hypotheses: 1) Inflation is a key state variable that has nonlinear effects on output per capita; 2) The real interest rate on loans has significant effects on output per capita that are nonlinear as well; 3) The nonlinear coefficient associated with the interest rate can help detect the presence of credit rationing in the U.S. market.
We found that the estimated smooth varying coefficients displayed strong nonlinearities with respect to the inflation rate, verifying the adequacy of having used a semiparametric smooth coefficient model, and also confirming our hypotheses. We showed that, in general, the marginal effects of inflation on output per capita can be either positive or negative. Moreover, the marginal effect function is a monotonically increasing and concave function of $\pi$, which display positive values when the monthly inflation rate is high enough, but negative values otherwise.

References


**Appendix A: Proof of Theorem 1**

**Proof of Theorem 1:**

First, note that the right hand side of (5) has the form of $A_{1n}^{-1}A_{2n}$, where

$$A_{1n} = \left[ \sum_{j=1}^{n} \left( \frac{X_i}{(Z_t - z)X_t} \right) \otimes K_h(Z_t - z) \right]$$

and

$$A_{2n} = \sum_{j=1}^{n} \left( \frac{X_i}{(Z_t - z)X_t} \right) Y_t K_h(Z_t - z).$$

Define $H_n = \begin{pmatrix} 1 & 0 \\ 0 & h \end{pmatrix} \otimes D_n$. Then we can write $H_n A_{1n}^{-1} A_{2n} = H_n A_{1n}^{-1} H_n H_n^{-1} A_{2n} = [H_n^{-1} A_{1n} H_n^{-1}]^{-1} H_n^{-1} A_{2n}$. 

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Thus, $\hat{\beta}(z)$ and $\hat{\beta}'(z)$ can be re-expressed as follows:

$$H_n \left( \begin{array}{c} \hat{\beta}(z) \\ \hat{\beta}'(z) \end{array} \right) = S_n(z)^{-1} n^{-1} \sum_{i=1}^{n} K_h(Z_t - z) Y_t \left( \begin{array}{c} 1 \\ Z_{t,z,h} \end{array} \right) \otimes \left( D_n^{-1} X_t \right),$$  \hspace{1cm} (A.1)

where $S_n = H_n^{-1} A_n H_n^{-1}$, $Z_{t,z,h} = (Z_t - z)/h$. By adding and subtracting terms we obtain

$$Y_t = X_t^T \beta(Z_t) + u_t, \quad 1 \leq t \leq n,$$

$$= X_t^T (\beta(z) + \beta'(z)(Z_t - z) + \beta(Z_t) - \beta(z) - \beta'(z)(Z_t - z)) + u_t.$$  \hspace{1cm} (A.2)

Plug (A.2) into (A.1), and we have,

$$H_n \left( \begin{array}{c} \hat{\beta}(z) \\ \hat{\beta}'(z) \end{array} \right) = H_n \left( \begin{array}{c} \beta(z) \\ \beta'(z) \end{array} \right) + S_n(z)^{-1} n^{-1} \sum_{i=1}^{n} K_h(Z_t - z)$$

$$\left( \begin{array}{c} 1 \\ Z_{t,z,h} \end{array} \right) \otimes \left( D_n^{-1} X_t \right) \left[ X_t^T (\beta(Z_t) - \beta(z) - \beta'(z)(Z_t - z)) + u_t \right]$$

$$= H_n \left( \begin{array}{c} \beta(z) \\ \beta'(z) \end{array} \right) + S_n(z)^{-1} n^{-1} \sum_{i=1}^{n} K_h(Z_t - z)$$

$$\left( \begin{array}{c} 1 \\ Z_{t,z,h} \end{array} \right) \otimes \left( D_n^{-1} X_t \right) \left[ X_t^T (\beta(Z_t) - \beta(z) - \beta'(z)(Z_t - z)) \right]$$

$$+ S_n(z)^{-1} n^{-1} \sum_{i=1}^{n} K_h(Z_t - z) \left( \begin{array}{c} 1 \\ Z_{t,z,h} \end{array} \right) \otimes \left( D_n^{-1} X_t \right) u_t,$$

and

$$S_n(z) = H_n^{-1} A_1 H_n^{-1}$$

$$= n^{-1} \sum_{i=1}^{n} K_h(Z_t - z) \left( \begin{array}{c} 1 \\ Z_{t,z,h} \end{array} \right)^{\otimes 2} \otimes \left( D_n^{-1} X_t \right)^{\otimes 2} = \left( \begin{array}{cc} S_{n,0}(z) & S_{n,1}(z) S_{n,1}(z) \\ S_{n,1}(z) & S_{n,2}(z) \end{array} \right),$$

where for $j = 0, 1, 2$, we use the notation

$$S_{n,j}(z) = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^{n} K_h(Z_t - z) Z_{t,z,h}^j \left( D_n^{-1} X_t \right)^{\otimes 2}.$$  \hspace{1cm} (A.3)

Now, to facilitate the analysis of $S_{n,j}(z)$, we first express $S_n(z)$ as

$$S_{n,j}(z) = \left( \begin{array}{c} F_{n,j,0}(z) \\ F_{n,j,1}(z) \end{array} \right),$$

where (since $(D_n^{-1} X_t)^T = (X_t^T, t/n)$)

$$F_{n,j,0}(z) = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^{n} Z_{t,z,h}^j X_{t,1} X_t^T K_h(Z_t - z), \quad F_{n,j,1}(z) = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^{n} K_h(Z_t - z) Z_{t,z,h}^j X_{t1}(t/n),$$

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and

\[ F_{n,j}(z) = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{t=1}^{n} Z_{t-z}^{j} K_h(Z_t - z) \left( t^2 / n^2 \right). \]

Define

\[ M_0(Z_t) = f_z(Z_t) E(X_{11} X_{11}^T | Z_t), \quad M_1(Z_t) = (1/2) f_z(Z_t) E(X_{11} | Z_t) \quad \text{and} \quad M_2(Z_t) = (1/3) f_z(Z_t). \]

By noting that \( X_{11} \) and \( Z_t \) are stationary and using the standard change-of-variable and a Taylor’s expansion argument, we know that \( n^{-2} \sum_{t=1}^{n} t = (1/2) + O(n^{-1}) \) and \( n^{-3} \sum_{t=1}^{n} t^2 = (1/3) + O(n^{-1}) \).

By the law of iterative expectation, we have

\[ E[F_{n,j,0}(z)] = E \left[ Z_{t-z}^{j} X_{11} X_{11}^T K_h(Z_t - z) \right] = E \left[ Z_{t-z}^{j} E(X_{11} X_{11}^T | Z_t) K_h(Z_t - z) \right] = \frac{1}{h} \int \left( \frac{Z_t - z}{h} \right)^j f_z(Z_t) E(X_{11} X_{11}^T | Z_t) K_h(Z_t - z) dZ_t \]

\[ = \int v^j M_0(z) K(v) dv + O(h^2) = M_0(z) \mu_j(K) + o(1), \]

where \( \mu_j(K) = \int v^j K(v) dv \) as defined before.

According to the same step as above, we have

\[ E[F_{n,j,1}(z)] = M_1(z) \mu_j(K) + o(1), \quad (A.4) \]

\[ E[F_{n,j,2}(z)] = M_2(z) \mu_j(K) + o(1). \quad (A.5) \]

By the kernel theory for the stationary mixing case (see Theorem 1 of Cai, Fan and Yao (2000) for details) one can easily show that for \( l = 0, 1, 2 \) and \( j = 0, 1, 2, \)

\[ \text{Var} \left[ F_{n,j,l}(z) \right] = O((nh)^{-1}) = o(1). \]

Therefore,

\[ F_{n,j,l}(z) = M_l(z) \mu_j(K) + o_p(1). \quad (A.6) \]

We have defined \( S(z) \) earlier. Recall equation (6):

\[ S(z) = \begin{pmatrix} M_0(z) \\ M_1(z) \\ M_2(z) \end{pmatrix}. \]

By definition of \( S(z) \) above, together with equation (A.6), (A.4), (A.5) and (A.3), we have

\[ S_{n,j}(z) = \mu_j(K) S(z) + o_p(1). \quad (A.7) \]
By noting that \( \mu_0(K) = 1 \) and \( \mu_1(K) = 0 \), we immediately obtain from the definition of \( S_n(z) \) (A.3), (A.6) and (A.7) that

\[
S_n(z) = \begin{pmatrix} 1 & 0 \\ 0 & \mu_2(K) \end{pmatrix} \otimes S(z) + o_p(1). \tag{A.8}
\]

From (A.8), we immediately obtain that

\[
S_{n,0}(z)^{-1} = S(z)^{-1} + o_p(1). \tag{A.9}
\]

\( S_{n,0}(z) \) is the upper-left corner \( d \times d \) matrix of \( S_n(z) \). From (A.1), we have

\[
D_n \left[ \hat{\beta}(z) - \beta(z) \right] = L_{1n} + L_{2n}, \tag{A.10}
\]

where

\[
L_{1n} = S_{n,0}(z)^{-1} B_n(z), \tag{A.11}
\]

with

\[
B_n(z) = n^{-1} \sum_{t=1}^{n} K_h(Z_t - z) D_n^{-1} X_t X_t^T \left[ \beta(Z_t) - \beta(z) - (Z_t - z) \beta'(z) \right],
\]

and

\[
L_{2n} = S_{n,0}(z)^{-1} n^{-1} \sum_{t=1}^{n} K_h(Z_t - z) u_t D_n^{-1} X_t.
\]

Define,

\[
G_{n,0}(z) = n^{-1} \sum_{t=1}^{n} K_h(Z_t - z) X_t X_t^T \left[ \beta(1)(Z_t) - \beta(1)(z) - (Z_t - z) \beta'(1)(z) \right],
\]

\[
G_{n,1}(z) = n^{-1} \sum_{t=1}^{n} K_h(Z_t - z) X_t \left[ (t/n) \left[ \beta(2)(Z_t) - \beta(2)(z) - (Z_t - z) \beta'(2)(z) \right] \right],
\]

\[
G_{n,2}(z) = n^{-1} \sum_{t=1}^{n} K_h(Z_t - z) \left[ (t/n) X_t^T n[\beta(1)(Z_t) - \beta(1)(z) - (Z_t - z) \beta'(1)(z)] \right],
\]

and

\[
G_{n,3}(z) = n^{-1} \sum_{t=1}^{n} K_h(Z_t - z) \left[ (t^2/n^2) n[\beta(2)(Z_t) - \beta(2)(z) - (Z_t - z) \beta'(2)(z)] \right],
\]

so that

\[
B_n(z) = \begin{pmatrix} G_{n,0}(z) + G_{n,1}(z) \\ G_{n,2}(z) + G_{n,3}(z) \end{pmatrix}. \tag{A.12}
\]

Similar to (A.6), (A.4) and (A.5), by the kernel theory and an application of Taylor’s expansion, it is easy to show that

\[
E[G_{n,0}(z)] = h^2 M_0(z) \left[ \frac{\mu_3(K)}{2} \beta''(1)(z) \right] \{ 1 + o(1) \}
\]

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and \( \text{Var}[G_{n,0}(z)] = o(1) \), so that
\[
G_{n,0}(z) = h^2 M_0(z) \left[ \frac{\mu_2(K)}{2} \beta''(z) \right] \{1 + o_p(1)\}.
\]

Further, following the proof above, we can easily show that
\[
G_{n,1}(z) = h^2 M_1(z) n \left[ \frac{\mu_2(K)}{2} \beta''(z) \right] \{1 + o_p(1)\},
\]
\[
G_{n,2}(z) = h^2 M_1(z) \left[ \frac{\mu_2(K)}{2} \beta''(z) \right] \{1 + o_p(1)\},
\]
and
\[
G_{n,3}(z) = h^2 M_2(z) n \left[ \frac{\mu_2(K)}{2} \beta''(z) \right] \{1 + o_p(1)\}.
\]

Plugging the above results into (A.12), we obtain
\[
B_n(z) = h^2 S(z) D_n \left[ \frac{\mu_2(K)}{2} \beta''(z) \right] \{1 + o_p(1)\}. \tag{A.13}
\]

Substituting (A.13) into (A.11) and using (A.9) lead to
\[
L_{1n} = D_n h^2 \mu_2(K) \beta''(z) \{1 + o_p(1)\},
\]

Therefore,
\[
D_n^{-1} L_{1n} = h^2 \mu_2(K) \beta''(z) + o_p(h^2). \tag{A.14}
\]

Finally, we consider \( L_{2n} \). Define
\[
T_n(z) = \sqrt{\frac{\tilde{h}}{n}} \sum_{t=1}^{n} K_h(Z_t - z) u_t D_n^{-1} X_t = \begin{pmatrix} T_{n,1}(z) \\ T_{n,2}(z) \end{pmatrix}
\]
with
\[
T_{n,1}(z) = \sqrt{\frac{\tilde{h}}{n}} \sum_{t=1}^{n} K_h(Z_t - z) u_t X_{t1}
\]
and
\[
T_{n,2}(z) = \sqrt{\frac{\tilde{h}}{n}} \sum_{t=1}^{n} (t/n) K_h(Z_t - z) u_t.
\]

By combining the above expressions with (A.10) and (A.14), we obtain
\[
\sqrt{n \tilde{h}} D_n \left[ \beta(z) - \beta(z) - h^2 \mu_2(K) \beta''(z) + o_p(h^2) \right] = S_{n,0}(z)^{-1} T_n(z). \tag{A.15}
\]

To prove the asymptotic normality of the left hand side of (A.15), it suffices to establish the asymptotic normality of \( T_n(z) \). Note that \( T_{n,1} \) only involves stationary variables. Hence, by the kernel estimation theory for stationary mixing data (see Theorem 2 of Cai, Fan and Yao (2000)
for details) we have
\[ T_{n,1}(z) \xrightarrow{d} N(0, \sigma^2_0 v_0(K) M_0(z)). \] (A.16)

where \( v_0(K) = \int K^2(v)v^2 dv \). Also, we have
\[ T_{n,2}(z) \xrightarrow{d} N(0, \sigma^2_0 v_0(K) M_2(z)) = N(0, v_0(K) M_2(z)). \] (A.17)

The covariance matrix is given by
\[ \text{Cov}(T_{n,1}, T_{n,2}) = \sigma^2_0 h^{-1} E[K_h(Z_t - z)X_1(t/n)] = \sigma^2_0 v_0(K) M_1(z) + o(1). \]

Therefore, a combination of (A.16) and (A.17) leads to
\[ T_n(z) \xrightarrow{d} N(0, V), \]

where
\[ V = v_0(K) \begin{pmatrix} M_0(z) & M_1(z) \\ M_1(z)^T & M_2(z) \end{pmatrix} = v_0(K) S(z). \]

Therefore, by Slusky’s theorem, we have
\[ \sqrt{n h} D_n \left[ \hat{\beta}(z) - \beta(z) - h^2 \mu_2(K) \beta''(z) \right] \xrightarrow{d} N(0, v_0(K) S(z)^{-1}). \]

Q.E.D.

**Appendix B: Estimation Results for Model 3**

The Estimated Coefficient Functions for Model 3 Figure 3 displays the three estimated coefficient functions in model 3, where we allowed for nonlinear effects from the time trend \( t \), as displayed in (14). We will refer to the associated coefficients by using the notation \( \tilde{\beta}_1(\pi_t) \), \( \tilde{\beta}_2(\pi_t) \), and \( \tilde{\beta}_3(\pi_t) \), where \( \tilde{\beta}_3(\pi_t) \) is the nonlinear coefficient associated with the time trend \( t \), as opposed to the constant \( \hat{\gamma} \) in model 2.

The first panel in Figure 3 illustrates the shape of the intercept function \( \tilde{\beta}_1(\pi_t) \) which may also be interpreted as the “direct” effect of inflation on output per capita. The general shape of \( \tilde{\beta}_1(\pi_t) \) is that of a letter U (as it was the case in model 2.) Notice that the “direct” effects of inflation on output per capita seem somewhat amplified in model 3: they lie in the interval \([0.107, 0.162]\) while in model 2 they concentrated instead in \([0.095, 0.118]\). The reader may notice that, for very negative inflation rates (i.e. between -1.0 and -0.5,) higher inflation has a positive but decreasing contribution to output, reaching a plateau earlier than in model 2. Observation indicates that, for \( \pi_t \in [-0.5, 0.0] \), the direct effect of inflation on output cannot be distinguished from zero,
implying short-run monetary super-neutrality. Thus, in model 3, short-run monetary neutrality is associated with \( \pi_t \in [-0.5, 0.0] \), while model 2 displayed a similar effect for positive rates of inflation that were close enough to zero. As the monthly inflation rate continues to increase in the interval \((0.0, 1.8]\), the direct contribution of inflation on output increases as well, with the exception of the interval \([1.45, 1.55]\). In summary, very similar conclusions can be drawn about the direct effects that inflation has on production per capita in both models.

Next, in the second panel of Figure 3, we observe that \( \tilde{\beta}_2(\pi_t) \) - the coefficient function associated with \( \pi_t \) - is almost identical to its counterpart \( \hat{\beta}_2(\pi_t) \) in model 2. Obviously, the same intuition applies as to its relation to the availability of loanable funds.

![Figure 3: Coefficients of Model 3, Local Linear Estimator](image)

The third panel in Figure 3 displays the estimated coefficient function \( \tilde{\beta}_3(\pi_t) \). The latter seems to suggest that the time trend \( t \) also exhibits significant nonlinear and non-monotonic effects on \( Y_t \) that depend upon the initial inflation rate. However, noticing that the coefficient function \( \tilde{\beta}_3(\pi_t) \) has a scale that is order of magnitudes smaller than \( \tilde{\beta}_1(\pi_t) \) and \( \tilde{\beta}_2(\pi_t) \). Therefore, nonlinearity in \( \beta_3(\cdot) \) is negligible compared with those presented in \( \beta_1(\cdot) \) and \( \beta_2(\cdot) \). This is consistent with our earlier testing result which suggests that model 2 is adequate against model 3.
Credit Chains and Mortgage Crises
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First draft: September 15th, 2008
This version: February 20th, 2010
Preliminary and incomplete

Abstract

I examine a production economy with a financial sector that contains multiple layers of credit. Such layers are designed to constitute credit chains which are inclusive of a simple mortgage market. The focus is on the nature and contagion properties of credit chains in an economy where the financial sector plays a real allocative role and agents have a nontrivial choice of whether to default on mortgages or not. Multiple equilibria with different rates of default are observed, due to the presence of strategic complementarities. Default can trigger a financial crisis as well as constrain the purchases of factors of production, thus leading to potentially serious effects on real activity.

1. Introduction

In this paper, I build a dynamic stochastic general equilibrium model of credit chains in a closed-economy payments system that shares the spirit of Freeman (1996, 2001), Hernandez-Verme (2004) and Freeman and Hernandez-Verme (2008.) I must point out outright that I do not aim at replicating the facts before and after the subprime mortgage crisis. My purpose is humbler but, I think, equally interesting: to illustrate the presence and functioning of credit chains in the overall structure of a financial system where spatial separation is nontrivial. The following innovations in my model are of the utmost importance: the presence of a simple mortgage market, the presence of a strategic group of banks who are local monopolies in offering deposits and mortgage loans; the double role of the lending sector, which is also the productive sector in this economy; the presence of a shock that sizes down (or up) the value of the real state at the time when the mortgages are repaid, leading to a nontrivial choice of whether to default on mortgages or not.

There are three groups of strategic agents that interact in the payments system in this model economy: lenders, borrowers and banks. Moreover, one can classify borrowers in two classes (in equilibrium): borrowers who default on their debt and borrowers who repay their debt. My main underlying hypothesis is that, even in the absence of a house bubble, the structure of the financial system itself makes it vulnerable to default, systemic

* Special thanks are due to Qi Li, for his contribution to the technical part of this paper. I also thank Leonardo Auernheimer and Hagen Kim, together with the Macro Group at Texas A&M for helpful comments. I also owe special thanks to the attendants of the seminar series of the Departamento de Economía y Finanzas at the Universidad de Guanajuato. Of course, any mistakes left in this paper are my responsibility entirely.

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risk and downturns in economic activity. Moreover, the analysis of welfare in equilibrium will be shown to defy conventional wisdom in terms of who wins and who loses as a result of a crisis in this economy.

The contributions of this paper with respect to the previous literature can be listed as follows:

- The presence of a shock that alters the resources available to borrowers\(^2\).
- Borrowers choosing endogenously whether to default or not.
- The presence of banks that are local monopolies and offer both deposit and mortgage contracts.
- The introduction of a very simple mortgage market in a model of the payment system
- The linkage between production possibilities and default on debt
- The presence of strategic complementarities that may lead to the presence of multiple equilibria

In this model economy, default reduces the resources available to purchase labor, subsequently reducing output. There is always a positive rate of default in equilibrium, whether it is unique or not. Moreover, universal default and universal repayment cannot obtain in equilibrium due to the nature of the shock that continuously hits this economy and the signaling to lenders by borrowers, respectively. The equilibrium interest rates on deposits, IOUs and loans display the potential for the existence of two equilibria: one with a low rate of default and the other with a high rate of default. However, the model so far has not produced any criteria for equilibrium selection yet\(^3\). I must also point out that, against standard intuition, the bank obtains positive profits only when the equilibrium rates of default are sufficiently high; my interpretation of this result is that banks are risk lovers in equilibrium.

In this model, young borrowers formulate a contingent plan in light of the realization of the shock that they will experience the following period. This works through the choice of a cut-off value from the distribution of the shock, such that realizations below the cut-off will lead to defaulting while realizations above the cut-off will lead to repayment. A crisis in this model takes the form of an innovation in such cut-off value of the shock.

The main results of the analysis are as follows:

1. A crisis reduces total output in this economy by reducing the resources available to purchase labor.
2. A crisis also reduces the aggregate welfare of borrowers. However, this effect can be misleading, since the borrowers who default experience welfare gains, while the “honest” borrowers who choose to repay their debt are made worse-off. Thus, contrary to conventional wisdom, the result shows that the borrowers who default do not suffer from this shock and that the ones who are in the need of help, probably from government agencies, are the “honest” borrowers.
3. The lenders in this economy (equivalent to the general public who holds deposits on banks) experience significant welfare gains as a result of a crisis. This, then, is another sector that is not in need of government assistance.
4. A crisis increases the bank’s income but reduces its costs, thus increasing the bank’s profits in equilibrium. This result seems to go against conventional wisdom, but remember that there are no

\(^2\) This is an improvement on Freeman and Hernandez-Verme (2008,) that used a location-specific utility shock.
\(^3\) This is mostly due to my time constraint, but I will be working on this subject next.
investment banks in this model nor mortgage backed securities. This is consistent with the fact that commercial banks seem to be doing reasonable well in light of the subprime mortgage crisis.

Finally, I would like to mention that my initial intentions included the examination of alternative Liquidity Saving Mechanisms (LSM) and alternative rules for the settlement of debt as well, but, due to my time constraint, this has not been incorporated into the model yet.

2. The Environment

Consider a model closed economy consists of one central settlement location and \( I > 2 \) triplets of outer islands, indexed by \( i = 1, 2, \ldots, I \). Time is discrete and indexed by \( t = 1, 2, \ldots \). All strategic agents are overlapping generations that live for 2-periods, and population is constant. Throughout the paper, I assume that all contracts are enforceable when on the Central Island, but not on the outer islands. There is a fiat currency that circulates in this economy. For simplicity, I will label this currency as dollars.

In this model economy, each date has two parts: morning and afternoon, and transactions/actions take place sequentially in each of them. All strategic agents must travel to the central island in the morning of their old age, where contracts can be enforced. On the central island, clearing and settlement of debt will take place through a third party, which I will interchangeably call throughout the centralized settlement institution or monetary authority.

2.1 The Main Actors

There are three groups of strategic agents in each triplet \( i \). There is a continuum of borrowers with unit mass on the first island of the triplet, which I will call Borrowers \( i \), and a continuum of Lenders also with a unit mass on the second island of the triplet, which I will call Lenders \( i \). Finally, there is a monopolistic bank on the third island of the triplet, which I will call Bank \( i \).

There is also a nonstrategic agent on the central island that I will call the monetary authority, which is also the central settlement institution. Each bank must create a reserve account with the monetary authority.

2.2 The Goods

There are five goods in this economy. First, Lenders \( i \) have an endowment good when young. The size of this endowment is \( x > 0, \forall i \), but this good is island-specific, with a price of \( p_i \) dollars per good at date \( t \). Second, Lenders \( i \) can produce a final good when old. This good is also island-specific, and its price at date \( t \) is \( \theta_i \) dollars per good.

In the third place, young Borrowers \( i \) have an endowment good in the amount \( y \epsilon (0, 1) \). This good is also island-specific, and it is attachable as down-payment for a house in Banks \( i \) in the following way: \( y \) is the fraction of the value of a house that Borrowers \( i \) can put as a down-payment when young. This good is not otherwise traded.
Fourthly, Bank \( i \) is endowed with \( z > 0 \) of an agent- and triplet-specific good. Bank \( i \) can only use this good to partially finance mortgage loans to young Borrowers \( i \) at the price \( \mu'_i \). This good is not traded otherwise.

The last “good” in this economy is labor services. Young borrowers in island \( i \) are endowed with one unit of non storable labor. Labor is homogeneous across agents and islands, and it is traded for the nominal wage \( w_i \) in the afternoon of date \( t \).

### 2.3 The Assets

There are six different assets in this economy. In the first place, we have the debt (IOUs) issued by Borrowers \( i \) to Lenders \( i+1 \), so that the former can purchase the endowment good of the latter. The associated promised real gross interest rate \( r^{i,1}_{i,1} \) is set on triplet \( i+1 \) at date \( t \) by young lenders. This loan must be repaid next period using fiat money.

Secondly, there is a fixed stock \( I \) of identical houses, such that there is one house per each Borrower. In each triplet, there is a continuum of houses with unit mass that is located in the Borrowers’ island. The price of a house in triplet \( i \) is \( q_i^j \) dollars at date \( t \). Houses do not depreciate, other than for a shock that we will discuss in the next section.

Third, young Lenders \( i \) can accumulate physical capital by investing when young. This investment technology will yield as much capital at \( t+1 \) as it was invested at \( t \). Capital is island-specific and it depreciates completely after production, and I will denote it by \( K^{i,1}_{i,1} \). In the fourth place, there is fiat money issued by the monetary authority, and \( M_t \) denotes the nominal money supply at date \( t \). Fiat money is used to purchase labor, to pay mortgages in full, to settle IOUs and to purchase the Lender \( i \)'s final good. The return on real money balances between dates \( t \) and \( t+1 \) is given by \( \left( w_{i,1} / w_{i,1} \right) \).

The fifth asset consists of mortgage contracts issued by Bank \( i \) to Borrowers \( i \). The promised real gross interest rate set at date \( t \) by the bank is \( \rho^{i,1}_{i,1} \), and mortgages must be repaid in full with fiat money the next period. Finally, young Lenders \( i \) can also make deposits in the monopolistic Bank \( i \) in the amount \( d^{i}_{i} \) at date \( t \).

The promised real gross interest rate on deposits set by the bank at date \( t \) is \( R^{i}_{i} \), which is paid at date \( t+1 \).

### 2.4 Uncertainty

In this economy, all Borrowers \( i \) are ex ante identical. However, they expect a shock to be realized at the beginning of their old age. This shock will affect the amount of real state held by old borrowers in that it can reduce or increase the value of individual real state, but leaves the aggregate real state unchanged. I will denote
the realization of the shock to household \( j \) in triplet \( i \) at date \( t \) by \( \lambda_{i,j} \). However, I will drop the subscript and supra-scripts in the remainder of this section in order to simplify both notation and explanation.

I let \( \lambda \) denote the shock, which represents the fraction of the house that is left to borrowers in the morning when old. This shock is i.i.d.-distributed over borrower households, triplets and time. I use \( g(\lambda) \) to denote the stationary p.d.f. of the shock, while \( G(\lambda) \) denotes the associated c.d.f. The support set of this shock is given by \( [\lambda_L, \lambda_H] \), where I assume that \( \lambda_L \in [0,1) \) and \( \lambda_H > 1 \). Henceforth, for tractability, I will assume \( \lambda \) has a uniform distribution. Thus, \( g(\lambda) = \frac{1}{\lambda_H - \lambda_L} \) and \( G(\lambda) = \frac{\lambda}{\lambda_H - \lambda_L} \). The distribution of the shock is public information, but not its individual realization, which will be known only to the individual borrower.

The variable \( \lambda \) is a multiplicative shock that alters the resources available to old borrowers. The old borrower must pay \( \rho_{t+1} q_{t} (1-y) \) dollars to the bank early in the morning of date \( t+1 \) to repay her mortgage in full, but her resources are scaled down (or up) to \( \lambda \cdot \rho_{t+1} q_{t} (1-y) \). Before she sells the house, she must repair it, incurring a cost of \( (1-\lambda) q_{t+1} \) dollars \( \forall \lambda \leq 1 \), to bring the house back to its original condition\(^4\). Next, she sells the house for \( q_{t+1} \), obtaining the net profit \( \lambda \cdot q_{t+1} \). In case the borrower defaults, the bank seizes the house and it must make the same repairs before selling it.

Young borrowers anticipate this, but not the particular realization of \( \lambda_{t+1} \), and they form a contingent plan in which they choose a cut-off value \( \tilde{\lambda} \) of the shock from the support of the distribution, such that \( \tilde{\lambda} \in [\lambda_L, \lambda_H] \). In particular, borrower households will repay their mortgage when the realization of the shock is such that \( \tilde{\lambda} \leq \lambda_{t+1} \leq \lambda_H \), while they will default when \( \lambda_L \leq \lambda_{t+1} < \lambda_H \) obtains. As we will see later, a choice of repaying or defaulting on a mortgage is, at the same time, a choice of repaying or defaulting on IOU: all these transactions must take place on the central island and if the borrower chooses to repay her IOU, it must also repay her mortgage.

Default is also costly to borrowers in utility terms. Old borrowers may consume (use) their houses when old in the afternoon: \( h_{t+1} = \{0,1\}, \forall i,t>0 \). \( h_{t+1} = 1 \) only when the mortgage has been repaid in full, but \( h_{t+1} = 0 \) if they default on the mortgage, and they must forego the utility of the house they bought the previous date.

\(^4\) Notice that when \( \lambda_{t+1} \in (1, \lambda_H] \), the borrower is entitled to a profit in the order of \( (\lambda_H - 1) q_{t+1} \) dollars.
The stock of houses left in a particular triplet after the shocks are realized and before the houses are repaired is given by \( \int \lambda \cdot g(\lambda) d\lambda = \left( \lambda_\nu + \lambda_L \right) / 2 \leq (\geq) 1 \). After the repairs, the stock of houses per triplet goes back to \( \int_0^1 (1) dj = 1 \).

One can also calculate the probability of default in a particular island by using the Law of Large Numbers. Let \( \pi^i_{t+1} \) denote the probability of default on a particular triplet. Then,

\[ \pi^i_{t+1} = \int \lambda \cdot g(\lambda) d\lambda = G(\lambda) = \lambda / \left( \lambda_\nu - \lambda_L \right) \].

The reader may notice that I keep the supra-script \( i \) on the rate of default, since there is a potential for multiple equilibria in this economy. The promised interest rates will be reduced by the factor \( 1 - \pi^i_{t+1} \) in equilibrium.

2.5 Endowments of the Agents in Triplet \( i \)

2.5.1 Lenders. Lenders are endowed with \( x > 0 \) units each of their endowment good when young, which is island-specific and it non storable. They are also endowed with an investment technology that allows them to accumulate physical capital when young. This technology is island-specific and not transferable, and so is the capital.

When old, lenders are endowed with a technology that allows them to produce an island-specific final good, for which they need to utilize physical capital and labor to produce the specific final good \( i \) when old, for which they need physical capital and labor. This technology is island-specific and not transferable. Lenders have no other endowment when old.

2.5.2 Borrowers. Young borrowers are endowed with \( y \in (0,1) \), where \( y \) represents the fraction of the value of a house they can put as down payment. This endowment good is island-specific and only attachable as a down-payment for a house. In addition, they are endowed with a technology to issue IOUs to Lenders from island \( i+1 \), which is island-specific and not transferable as well. Finally, also when young, borrowers are endowed with one unit of non storable labor, which is homogeneous across agents and borrowers. Borrowers have no endowment when old.

2.5.3 The Bank. When young, the bank is endowed with \( z > 0 \) units of and endowment good, which will be used to partially finance mortgages. The young bank has a monopoly on the following two activities in triplet \( i \): first, they can offer deposit contracts from young lenders, and, second, they can package mortgage contracts to be offered to young borrowers. These last activities are island-specific and non transferable. The bank has no endowments when old.

2.5.4 The Initial Old. At the initial date, \( t=0 \), there is a generation of initial old agents in each triplet \( i \) with the same size as the regular generation born at date \( t\geq0 \). They hold the initial supplies of assets in this
economy. Thus, the initial old borrowers hold the endowment of houses in each triplet, given by \( I/I = 1 \). The initial money supply (the monetary base) is distributed equally among triplets in the amount of \( m_0 \equiv (M_0/I) \) dollars. The money supply in a particular triplet is distributed proportionately to initial old lenders and the initial old bank. Notice that the latter implies \( I \) endogenous initial conditions, summarized by \( \{m_i/p_i\}_{i=1}^I \). Finally, the initial stock of capital in triplet \( i \) is given by \( K^i_0 \), which is distributed equally among initial old lenders. The latter implies \( I \) exogenous initial conditions, which are summarized by \( \{K^i_0\}_{i=1}^I \).

2.6 Monetary Policy and Aggregate Money Supply

The monetary policy in this model economy is very simple. For now, I assume that supply of high power money is constant, such that \( M_t = M_0, \forall t \geq 0 \). In addition, the \( I \) banks in this economy must hold domestic currency reserves with the central bank, where \( \phi \in [0,1] \) denotes the fraction of deposits that each bank must hold each period. Moreover, in this model economy, banks give loans to young borrowers, who use them to purchase houses. Thus, the aggregate money supply in public hands at date \( t \) is given by \( M_t = M_0 - \sum_{i=1}^I \phi p^i_t d^i_t \) dollars.

Notice that there is no secondary money creation role played by banks, since those funds are already allocated into the purchase of houses and do not circulate into the economy again.

2.7 Markets for Houses and Factors of Production

The characterization of the market for houses is very simple. There are \( I \) triplet-specific markets for houses in which young borrowers buy a house each either from old borrowers or the bank. The depiction of the markets for factors of production is very simple as well. In the first place, there is an integrated market for labor: labor is homogeneous across triplets, and young workers can work on any triplet they choose. The price of labor is the nominal wage at date \( t \), given by \( w_t \), and the relevant measure of the real wage is given by \( (w_t/p_t^{i+1}) \). On the other hand, there are \( I \) island-specific markets for capital, since only \( K^i_t > 0 \) can be used by old lenders \( i \) to produce their island-specific final good at date \( t \).

3. Preferences and Actions

In this section, I discuss the preferences and potential choices of each of the three types of strategic agents, as well as the problem they each solve. The focus is on a typical generation born at triplet \( i \) at date \( t \). Recall that the composition of each generation is constant over time: there are lenders, borrowers and one bank which will interact not only with each other, but also with either agent from other triplets as well as with agents from other generations.

3.1 The Lender from Triplet \( i \)
All lenders from triplet $i$ are ex-ante identical. Each lender wishes to consume the final good $i$ that they produce when old in the amount $l'_{2,i+1}$ in the afternoon. When young, she allocates her endowment good as follows. First, early in the morning, she sells part of her endowment to young borrowers from island $i-1$ in exchange for IOUs in the amount of $s'_i$ dollars. Second, still in the morning, she deposits $d'_i$ units of her endowment in Bank $i$. Finally, before the end of the morning, she invests the remainder of her endowment into physical capital, such that $K'_{i+1}$ goods invested at date $t$ will yield $K'_{i+1}$ units of capital in the afternoon at date $t+1$. $K'_{i+1}$ will be used at date $t+1$, together with labor, to produce the final good. The details of the lender’s time line are presented in Figure 1 below.

![Time Line for Lenders in Triplet $i$ born at date $t$](image)

In the morning of the next period, all lenders must travel to the central island in order to get the repayment of their IOUs from borrowers and the return of their deposits from the bank. Next, in the afternoon, each old lender uses the return on her deposits and the payment of the IOUs she holds to purchase labor. She also sells part of the final good she will produce to old borrowers from island $i-1/2$ in exchange for $m'_{i+1}$ dollars, and uses these proceeds to purchase labor as well. Next, before the end of the afternoon, the old lender produces her triplet-specific final good using the technology $f'_{i+1} = F(K'_{i+1}, L_{i+1}) = (K'_{i+1})^\alpha (L_{i+1})^{1-\alpha}, \alpha \in (0,1)$, and consume part of it in the amount $l'_{2,i+1}$.

The preferences of a lender from island $i$ born at date $t$ are given by

$$u(l'_{2,i+1}) = \ln(l'_{2,i+1}) \quad (1),$$

while her budget constraints are given by
\[ x = \left( \frac{s_i^j}{p_i^j} \right) + d_i^j + K_{i+1}^j. \]  
(2a)

\[ \left(1 - \pi_{i+1}^j\right) \cdot p_{i+1}^j \cdot R_{i+1}^j \cdot d_{i+1}^j + r_{i+1}^j \cdot \left( \frac{s_i^j}{p_i^j} \right) \right] + \frac{m_{i+1}^j}{\theta_{i+1}} = w_{i+1} \cdot L_{i+1}. \]  
(2b)

\[ l_{i+1}^j + \frac{m_{i+1}^j}{\theta_{i+1}} = f_{i+1}^j = \left( K_{i+1}^j \right)^{\alpha} \cdot \left( L_{i+1} \right)^{1-\alpha}. \]  
(2c)

Thus, the problem of a young lender from triplet \( i \) is given by

\[ \text{Max} \quad \ln \left[ \left( K_{i+1}^j \right)^{\alpha} \cdot \left( L_{i+1} \right)^{1-\alpha} - \frac{m_{i+1}^j}{\theta_{i+1}} \right], \]  
(3a)

subject to:

\[ K_{i+1}^j = x - \frac{s_i^j}{p_i^j} - d_i^j \]  
(3b)

\[ L_{i+1} = \left(1 - \pi_{i+1}^j\right) \cdot \left( p_{i+1}^j \right) \cdot \left( r_{i+1}^j \cdot \frac{s_i^j}{p_i^j} + R_{i+1}^j \cdot d_{i+1}^j \right) + \frac{m_{i+1}^j}{\theta_{i+1}} \cdot \left( \frac{\theta_{i+1}}{w_{i+1}} \right), \]  
(3c)

taking \( \pi_{i+1}^j \) and all prices as given. Notice that the proceeds from deposits and IOUs are scaled down by the rate of default \( \pi_{i+1}^j \). As a result, the necessary first order conditions for this problem, assuming an interior solution, are summarized by

\[ \left( \alpha \over 1 - \alpha \right) \cdot \left( \frac{L_{i+1}}{K_{i+1}^j} \right) = \left(1 - \pi_{i+1}^j\right) \cdot \left( p_{i+1}^j \over w_{i+1} \right), \]  
(4a)

\[ \left( \alpha \over 1 - \alpha \right) \cdot \left( \frac{L_{i+1}}{K_{i+1}^j} \right) = \left(1 - \pi_{i+1}^j\right) \cdot \left( p_{i+1}^j \over w_{i+1} \right), \]  
(4b)

\[ (1 - \alpha) \cdot \left( \frac{K_{i+1}^j}{L_{i+1}} \right)^\alpha = \frac{w_{i+1}}{\theta_{i+1}}. \]  
(4c)

Equivalently, (4c) can be rewritten as \( MPL_i^j = \frac{w_{i+1}}{\theta_{i+1}} \), which illustrates the fact that labor paid according to its marginal product. Notice as well that (4a) together with (4b) imply that there is no arbitrage between IOUs and deposits, and, thus, the following condition must hold for an interior solution:
\( r^i_{t+1} = R^i_{t+1} = \left( \frac{\alpha}{1-\alpha} \right) \left[ \frac{L^i_{t+1}}{K^i_{t+1}} \right] \left[ \frac{w^i_{t+1}/p^i_{t+1}}{1-\pi^i_{t+1}} \right] \) \hspace{1cm} (4d)

### 3.2 The Borrower \( j \) from Triplet \( i \)

All borrowers \( j \in [0,1] \) in island \( i \) are identical in every respect but for the realization of the shock that will hit them in the following date. The realizations of this shock are borrower and triplet-specific and its distribution is common knowledge. Each borrower knows that the shock will hit them next period, but they do not know what its realization will be at the moment when they are making their choices. Then, all borrowers must formulate a contingent plan that will be adjusted depending on the realization of the shock. In addition, I assume that borrowers do not have a bequest motive, so they must sell their houses before they die. The details of the borrower’s time line are presented in the figure below.

![Time Line for Borrowers in Triplet \( i \) born at date \( t \)](figure2.png)

Young borrowers from island \( i \) wish to consume \( c^i_{t,t} \) units of Lenders \( i+1 \)’s endowment good when young in the morning of date \( t \). Since they have nothing of value to offer to lenders at this time, they issue an IOU of value \( b^i_t = p^i_{t}\cdot c^i_{t,t} \) dollars to be re-paid using fiat money in the morning of \( t+1 \) on the Central Island, with the promised interest rate \( r^i_{t,t} \). At this time, they also sign a mortgage contract with Bank \( i \), where this Bank requires a promised real gross interest rate \( \rho^i_{t,t} \). Obviously, houses are an indivisible good, and they can buy only one house. The mortgage contract requires young borrowers from island \( i \) to make the down payment \( D^i_t \) for a house when young in the morning, in the amount \( D^i_t = q^i_t \cdot y \) dollars. Finally, at this point of time, they also choose the cut-off value \( \lambda \) from the distribution of shocks, in the manner described in sub-section 2.4. In the afternoon, young borrowers sell their labor. They work for either old lenders or old banks on any island in
exchange for the nominal wage $w_i$. By this point in time, the choices of $c^j_{1,i} \cdot \left( b^i_{1,i} / p^i_{1,i} \right)$, $D^i_j$ and the supply of labor are already inelastic.

First thing in the morning of the following period, the borrower $j$ from triplet $i$ is in her old age, and she learns her individual realization of the shock, $\lambda^{i,j}_{r+1}$. Regardless of the particular realization of the shock and of whether the mortgage will be repaid or not, the house must be rebuilt before it is sold again later in the morning, incurring a cost of $\left(1-\lambda^{i,j}_{r+1}\right)q^i_{r+1}$ dollars. Next, based upon this realization, the borrower decides whether or not to pay the remainder of their mortgage. Recall that all repayments must be made on the Central Island, using fiat money. Thus, if a particular borrower chooses not to repay her mortgage, she cannot repay her IOUs either, since she would get caught once she is on the Central Island. Moreover, if the borrower defaults, she cannot enjoy the house ($h^{i,j}_{r+1}=0$) or sell it later, since the house goes to the bank. In this respect, then, the choice of whether or not to default is also a choice of enjoying their house or not when old. Later, in the afternoon, the borrower would like to purchase the final good produced by old lenders in island $i+1/2$ and consume it, implying a cost of $\theta^{r+1/2} c^{i,j}_{2,r+1}$ dollars. She must pay for this good at the time of the transaction using fiat money, and she can do this regardless of her choice of whether or not to default, since nobody knows her in island $i+1/2$, nor they care about her having repaid all her debt or not.

Let me discuss briefly how borrowers implement their contingent plans. Each old borrower $j$ learns her individual realization of the shock, $\lambda^{i,j}_{r+1}$, and she compares it against her chosen cut-off value $\bar{\lambda}$. On the one hand, if $\lambda^{i,j}_{r+1} < \bar{\lambda}$, the borrower decides that is not in her best interest to repay her mortgage and IOUs. Instead, she can take her money balances with her and run away to island $i+1/2$ to purchase the old lender’s final good, but $h^{i,j}_{r+1} = 0$ and her house goes back to the bank, which has to rebuild it before selling it. On the other hand, if $\lambda^{i,j}_{r+1} \geq \bar{\lambda}$, the borrower repays her mortgage in full for $\rho^i_{r+1} \cdot q^i_{r+1} \cdot (1-y)$ dollars, and repays her IOU for $p^i_{r+1} q^i_{r+1} \left( b^i_{r+1} / p^i_{r+1} \right)$ dollars. Next, she enjoys the house ($h^{i,j}_{r+1}=1$) and she rebuilds whatever was destroyed by the shock $\left(1-\lambda^{i,j}_{r+1}\right)q^i_{r+1}$ dollars, then selling it for $q^i_{r+1}$. Finally, in the afternoon, she travels to island $i+1/2$ to purchase the old lender’s final good.

The lifetime utility of a borrower is given by

$$u\left(c^i_{1,i}, c^i_{2,i+1}, h^i_{r+1}, \lambda^{i,j}_{r+1}\right) = \ln\left(c^i_{1,i}\right) + \ln\left(c^i_{2,i+1}\right) + h^i_{r+1}, \quad (5)$$

---

$^5$ When $\lambda^{i,j}_{r+1} > 1$, the borrower will experience an equity gain instead in the amount of $\left(\lambda^{i,j}_{r+1}-1\right)q^i_{r+1}$. 
while the budget constraints faced by a young borrower are:

\[ c^j_{1,t} = \left( \frac{b^j_t}{p^t_{1,t}} \right), \quad (6a) \]

\[ D^j_t = q^j_t \cdot y \quad (6b) \]

\[ \bar{m}^t_r = w^t_r \cdot L^t_r + w^t_r \cdot a^t_r \quad (6c) \]

For starters, an old borrower who chooses not to default (i.e., when \( \lambda^{i,j}_{t+1} \geq \bar{\lambda} \) obtains) will face the following constraints

\[ \frac{c^{i,j}_{2,t+1}}{\theta^{i,j}_{t+1}} = \frac{w^t_r}{\theta^{i,j}_{t+1}}, \quad (7a) \]

\[ h^{i,j}_{t+1} = 1, \quad (7b) \]

Secondly, an old borrower who chooses to default (i.e., when \( \lambda^{i,j}_{t+1} < \bar{\lambda} \) obtains) faces the following two constraints instead

\[ \frac{c^{i,j}_{2,t+1}}{\theta^{i,j}_{t+1}} = \frac{w^t_r}{\theta^{i,j}_{t+1}}, \quad (8a) \]

\[ h^{i,j}_{t+1} = 0. \quad (8b) \]

Thus, the problem that Borrower \( j \) from triplet \( i \) must solve is

\[
\text{Max} \quad \ln\left( c^i_{1,t} \right) + \int_{\lambda_L}^{\bar{\lambda}} \ln\left( c^i_{2,t+1} \right) d\lambda + \int_{\lambda_L}^{\bar{\lambda}} \left[ \ln\left( c^i_{2,t+1} \right) + 1 \right] d\lambda \quad (9a)
\]

s.t. \( (6a), (7a), (7b), (8a), (8b) \),

\[ \lambda_L \leq \bar{\lambda} \leq \lambda_H, \quad (9b) \]

and taking all prices as given. After integrating by parts and using change of variable, we can rewrite this problem as the maximization, by choosing \( \left( \frac{b^i_t}{p^t_{1,t}} \right) \) and \( \bar{\lambda} \), of the following objective function\(^6\)

\[
\begin{align*}
& a\left( c^i_{1,t}, c^i_{2,t+1}, \bar{\lambda} \right) = \ln\left( \frac{b^i_t}{p^t_{1,t}} \right) + \left( \bar{\lambda} - \lambda_L \right) \cdot \left( \frac{w^t_r}{\theta^{i,j}_{t+1}} \right) \\
& + \ln\left[ c^i_{2,t+1} \left( \lambda_H \right) \right] \cdot A\left( \lambda_H \right) - \ln\left[ c^i_{2,t+1} \left( \bar{\lambda} \right) \right] \cdot A\left( \bar{\lambda} \right),
\end{align*}
\]

where:

\(^6\) For details, see the Technical Appendix.
\[
\tilde{c}_{2,t+1}^i (\lambda_h) = \left( \frac{w_i}{\theta_{t+1}^{i/2}} \right) + \lambda_h \left( \frac{q_{t+1}^i}{\theta_{t+1}^{i/2}} \right) - \rho_{i+1}^i \left( 1-y \right) \left( \frac{q_{t+1}^i}{\theta_{t+1}^{i/2}} \right) - r_{t+1}^i \left( \frac{p_{t+1}^i}{\theta_{t+1}^{i/2}} \right) b_{t+1}^i \right), \quad (10b)
\]

\[
\tilde{c}_{2,t+1}^i (\tilde{\lambda}) = \left( \frac{w_i}{\theta_{t+1}^{i/2}} \right) + \tilde{\lambda} \left( \frac{q_{t+1}^i}{\theta_{t+1}^{i/2}} \right) - \rho_{i+1}^i \left( 1-y \right) \left( \frac{q_{t+1}^i}{\theta_{t+1}^{i/2}} \right) - r_{t+1}^i \left( \frac{p_{t+1}^i}{\theta_{t+1}^{i/2}} \right) b_{t+1}^i \right), \quad (10c)
\]

\[
A(\lambda) \equiv \left\{ \lambda + \frac{w_i}{q_{t+1}^i} - \rho_{i+1}^i \left[ \frac{q_{t+1}^i(1-y)}{q_{t+1}^i} \right] - r_{t+1}^i \left[ \frac{p_{t+1}^i}{q_{t+1}^i} \right] b_{t+1}^i \right\}. \quad (10d)
\]

Of course, the condition (9b) must also hold. A couple of observations will become useful later on. First, \( \tilde{c}_{2,t+1}^i \) and \( A(\cdot) \) are increasing in \( \lambda \). Second, \( A(\tilde{c}_2) = \theta_{t+1}/q_{t+1} \) is positive. Next, I proceed to discuss and evaluate the first order conditions for this problem.

The first order condition with respect to \( \left( b_{t+1}^i/p_{t+1}^i \right) \) is given by

\[
\frac{1}{\left( b_{t+1}^i/p_{t+1}^i \right)} - \frac{r_{t+1}^i}{q_{t+1}^i} \cdot \frac{p_{t+1}^i}{q_{t+1}^i} \left[ \ln \left[ \tilde{c}_{2,t+1}^i (\lambda_h) \right] - \ln \left[ \tilde{c}_{2,t+1}^i (\tilde{\lambda}) \right] \right] \geq 0. \quad (11a)
\]

To discuss the properties of the borrower’s solution for \( \left( b_{t+1}^i/p_{t+1}^i \right) \), we must evaluate different possibilities using (11a). I use a simple fixed point technique. The results show that \( \left( b/p \right) > 0 \) does exist and it is unique, with some qualifications. First, \( \left( b/p \right) \) does not exist for \( \tilde{\lambda} = \lambda_L \). Second, \( \exists \lambda_L \leq \lambda_h \left| \left( b/p \right) = \left( w_i/\theta_{t+1} \right) \right. \).

The first order condition with respect to \( \tilde{\lambda} \) is given by

\[
\tilde{c}_{2,t+1}^i (\tilde{\lambda}) - 1 - \ln \left[ \tilde{c}_{2,t+1}^i (\tilde{\lambda}) \right]. \quad (11b)
\]

The expression in (11b) requires additional examination. First, notice that \( \tilde{c}_{2,t+1}^i \) is independent of \( \tilde{\lambda} \) from the standpoint of the borrower and, thus, we can treat it as fixed for now. Second, the expression in (11b) is positive when \( \tilde{\lambda} = \lambda_L \), implying that the latter is not a solution. Third, the expression in (11b) decreases with \( \tilde{\lambda} \). Two cases may arise, based on the particular value that \( \lambda_h \) may take: when \( \lambda_h \) is sufficiently low, \( \tilde{\lambda} = \lambda_h \) is a corner solution, while when \( \lambda_h \) is large enough, \( \tilde{\lambda} = \lambda_h \) is an interior solution. The two cases are depicted in the diagrams below.

---

7 For details, see the Technical Appendix.
I now proceed to evaluate the expression in (11b) for different potential values of \( \lambda \in [\lambda_L, \lambda_H] \).

**Universal Repayment.** When \( \lambda = \lambda_L \), the borrower would choose to always repay. Obviously, it must be the case that\( e^{\frac{i}{2} (\lambda - \lambda_L)} > \left( w, \frac{\theta^{i/2}}{r^{i/2}} \right) \). The latter implies that the following condition must hold

\[
\lambda_L > \frac{\rho^{i/2} \cdot (1 - y) \cdot q^{i/2}}{q^{i/2}} + \left( \frac{r^{i/2} \cdot p^{i/2}}{q^{i/2}} \right) \left[ \frac{b^{i/2}}{p^{i/2}} (\lambda_L) \right] > 0 \quad (12a)
\]

for \( \lambda = \lambda_L \) to be a solution to this problem. Obviously, this is not the case when \( \lambda_L \in (0, \lambda_L] \), implying that \( \lambda = \lambda_L \) cannot be a solution when the potential negative effects of the shock are significantly large. As an example, when borrowers know that their house can be totally destroyed by the shock, some positive mass of them will choose not to repay. The latter is consistent with my previous examination of (11b) that states that \( \lambda = \lambda_L \) is not a solution.

**Universal Default.** Suppose now that \( \lambda = \lambda_H \). In this case, the borrower chooses never to repay, and it must be the case that \( e^{\frac{i}{2} (\lambda - \lambda_H)} < \left( w, \frac{\theta^{i/2}}{r^{i/2}} \right) \). The preceding inequality leads to the following condition

\[
\lambda_H < \frac{\rho^{i/2} \cdot (1 - y) \cdot q^{i/2}}{q^{i/2}} + r^{i/2} \left( \frac{p^{i/2}}{q^{i/2}} \right) \left[ \frac{b^{i/2}}{p^{i/2}} (\lambda_H) \right] > 0 \quad (12b)
\]

which must hold for \( \lambda = \lambda_H \) to be a solution. Condition (12b) means that, for values of \( \lambda_H \) that are sufficiently low, \( \lambda^* = \lambda_H \) is a solution, which is illustrated in Case 1. However, for values of \( \lambda_H \) that are high enough, i.e. for values such that \( \lambda_H \geq \lambda^* = \lambda_H \) is not the solution, but instead \( \lambda_L < \lambda < \lambda_H \) is the interior solution for this problem. The latter can be explained by the fact when borrowers know that the equity in their houses can increase significantly, a positive mass of them will choose to repay in order to rip-off these benefits.
Some Default. Finally, consider again the case of the interior solution such that $\lambda^* \in (\lambda_L, \lambda_H)$. In this case, $\tilde{c}^{i} = \tilde{c}^{i}_{2,t+1}$ must hold, implying that $\lambda^*$ must satisfy the following condition

$$
\lambda^* = \frac{p^{i}_{\cdot \cdot} \cdot q^{i}_{\cdot \cdot} \cdot (1 - \gamma)}{q^{i}_{\cdot \cdot}} + r^{i}_{\cdot \cdot} \cdot \left[ \frac{b^{i}_{\cdot \cdot}}{p^{i}_{\cdot \cdot}} \left( \lambda^* \right) \right].
$$

(12c)

3.3 The Bank from Triplet $i$

The Bank in triplet $i$ is a monopoly and she starts with zero reserves when young. She packages and offers deposit contracts to young lenders and mortgage contracts to young borrowers. In addition, the bank must hold currency reserves from $t$ to $t+1$: a fraction $\phi \in (0, 1)$ of the dollar-value of the young lenders’ deposits. Let $\chi^i$ denote the amount of dollar-reserves held in the reserves account in the monetary authority. Figure 3 below illustrates the details of the bank’s time line.

3.3.1 Deposit contracts. The Bank offers deposits contracts to young lenders born on triplet $i$. Each young lender must deposit $p^{i} \cdot d^{i}$ dollars early in the morning of date $t$, and keep them in the bank until the afternoon of date $t+1$. In turn, the Bank promises the real gross interest rate $R^{i}_{t+1}$ per unit of deposits, to be paid in the afternoon of date $t+1$. The Bank has the monopoly in triplet $i$ in offering these deposit contracts. The return on deposits will be paid to the lenders once they are on the central island, at the same time the mortgages are repaid.

3.3.2 Mortgage contracts. Young lenders would like buy a house worth $q^{i}$ in the morning of date $t$. They aim at borrowing from the Bank for this purpose. The mortgage contract specifies the following: 1) the young
lender must put a down payment of \( D^j_t = y \cdot q^j_t \) dollars. The bank lends the remainder \( \Lambda^j_t = (1 - y) \cdot q^j_t \) dollars and it purchases the house. The lenders must repay \( \rho^j_{t+1} \cdot \Lambda^j_t = \rho^j_{t+1} \cdot (1 - y) \cdot q^j_t \) dollars in the morning of date \( t+1 \), after which they own the house and can sell it after repairing it at the price \( q^j_{t+1} \). In the case of default, the Bank \( i \) appropriates the house instead, and she can sell it after making the repairs also at the price \( q^j_{t+1} \). Of course, \( \rho^j_{t+1} \) denotes the real gross interest rate on loans set by the Bank. It is worth pointing out that the Bank has the monopoly in pooling the resources available, given by her endowment good and the fraction \( (1 - \phi) \) of the deposits in her vaults, and this must also be feasible. While the mortgage contract is signed at the Bank, all repayments must take place on the Central Island in the morning of date \( t+1 \).

With respect to her preferences, the Bank wishes to consume \( a^j_{t+1} \) units of services when old in the afternoon. Such services are produced only by the Bank, one-to-one, from labor purchased. Obviously, \( \left( w_{t+1} / p^j_{t+1} \right) a^j_{t+1} \) denotes Bank \( i \)’s real cost of purchasing \( a^j_{t+1} > 0 \) units of services. Her utility function takes the following form:

\[
\begin{aligned}
 u(a^j_{t+1}) &= \ln(a^j_{t+1}), \\
 &\text{while the Bank’s budget constraints are given by} \\
 \mu^i \cdot z + p^j \cdot d^j &= q^j_t (1 - y) + \chi^j_t \\
 \chi^j_t &= \phi \cdot p^j \cdot d^j.
\end{aligned}
\]

Combining (14a) and (14b), I obtain

\[
a^j_{t+1} = \left( \frac{\tilde{\lambda}^2 - \lambda^j_L \lambda^j_H}{2 \cdot w_{t+1}} \right) q^j_{t+1} + \left( \lambda^j_H - \tilde{\lambda} \right) \left[ \rho^j_{t+1} \cdot q^j_{t+1} \cdot (1 - y) \right] - R^j_{t+1} \left[ \frac{p^j_{t+1} \cdot d^j_{t+1}}{w_{t+1}} \right] + \left( \frac{\chi^j_t}{w_{t+1}} \right).
\]

I now can express the Bank’s problem as a constrained profit-maximization

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{Max} & \quad \ln(a^j_{t+1}) \\
\text{s.t.} & \quad (14c)
\end{aligned}
\]

taking \( \tilde{\lambda}, \lambda^j_L, \lambda^j_H \) and all other prices as given. The first order conditions of this problem with respect to \( R^j_{t+1} \) and \( \rho^j_{t+1} \) are, respectively,

\[
\frac{d^j_{t+1} \cdot p^j_{t+1}}{a^j_{t+1} \cdot w_{t+1}} < 0 \quad (15a)
\]
\begin{equation}
\left(\lambda^i_n - \tilde{\lambda}\right) \left[\frac{q^i_i \cdot (1 - y)}{a^i_i \cdot \theta^i_{t+1}}\right] > 0. 
\end{equation} 

On the one hand, the condition in (15a) implies a left-corner solution for \( R^i_{t+1} \), i.e. the Bank will pay the lowest

interest rate on deposits that lenders would be willing to accept, which I will denote by \( \hat{R}^i_{t+1} \). In this case, we can obtain \( \hat{R}^i_{t+1} \) from equation (4d), such that

\begin{equation}
\hat{R}^i_{t+1} \left( \tilde{\lambda} \right) = \frac{\alpha \cdot L_{t+1} \cdot p^i_{t+1}}{(1 - \alpha) \cdot K^i_{t+1} \cdot p_{t+1}^i} \cdot \left(\frac{\lambda^i_n - \hat{\lambda}}{\lambda^i_n - \tilde{\lambda}}\right), 
\end{equation} 

where it is apparent that \( \hat{R}^i_{t+1} \left( \tilde{\lambda} \right) \) is increasing in \( \tilde{\lambda} \), from the Bank’s standpoint.

On the other hand, the condition in (15b) indicates that the Bank will charge the maximum possible

interest rate on loans that would be acceptable by borrowers who will not default. This interest rate \( \hat{\rho}^i_{t+1} \) will be

such that \( c^i_{2,t+1} \left( \tilde{\lambda} \right) = c^i_{2,t+1} \left( \omega_{t+1} / \theta^i_{t+1} \right) \) obtains. Using equation (10c), one can solve for \( \hat{\rho}^i_{t+1} \) and obtain the

following

\begin{equation}
\hat{\rho}^i_{t+1} \left( \tilde{\lambda} \right) = \frac{\tilde{\lambda} \cdot q^i_{t+1} \cdot (1 - y)}{q^i_{t} \cdot (1 - y)} - \frac{\hat{R}^i_{t+1} \left( \tilde{\lambda} \right) \cdot p^i_{t+1} \cdot b^i_{t}}{p^i_{t} \cdot (1 - y)}, 
\end{equation} 

However, it is unclear whether the equilibrium interest rate on loans increases with \( \tilde{\lambda} \) or not. To summarize, equations (16a) and (16b) represent the Bank’s profit-maximizing choices.

4. General Equilibrium

In this section, I summarize the conditions that must hold in a general equilibrium. I proceed by blocks. First, I present the four conditions related to the financial and asset markets. The market for IOUs must clear at date \( t \), which happens when

\begin{equation}
\frac{s^i_t}{p^i_t} = \frac{b^i_{t+1}}{p^i_t} \left( \tilde{\lambda} \right) 
\end{equation} 

for all \( t \) and \( i \). Next, the market for mortgages clears at \( t \) when

\begin{equation}
\mu^i_t \cdot z + (1 - \phi) \cdot p^i_t \cdot d^i_t = q^i_t \cdot (1 - y), \quad (17b)
\end{equation} 

while the markets for money and for reserves clear, respectively, when

\begin{equation}
M^i_t = M^i_0 - \sum_{i=1}^{I} p^i_t \cdot \phi \cdot d^i_t = I \cdot w^i_t, \quad (17c)
\end{equation}
\[ \phi \cdot p^i \cdot d^i = \chi^i. \quad (17d) \]

Secondly, I present the markets for factors of production. The market for labor at date \( t \) clears when
\[ I \cdot L + \sum_{i=1}^{J} a'_i = I \quad (18) \]
holds, and, due to the particular structural characteristics of capital creation, the market for physical capital always clears.

In the third place, I present the conditions for the different markets for goods. The market for the lender’s endowment good clears when
\[ x = K^i_{i+1} + \frac{b_{i-1}^i}{p_i} \left( \tilde{\lambda} \right) + d^i \quad (19a) \]
is satisfied, while the market for the lender’s final good clears when
\[ \left( K^i_{i+1} \right)^{1-a} \left( L^i_{i+1} \right)^{1-a} = I^i_{i+1} + \left( \frac{w_{i+1}}{\theta_{i+1}} \right) \]
\[ + \left( \frac{b_{i-1}}{p_i} \right)^{1-a} \int_{\lambda_{i+1}}^{\lambda_{i+1}} \left[ \lambda_{i+1}^i \cdot q_{i+1}^i - \hat{\lambda}_{i+1}^i \cdot q_{i+1}^i \cdot (1 - y) - \hat{R}_{i+1}^i \left( \tilde{\lambda} \right) \cdot \frac{b_{i-1}}{p_i} \tilde{\lambda} \right] \cdot d\lambda . \quad (19b) \]
Now, I turn to discuss the properties of some of the key variables in the model in a symmetric equilibrium.

5. **A Symmetric General Equilibrium**

In this model economy, the structure at heart has been designed so that the agents that belong to a particular type but were born in different triplets face the same problem and the same conditions but for the individual realizations of the shock that affects old borrowers. In comes naturally, then, to pay attention to a symmetric equilibrium.

A symmetric equilibrium is defined as one in which all triplet-specific variables \( x^j \) are equal to their counterparts from all other triplets \( x^j, j \neq i \). For example, \( \tilde{\lambda}^i_{i+1} = \tilde{\lambda}^i_{i+1}, \forall i \), and so on, with the exception of the realizations of individual-specific shocks. This exercise will allow me to point out the potential for strategic complementarities that underlies this economy.

The reader will notice that the main equilibrium quantities and interest rates are a function of \( \tilde{\lambda} \) in equilibrium. In what follows, I describe the properties of the gains/losses of the different agents in equilibrium when there is an innovation in \( \tilde{\lambda} \).

5.1 **Labor Purchases by Old Lenders and Total Output**

In equilibrium, I obtain that there is no closed-form solution for the labor purchases by old lenders $L_{t+1}(\tilde{\lambda})$. Moreover, $L_{t+1}(\tilde{\lambda})$ is properly defined iff $K_{t+1} < \alpha \cdot x^8$. The following equation defines implicitly the labor purchases by old lenders

$$- \left[ \frac{\alpha \cdot x - K_{t+1}}{(1 - \alpha) \cdot K_{t+1}} \right] = \frac{1}{L_{t+1}(\tilde{\lambda})} \left[ \frac{q_{t+1}}{2\theta \cdot (\lambda_{t+1} - \tilde{\lambda})} \left( \lambda_{t+1} - \tilde{\lambda} \right)^2 \left( 1 - \alpha \right) \cdot K_{t+1} \right] \cdot L_{t+1}(\tilde{\lambda}) \cdot \partial L_{t+1}(\tilde{\lambda}) \cdot \partial \lambda_{t+1}. \quad (20a)$$

Equation (21a) illustrates the fact that the labor purchases by old lenders are a function of $\tilde{\lambda}$, but also of $K_{t+1}$. However, the latter is inelastic and independent of $\tilde{\lambda}$, since it was chosen before the realization of the latter.

Interestingly, $L_{t+1}(\tilde{\lambda})$ is a key indicator of the welfare of old lenders, since it represents their ability to produce their final good, for a given $K_{t+1}$. The following proposition illustrates the changes in the old lenders’ welfare when facing an innovation in $\tilde{\lambda}$.

**Proposition 1** An innovation in $\tilde{\lambda}$ reduces the ability of old lenders of purchasing labor by reducing their resources available. The latter also reduces their ability of producing their final good, thus reducing its supply in equilibrium.

**Proof:** After differentiating (20a) with respect to $\tilde{\lambda}$ and an extensive rearrangement of terms, one obtains

$$\frac{dL}{d\tilde{\lambda}} = - \frac{2 \cdot q_{t+1} \cdot L_{t+1}^{-1} \cdot (\lambda_{t+1} - \tilde{\lambda})}{(1 - \alpha) \cdot 2\theta \cdot (\lambda_{t+1} - \tilde{\lambda}) \cdot K_{t+1} + q_{t+1} \cdot L_{t+1}^{-1}} < 0, \quad (20b)$$

which indicates that the lender’s purchases of labor fall in the face of an innovation of $\tilde{\lambda}$.

Second, the total production of the final good $Y_{t+1} = K_{t+1}^{a} \cdot L_{t+1}^{1-a}$ depends on both capital and labor purchases. At the time when an innovation of $\tilde{\lambda}$ is observed, $K$ is inelastic, and only $L$ will respond to this change. Thus, differentiating $Y_{t+1}$ with respect to $\tilde{\lambda}$ yields

$$\frac{dY_{t+1}}{d\tilde{\lambda}} = (1 - \alpha) \cdot K_{t+1}^{a} \cdot L_{t+1}^{1-a} \frac{dL}{d\tilde{\lambda}} < 0. \quad (20c)$$

Of course, the latter implies a reduction of total output in the presence of an innovation of the cut-off value of the shock.

**Q.E.D.**

### 5.2 The Welfare of Old Borrowers

In a symmetric general equilibrium, the following basic conditions illustrate important properties that are consistent with the contingent plan of action that borrowers formulated when young:

$$\hat{c}_{2,t+1}(\tilde{\lambda}) = \hat{c}_{2,t+1} \frac{w_{t+1}}{\theta_{t+1}} = \frac{(1 - \alpha) \cdot K_{t+1}^{a}}{L_{t+1}^{a}} > 0, \quad (21a)$$

$$\hat{c}_{2,t+1}(\lambda_{t+1}) - \hat{c}_{2,t+1}(\tilde{\lambda}) = \frac{q_{t+1} \cdot (\lambda_{t+1} - \tilde{\lambda})}{\theta_{t+1}}, \quad (21b)$$

---

8 $L_{t+1}(\tilde{\lambda})$ is undefined and discontinuous when $K_{t+1} = \alpha \cdot x$, since $\lim_{K_{t+1} \to (\alpha \cdot x)^-} = \infty$ and $\lim_{K_{t+1} \to (\alpha \cdot x)^+} = -\infty$. 

---
\[ \tilde{c}_{2,r+1} (\tilde{\lambda}) = \frac{w_{r+1}}{\theta_{r+1}} + \frac{\lambda_{r+1} - \tilde{\lambda}}{\theta_{r+1}} \cdot q_{r+1} = \frac{(1-\alpha) \cdot K^u}{L^u} + \frac{\lambda_{r+1} - \tilde{\lambda}}{\theta_{r+1}} \cdot q_{r+1} > 0. \tag{21c} \]

First, equation (21a) indicates that the marginal old borrower – who experiences the realization \( \lambda_{r+1} = \tilde{\lambda} \) – is indifferent between defaulting and repaying her debt. Second, condition (21b) illustrates two facts. On the one hand, an old borrower who experiences realizations such that \( \lambda_{r+1} \in \left[ \tilde{\lambda}, \tilde{\lambda}^\prime \right] \) will be worse-off than defaulting if she chooses to repay her debt since \( \tilde{c}_{2,r+1} (\lambda_{r+1}) \left( w_{r+1}/\theta_{r+1} \right) \). On the other hand, an old borrower who experiences realizations such that \( \lambda_{r+1} \in \left( \tilde{\lambda}, \tilde{\lambda}^\prime \right) \) will find it in her best interest to repay her debt, since \( \tilde{c}_{2,r+1} (\lambda_{r+1}) > \left( w_{r+1}/\theta_{r+1} \right) \). Equation (21c) describes the consumption of an old borrower who chooses to repay her debt. It is thus apparent that when \( \lambda_{r+1} \in \left[ \tilde{\lambda}, \tilde{\lambda}^\prime \right] \) obtains, the old borrower will choose to default on her debt and she will consume \( \tilde{c}_{2,r+1} (\lambda_{r+1}) = \left( w_{r+1}/\theta_{r+1} \right) \), while when \( \lambda_{r+1} \in \left( \tilde{\lambda}, \tilde{\lambda}^\prime \right) \) obtains, the borrower will choose to repay her debt and she will consume \( \tilde{c}_{2,r+1} (\lambda_{r+1}) = \left( w_{r+1}/\theta_{r+1} \right) + \left[ q_{r+1} \cdot \left( \lambda_{r+1} - \tilde{\lambda} \right) / \theta_{r+1} \right] > \tilde{c}_{2,r+1} \).

I now turn to the analysis of the effects of an innovation of \( \tilde{\lambda} \), which are described in the following proposition.

**Proposition 2** An innovation in \( \tilde{\lambda} \) affects the welfare of the two groups of old borrowers differently: it makes the borrowers who chose to default on their debt better-off, while the borrowers who chose to repay their debt worse-off. However, the group of old borrowers as a whole are made worse-off by the increase in \( \tilde{\lambda} \). Moreover, the number of borrowers in the first group increases, while the number of borrowers in the second group decreases.

**Proof:** I start with the consumption of borrowers who choose to default in equilibrium. By differentiating (21a) with respect to \( \tilde{\lambda} \), one obtains

\[ \frac{dc}{d\tilde{\lambda}} = -\frac{\alpha \cdot (1-\alpha) \cdot K^u}{L^u} \cdot \frac{dL}{d\tilde{\lambda}} > 0. \tag{21d} \]

Equation (21d) indicates that old borrowers who choose to default are made better-off by an innovation in \( \tilde{\lambda} \). The fraction of borrowers who default, given by \( \frac{\tilde{\lambda} - \lambda}{\tilde{\lambda} - \lambda} \), increases with \( \tilde{\lambda} \), which is consistent with the increase observed in \( \tilde{c}_{2,r+1} \).

Regarding the consumption of borrowers who choose to repay their debt, one must differentiate equation (21c) with respect to \( \tilde{\lambda} \). By doing so, one obtains

\[ \frac{dc}{d\tilde{\lambda}} = \frac{2 \cdot \theta_{r+1} \cdot q_{r+1} \cdot K^u \left[ (1-\alpha) \cdot \lambda_{r+1} - \alpha \cdot \tilde{\lambda} + \alpha \cdot \tilde{\lambda} + \alpha \cdot \tilde{\lambda} \right] - \left( q_{r+1} \right)^2 \cdot L^u}{\theta_{r+1} \cdot \left[ 2 \cdot \theta_{r+1} \cdot \left( \lambda_{r+1} - \tilde{\lambda} \right) \cdot K^u + q_{r+1} \cdot L^u \right]} < 0. \tag{21e} \]

Interestingly, equation (21e) indicates that an innovation in \( \tilde{\lambda} \) causes the old borrowers who chose to repay their debt to be worse-off. Finally, the fraction of borrowers who choose to repay their debt, given by \( \frac{\tilde{\lambda} - \lambda}{\tilde{\lambda} - \lambda} \), decreases with \( \tilde{\lambda} \). The latter is consistent with the reduction in \( \tilde{c}_{2,r+1} \). These two effects continue until \( \tilde{c}_{2,r+1} (\tilde{\lambda}) = \left( w_{r+1}/\theta_{r+1} \right) \), where \( \tilde{\lambda} \) is the new cut-off value of the shock.
I now turn to analyze the aggregate welfare of borrowers, given by \( \frac{\bar{m}_{t+1}}{\theta_{t+1}} \) in the equation below.

\[
\frac{\bar{m}_{t+1}}{\theta_{t+1}} = w_{t+1} + \left( q_{t+1} \cdot \frac{\lambda_{t+1} - \tilde{\lambda}}{\theta_{t+1}} \right) \cdot \int_{\lambda_{t+1}}^{\lambda_{t+1}} \left( \frac{\lambda - \tilde{\lambda}}{\lambda - \lambda_{t+1}} \right) \cdot d\lambda_{t+1}. \tag{21f}
\]

After some non-trivial effort, I was able to show that

\[
\frac{d}{d\tilde{\lambda}} \left( \frac{\bar{m}_{t+1}}{\theta_{t+1}} \right) = q_{t+1} \cdot \left( \lambda_{t+1} - \tilde{\lambda} \right) \left[ \frac{2 \cdot \theta_{t+1} \cdot \left( \lambda_{t+1} - \tilde{\lambda} \right) \cdot K'' \cdot (\alpha - 1) - q_{t+1} \cdot L''}{\theta_{t+1} \cdot \left( \lambda_{t+1} - \tilde{\lambda} \right) \cdot \left( 2 \cdot \theta_{t+1} \cdot \left( \lambda_{t+1} - \tilde{\lambda} \right) \cdot K'' + q_{t+1} \cdot L'' \right)} \right] < 0, \tag{21g}
\]

which indicates that the aggregate welfare of old borrowers is reduced by an innovation in \( \tilde{\lambda} \).

Q.E.D.

Interestingly, Proposition 3 illustrates the fact that, in the time of a mortgage crisis, the borrowers who choose to default experience welfare gains, while the “honest” borrowers will be made worse-off. Moreover, the losses experienced by the “honest” borrowers dominate, making the borrowers as a group worse-off. This result is the more appealing when one confronts the conventional wisdom around the subprime mortgage crisis, where a case is being made to attempt to improve the conditions faced by the borrowers who have been forced to default on their mortgages. It would appear that, instead, the case shall be made to help those who are trying to repair their mortgages, not the ones who defaulted.

5.3 The Welfare of Old Lenders

Now I am in a position to analyze the welfare of the old lenders in equilibrium. A lender’s welfare depends on her consumption of the final good she produces, \( l_{2,t+1} \). In turn, following equation (3a), it transpires that the lenders’ consumption depends on both the amount produced of the good and the consumption of the old borrowers. The proposition below presents some very provoking results that involve the lenders’ welfare.

**Proposition 3** The old lenders experience welfare gains, after a mortgage crisis in the form of an innovation in \( \tilde{\lambda} \) has obtained.

**Proof:** After imposing the general equilibrium conditions in equation (3a) and differentiating with respect to \( \tilde{\lambda} \), it transpires that

\[
\frac{dl_{2,t+1}}{d\tilde{\lambda}} = \frac{2 \cdot \theta_{t+1} \cdot \left( \lambda_{t+1} - \tilde{\lambda} \right) \cdot K'' \cdot (1 - \alpha - L) + \left( q_{t+1} \cdot \lambda_{t+1} - \tilde{\lambda} \right) \cdot L''}{\theta_{t+1} \cdot \left( \lambda_{t+1} - \tilde{\lambda} \right) \cdot \left( 2 \cdot \theta_{t+1} \cdot \left( \lambda_{t+1} - \tilde{\lambda} \right) \cdot K'' + q_{t+1} \cdot L'' \right)} > 0. \tag{22a}
\]

The former equation indicates that an innovation in \( \tilde{\lambda} \) increases the old lenders’ consumption in equilibrium. The latter, of course, will result in a welfare gain for these agents.

Q.E.D.

The expression in (22a) indicates that, contrary to what one expect, the lenders’ welfare improves in the time of a crisis originated by an innovations in the cut-off value of the shock. Given the circumstances, one would tend to look first at the reduction of output as one factor that would undermine the lenders’ welfare. However, the reduction in the borrowers’ welfare dominates this effect. Thus, the old lenders are made better-off at the expense of the old borrowers’.

5.4 The Welfare of the Bank
The welfare of the different individual banks is directly related to their profits, which take the form of purchases of labor when old, \( a_{t+1} \). After imposing the general equilibrium conditions on (14c), one obtains the following expression

\[
a_{t+1} = \kappa(\lambda) - \xi(\lambda), \tag{23a}
\]

Where \( \kappa(\lambda) \) represents the bank’s income/revenue function and \( \xi(\lambda) \) denotes the bank’s cost function. I proceed now by analyzing each of these functions separately, at first.

**Properties of the Bank’s Revenue Function.** The revenue function in a general equilibrium is given by

\[
\kappa(\lambda) \equiv \frac{\hat{\lambda}^2 \cdot q_{t+1} + (\lambda - \hat{\lambda}) \cdot \hat{\rho}_{t+1} \cdot q_{t+1} \cdot (1 - y)}{2 \cdot w_{t+1}} + \chi_{t+1} \cdot \frac{\lambda^2 \cdot q_{t+1}}{2 \cdot w_{t+1}} \tag{23b}
\]

The evaluation of the revenue function at the extreme values of the distribution of \( \lambda \) provides interesting insight. I start by evaluating the revenue function at \( \lambda = 0 \leq \lambda_L \)

\[
\kappa(0) = \frac{\varphi \cdot p \cdot (x - K)}{w_{t+1}} - \frac{\varphi \cdot p \cdot (b_t / p_t)}{w_{t+1}} - \frac{\lambda^2 \cdot q_{t+1}}{w_{t+1}} - \frac{\alpha \cdot (L/K) \cdot (b_t / p_t) \cdot (\lambda_H - \lambda_L)}{(1 - \alpha)} < 0. \tag{23c}
\]

Thus, the bank would receive negative revenue for values of \( \lambda \) that are sufficiently low. However, \( \kappa(\lambda) \) increases as \( \lambda \) continues to increase, as one can deduct from the following expression

\[
\frac{d\kappa(\lambda)}{d\lambda} = \frac{\hat{R}_{t+1} \cdot p_{t+1} \cdot (b_t / p_t) \cdot \lambda_H^2 \cdot q_{t+1}}{2 \cdot w_{t+1}} \cdot \left[ \frac{2 \cdot (\lambda_H - \lambda_L) + 1}{(\lambda_H - \lambda_L)} \right] - \frac{q_{t+1}}{w_{t+1}} > 0. \tag{23d}
\]

It is easy to figure out from (23d) that \( \frac{d\kappa(\lambda)}{d\lambda} \bigg|_{\lambda=0} > 0 \) although \( \lim_{\lambda \to \lambda_L} \frac{d\kappa(\lambda)}{d\lambda} = \infty \). In the limit, it transpires that

\[
\kappa(\lambda_H) = \left[ (\lambda_H^2 - \lambda_L^2) \cdot q_{t+1} \right] / 2 \cdot w_{t+1} + \chi_{t+1} / w_{t+1} > 0 \text{ holds. In summary, the bank’s revenue function is an increasing and convex function of } \lambda \text{ which happens to be negative for low enough values of its argument.}
\]

**Properties of the Bank’s Cost Function.** The bank’s cost function in a general equilibrium has the following form

\[
\xi(\lambda) \equiv \frac{\hat{R}_{t+1} \cdot p_{t+1} \cdot d_t}{w_{t+1}} - \frac{\hat{R}_{t+1} \cdot p_{t+1} \cdot (x - K)}{w_{t+1}} - \frac{\hat{R}_{t+1} \cdot p_{t+1} \cdot (b_t / p_t)}{w_{t+1}} > 0. \tag{24a}
\]
Equation (24a) indicates that there are two forces at play in the cost function: the effect that increases the interest rate on deposits has as $\lambda$ increases, and the effect that reduces the deposits under the same conditions.

The latter is apparent from

$$\frac{d\xi(\lambda)}{d\lambda} = \left(\frac{d\hat{R}_{r+1}}{d\lambda}\right) \cdot p_{r+1} \cdot \left[ x - K \left(\frac{b}{p}\right) \right] - \left[ \frac{d}{d\lambda} \left(\frac{b}{p}\right) \right] \cdot \hat{R}_{r+1} \cdot p_{r+1}. \tag{24b}$$

It is the case that, in equilibrium, the costs are increasing in $\lambda$ for values of $\lambda$ that are low enough, while they decrease for higher values of $\lambda$. Moreover, $d^2\xi(\lambda) / d\lambda^2 < 0$ holds, indicating that costs are a strictly concave function of the cut-off value of the shock.

**Properties of the Bank's Profits.** The diagram below will help us understand the behavior of $a_{r+1}$ by illustrating together the behavior of revenue and costs as a function of $\lambda$.

![Figure 4: The Bank's Revenue, Costs and Profits](image)

Now, I restrict my attention to the analysis of the equilibria that have economic meaning, as described in the following proposition.

**Proposition 4** Equilibria can only exist in the range $\lambda \in [\lambda^*, \lambda^*]$, where profits are positive.

**Proof:** In this model, the bank uses her profits to purchase labor. Since one cannot purchase negative amounts of labor, and because the bank has no supply of labor to offer when old\(^{10}\), we can rule out equilibria where $\lambda \in [\lambda^*_u, \lambda^*_a]$ and $a_{r+1} < 0$. Thus, equilibria will exist only for allocations where $\lambda \in [\lambda^*_l, \lambda^*_u]$ and $a_{r+1} \geq 0$ hold.

Q.E.D.

In this model, even though banks are local monopolies, they are vulnerable to the presence of allocations where operation is not economically viable. Contrary to conventional wisdom, the banks will prefer

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\(^9\) See the following sections for details on $\hat{R}_{r+1}$, $\hat{\rho}_{r+1}$ and $\left(\frac{b}{p}\right)$.

\(^{10}\) One could think as well of the possibility of endowing old banks with labor when old, but this seems to complicate matters greatly without the corresponding gain in insight.
allocations associated with higher rates of default and risk, since only there can they expect to make a profit and remain open to the public. Allocations where $\tilde{\lambda} \in [\lambda_L, \lambda_H]$ can also be interpreted as equilibria in which financial autarky is present and the market for mortgages does not operate. In the latter case, though, the market for IOUs could still be operative. One can then say, in this model economy, banks are slaves to risk and conscious risk-takers in equilibrium. However, there is a double edge to this statement, since in the limit, when $\tilde{\lambda} = \lambda_H$, there is universal default and banks could not subsist either since deposits would be close to zero.

5.5 The Amount Issued of IOUs

The real value of the IOUs issued and its properties will indicate the direction of the strategic interaction present in equilibrium in this economy. I proceed by first combining equations (11a), (16a) and (16b) and imposing an interior solution for both $\left( b_i / p_i \right)$ and $\tilde{\lambda}$. Then, one obtains the following expression, which defines the function $\frac{b_i}{p_i}(\tilde{\lambda})$ implicitly:

$$\left[ \frac{b_i}{p_i}(\tilde{\lambda}) \right]^{-1} = \frac{\hat{R}_{i \epsilon l}}{q_{i \epsilon l}} \cdot \ln \left\{ w_{i \epsilon l} + \tilde{\lambda} \cdot q_{i \epsilon l} - \rho_{i \epsilon l} (\tilde{\lambda}) \cdot q_{i \epsilon l} \cdot (1 - y) - \hat{R}_{i \epsilon l} (\tilde{\lambda}) \cdot p_{i \epsilon l} \cdot \left[ \frac{b_i}{p_i} (\tilde{\lambda}) \right] \right\}$$

Equation (21) a second order, nonlinear equation in $\frac{b_i}{p_i}(\tilde{\lambda})$, in which $\tilde{\lambda}$ also appears in the denominator of $\hat{R}_{i \epsilon l}$. On the first hand, if, in equilibrium, it is observed that $\left( b_i / p_i \right)$ increases with $\tilde{\lambda}$, it will indicate the presence of strategic complementarities. On the other hand, if $\left( b_i / p_i \right)$ decreases with $\tilde{\lambda}$, strategic substitutability dominates in equilibrium. Given the complex nature of the expression in (25a), it is not clear at first sight whether the IOUs issued are increasing or decreasing in $\tilde{\lambda}$. The following proposition illustrates the results.

**Proposition 5** $\left( b_i / p_i \right)$ is increasing in the cut-off value of the shock, $\tilde{\lambda}$, over the interval $\left( \lambda_L, \lambda_M \right)$, where $\lambda_M$ is such that $\frac{b_i}{p_i}(\lambda_M) = \frac{w_{i \epsilon l}}{\theta_{i \epsilon l}}$.

**Proof:**
a) Boundaries for the domain of \( \left( \frac{b}{p} \right) \). First, \( \frac{b}{p} \left( \tilde{\lambda} \right) \) does not exist\(^{11} \). Second, \( \left( \frac{w}{\theta} \right) = \left( \frac{w}{\theta} \right) \) does not obtain in equilibrium. Two reasons explain the latter. First, the lenders’ investment into capital must be strictly positive, and second, lenders will realize that borrowers will not have any resources left to repay their mortgages, thus defaulting both on mortgages and the IOUs.

b) After excruciating pain and suffering, I was able to find that\(^{12} \)

\[
\frac{d \left( \frac{b}{p} \right)}{d \tilde{\lambda}} = \frac{A_1 \left( \tilde{\lambda} \right) + A_2 \left( \tilde{\lambda} \right)}{A_3 \left( \tilde{\lambda} \right)} \quad (25b)
\]

where I have assumed that \( dL/d\tilde{\lambda} = 0 \), to fix ideas. Moreover, one observes that \( \frac{d \left( \frac{b}{p} \right)}{d \tilde{\lambda}} > 0 \) everywhere but on the interval \([\tilde{\lambda}_1, \tilde{\lambda}_2]\), where \( 1 < \tilde{\lambda}_1, \tilde{\lambda}_2 < \tilde{\lambda}_M \) and \( \frac{d \left( \frac{b}{p} \right)}{d \tilde{\lambda}} < 0 \). Thus, there is an interval \([\tilde{\lambda}_2, \tilde{\lambda}_3]\), for \( \tilde{\lambda}_2 < \tilde{\lambda}_3 < \tilde{\lambda}_M \), where more than one equilibria can exist, in the sense that the same value \( \left( \frac{b}{p} \right) \) transpires for more than one value of \( \tilde{\lambda} \). Graphical analysis indicates that at most three equilibria can obtain.

Q.E.D.

The previous result is very interesting. It implies that, in general, when \( \tilde{\lambda} \) is higher, the young borrowers know that there will be a higher rate of default in the following date, and thus choose to borrow more, since they will very likely choose not repay it. Thus, the equilibrium in this model economy has the potential for strategic complementarities, which could lead to the presence of multiple equilibria, as it is the case in the interval \([\tilde{\lambda}_1, \tilde{\lambda}_3]\). However, I must point out that there is a limit to this effect, since values of \( \tilde{\lambda} \) such that \( \tilde{\lambda} \geq \tilde{\lambda}_M \) do not obtain in equilibrium. I must also point out that the amount issued of IOUs increases at the expense of deposits, which are perfect substitutes from the standpoint of the lenders.

![Figure 5: The Amount Issued of IOUs and Multiple Equilibria](image)

5.6 The Interest Rate on Deposits and IOUs

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\(^{11} \) See details in section 2 of the Technical Appendix.

\(^{12} \) See the Technical Appendix for details on this proof.
The interest rates play a very important role in defining the properties of the equilibrium in this model. I start by discussing the properties of the interest rate on deposits and IOUs. These two interest rates are equal in equilibrium because there is no arbitrage in rates of return on assets that are perfect substitutes. In addition, the return on both deposits and IOUs represent a significant source of income to old lenders. After imposing equilibrium conditions on (16a), one obtains the following expression

\[ \hat{R}_{t+1}(\lambda) = \hat{r}_{t+1}(\lambda) = \left[ \frac{\alpha \cdot \theta \cdot (\lambda_H - \lambda_L)}{p \cdot K^{1-a}} \right] \cdot \frac{L^{1-a}}{(\lambda_H - \lambda)} > 0. \tag{26a} \]

The reader may notice that, at date \( t+1 \), \( K \) is independent of \( \lambda \), since it was determined before the shocks are realized. However, this is not the case for \( L \), which is affected by the default of borrowers. One could alternatively regard the interest rate loan in terms of the return on capital, which is a perfect substitute to both deposits and IOUs. Let \( k \equiv (K/L) \) denote the capital-labor ratio and \( \Psi(k) \) denote the marginal product of capital. Then, the equilibrium interest rate on deposits can also be expressed as \( \hat{R}(\lambda) = \theta \cdot \Psi(k) \cdot (1 - \pi)^{-1} \), implying that there is no arbitrage among the returns of all the assets available to young lenders.

**Proposition 6** The equilibrium interest rate on deposits and IOUs \( \hat{R}_{t+1} \) is nonlinear and convex function of \( \lambda \). In particular, \( \hat{R}_{t+1} \) is decreasing over the interval \( [\lambda_k, \lambda_x] \) and decreasing when \( \lambda \in (\lambda_k, \lambda^*) \), where \( \lambda^* \) is such that \( d\hat{R}_{t+1}/d\lambda \bigg|_{\lambda=\lambda^*} = 0 \). Moreover, this interest rate grows without upper bound as \( \lambda \) grows closer to \( \lambda^*_h \).

**Proof:** Differentiating (26a) with respect to \( \lambda \) yields

\[ \frac{d\hat{R}_{t+1}}{d\lambda} = \left[ \frac{\alpha \cdot \theta \cdot \lambda_H - \lambda_L}{p \cdot K^{1-a}} \right] \cdot \left[ \frac{(1 - \alpha) \cdot L^*}{(\lambda_H - \lambda)} \right] dL + \frac{L^*}{(\lambda_H - \lambda)} \]. \tag{26b}\]

The first term inside of the curly brackets in (26b) is negative and decreasing in \( \lambda \), while the second term is positive and increasing in \( \lambda \). It is apparent, then, that there exists a value \( \lambda^* \in (\lambda_k, \lambda^*_h) \), such that \( d\hat{R}_{t+1}(\lambda^*)/d\lambda = 0 \) obtains. Moreover, it transpires that \( d\hat{R}_{t+1}(\lambda_1)/d\lambda < 0 \) for \( \forall \lambda_1 < \lambda^* \), while \( d\hat{R}_{t+1}(\lambda_2)/d\lambda > 0 \) for \( \forall \lambda_2 > \lambda^* \).

Secondly, after evaluating (20a) at \( \lambda = \lambda^*_h \), one obtains

\[ \lim_{\lambda \to \lambda^*_h} \hat{R}_{t+1}(\lambda) = \theta \cdot \Psi(k) \cdot \frac{\lambda_H - \lambda^*_L}{\lambda_H - \lambda^*_L} = \infty, \tag{26c} \]

which proves the second part of this proposition.

Q.E.D.

Proposition 6 indicates that there may be two equilibria for a given fixed value of the interest rate on deposits \( R > 0 \), as illustrated in Figure 6 below. On the one hand, the value \( \lambda_1 \) corresponds to an equilibrium
where the interest rate is $\bar{R}$ and there is a low rate of default. On the other hand, the value $\hat{\lambda}_2$ is associated with an equilibrium where the interest rate is also equal to $\bar{R}$, but there is a high rate of default instead.

5.7 The Interest Rate on Mortgages

The equilibrium interest rate on mortgages $\hat{\rho}_{t+1}$ plays a twofold role in this model. First, it is one of the key factors that affect the decision by borrowers of whether to default or not in equilibrium. Second, it represents the main source of income for the old bank, thus affecting her profit and the amount of labor services $a_{t+1}$ that she will be able to purchase and consume. After imposing the equilibrium conditions on (16b), one obtains the following expression for the interest rate on mortgages:

$$\hat{\rho}_{t+1}(\bar{\lambda}) = \frac{\bar{\lambda} \cdot q_{t+1}}{q_y (1 - y)} - \left[ \alpha \cdot \theta_{t+1} \cdot \left( \frac{\bar{\lambda} - \bar{\lambda}}{\bar{\lambda} - \bar{\lambda}} \right) \right] \left( \frac{b}{p} \right) \cdot \frac{L^{1-\alpha}}{\left( \bar{\lambda} - \bar{\lambda} \right)}.$$

(27a)

It is apparent from (27a) that $\hat{\rho}_{t+1}$ is a somewhat complex function of $\bar{\lambda}$, making the analysis of its properties a bit complicated. Given the latter, I thus proceed by using a modified version of my fixed-point technique. I present the results in the following proposition.

**Proposition 7** The following are properties of $\hat{\rho}_{t+1}$ in equilibrium:

1. $\hat{\rho}_{t+1}(\bar{\lambda}) \geq 0$ is a smooth, nonlinear function of $\bar{\lambda}$, such that $(d\hat{\rho}_{t+1} / d\bar{\lambda}) > 0$ for $\bar{\lambda} < \bar{\lambda}^*$, and $(d\hat{\rho}_{t+1} / d\bar{\lambda}) < 0$ for $\bar{\lambda} > \bar{\lambda}^*$. Moreover, $(d^2\hat{\rho}_{t+1} / d\bar{\lambda}^2) < 0$, $\forall \bar{\lambda} \in [\hat{\lambda}_L, \hat{\lambda}_H]$.

2. An interest rate on mortgages with meaningful economic content—i.e. $\hat{\rho}_{t+1}(\bar{\lambda}) \geq 0$—in this model exists only for the range $[\hat{\lambda}_1, \hat{\lambda}_2]$ of its domain, where $\hat{\lambda}_1 > \hat{\lambda}_L$ and $\hat{\lambda}_2 < \hat{\lambda}_H$ are such that $\hat{\rho}_{t+1}(\hat{\lambda}_1) = \hat{\rho}_{t+1}(\hat{\lambda}_2) = 0$.

**Proof:**

*Part 1:* After differentiating equation (27a) with respect to $\bar{\lambda}$, one obtains the expression...
\[ \frac{d\hat{\rho}^{t+1}_{i+1}}{d\lambda} = \left[ \frac{q_i}{q_i(1-y)} \cdot B \cdot (1-\alpha) \cdot \left( \frac{b_i/p_i}{\lambda_{ni} - \lambda_i} \right)^2 \cdot \frac{dL}{d\lambda} \right] - \left[ B \cdot \left( \frac{1}{\lambda_{ni} - \lambda_i} \right) \cdot \frac{d(b_i/p_i)}{d\lambda} \right] + \left( \frac{b_i/p_i}{\lambda_{ni} - \lambda_i} \right) \]  

(27b)

where \( B = \frac{\alpha \cdot \theta \cdot \left( \lambda_{ni} - \lambda_i \right)}{q_i \cdot (1-y) \cdot K} \) > 0. It is apparent that the first term on the right hand side of (27b) is strictly positive and decreasing in \( \lambda \), while the second term is strictly negative and nonlinear in \( \lambda \). Thus, there exists a value of \( \lambda \), that I will denote by \( \lambda^* \), such that \( d\hat{\rho}^{t+1}_{i+1}/d\lambda = 0 \). Moreover, \( \left( d\hat{\rho}^{t+1}_{i+1}/d\lambda \right) < 0 \) holds for \( \lambda < \lambda^* \), while \( \left( d\hat{\rho}^{t+1}_{i+1}/d\lambda \right) > 0 \) for \( \lambda > \lambda^* \). All of the above implies that \( \left( d^2\hat{\rho}^{t+1}_{i+1}/d\lambda^2 \right) < 0 \) holds\(^{13} \), \( \forall \lambda \in \left[ \lambda_L, \lambda_H \right] \).

Part 2: There exist two values of \( \lambda \) that I will denote by \( \lambda_1 \) and \( \lambda_2 \), such that \( \hat{\rho}(\lambda_1) = \hat{\rho}(\lambda_2) = 0 \), where \( \lambda_L \leq \lambda_1 < \lambda_2 \leq \lambda_H \). Given the proof of part 1 of this proposition, it follows directly that \( \hat{\rho}(\lambda) > 0 \) for all \( \lambda \in \left( \lambda_1, \lambda_2 \right) \).

Q.E.D.

It follows, from Proposition 7, that there exist two equilibria for a fixed real interest rate on loans \( \hat{\pi} \), as indicated by Figure 7 below. The first equilibrium is associated with \( \lambda_1 \), indicating the low rate of default \( \pi_1^* = \frac{\lambda_1}{(\lambda_{ni} - \lambda_i)} \). On the contrary, the second equilibrium has the cut-off value \( \lambda_2 \), indicating the high rate of default \( \pi_2^* = \frac{\lambda_2}{(\lambda_{ni} - \lambda_i)} \).\(^{14} \)

I must point out that the latter results are consistent with the equilibrium properties of \( \hat{R}^{t+1}_{i+1} \) that I described in Proposition 6. Thus, this economy has the potential for multiple equilibria, which is explained mostly from the fact that strategic complementarities are present in this model economy. One, however, must still be careful when making statements about the number of equilibria in this economy due to the properties of the bank’s profits in equilibrium. The latter rule out a set of low enough values of \( \lambda \) for which the bank’s profits are negative.

\(^{13}\) This proof is available upon request.

\(^{14}\) Of course, \( \pi_1^* < \pi_2^* \) obtains.
6. Preliminary Conclusions\textsuperscript{15}

The main properties obtained from my model so far are:

1. There is always a positive rate of default in equilibrium, whether it is unique or not. Moreover, universal default and universal repayment cannot obtain in equilibrium due to the nature of the shock that continuously hits this economy and the signaling to lenders by borrowers, respectively.

2. The equilibrium interest rates on deposits, IOUs and loans display the potential for the existence of two equilibria: one with a low rate of default and the other with a high rate of default. However, the model so far has not produced any criteria for equilibrium selection yet.

3. Contrary to standard intuition, the monopolistic banks obtains positive profits only when the equilibrium rates of default are sufficiently high; my interpretation of this result is that banks are risk lovers in equilibrium.

4. In this model, young borrowers formulate a contingent plan in light of the realization of the shock that they will experience the following period. This works through the choice of a cut-off value from the distribution of the shock, such that realizations below the cut-off will lead to defaulting while realizations above the cut-off will lead to repayment.

5. A crisis in this model takes the form of an innovation in the cut-off value of the shock.

6. A crisis reduces total output in this economy by reducing the resources available to purchase labor. Thus, one would expect the GDP to fall in a time of crisis.

7. A crisis also reduces the aggregate welfare of borrowers. However, this effect can be misleading, since the borrowers who default experience welfare gains, while the “honest” borrowers who choose to repay their debt are made worse-off. Thus, contrary to conventional wisdom, these result shows that the

\textsuperscript{15} I apologize for the lack of flow in my writing, but it is mostly due to my time constraint.
borrowers who default do not suffer from this shock and that the ones who are in the need of help,
probably from government agencies, are the “honest” borrowers.

8. The lenders in this economy (equivalent to the general public who holds deposits on banks) experience
significant welfare gains as a result of a crisis. This, then, is another sector that is not in need of
government assistance.

9. A crisis increases the bank’s income but reduces its costs, thus increasing the bank’s profits in
equilibrium. This result seems to go against conventional wisdom, but remember that there are no
investment banks in this model nor mortgage backed securities. This is consistent with the fact that
commercial banks seem to be doing reasonable well in light of the subprime mortgage crisis.

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Technical Appendix

1. The Closed-Form Solution for the Borrower’s Expected Lifetime Utility

The Borrower’s expected lifetime utility is given by

\[ u(c_{1,t}, c_{2,t}, c_{2,t+1}) = \ln(c_{1,t}) + \int_{\lambda} \ln(c_{2,t+1}) d\lambda + \int_{\lambda} \left[ \ln(c_{2,t+1}) + 1 \right] d\lambda. \quad (A.1) \]

Using (6a), (7a) and (8a) in (A.1), we obtain

\[ u(c_{1,t}, c_{2,t}, c_{2,t+1}) = \ln \left( \frac{b}{P_t} \right) + \int_{\lambda} \ln \left( \frac{w_{r,i}}{\theta_{r,i}^{1/2}} \right) d\lambda + \int_{\lambda} \left[ \ln(c_{2,t+1}) + 1 \right] d\lambda. \quad (A.2) \]

Thus, this expression becomes

\[ u(c_{1,t}, c_{2,t}, c_{2,t+1}) = \ln \left( \frac{b}{P_t} \right) + \int_{\lambda} \ln \left( \frac{w_{r,i}}{\theta_{r,i}^{1/2}} \right) (\lambda - \tilde{\lambda}) + (\tilde{\lambda}_u - \tilde{\lambda}) + \int_{\lambda} \left[ \ln(c_{2,t+1}) (\tilde{\lambda}) \right] d\lambda, \quad (A.3) \]

where

\[ \tilde{c}_{2,t+1}(\lambda) = \frac{w_{r,i}}{\theta_{r,i}^{1/2}} + \lambda \left( \frac{q_{r,i}}{\theta_{r,i}^{1/2}} - \rho_{r,i} (1 - y) \right) - r \rho_{r,i} \left( \frac{q_{r,i}}{\theta_{r,i}^{1/2}} - \rho_{r,i} \right) \left( \frac{p_{r,i}}{p_t} \right) \left( \frac{b'}{P_t} \right). \quad (A.4) \]

We can rewrite \( \tilde{c}_{2,t+1}(\lambda) \) as \( \tilde{c}_{2,t+1}(\lambda) = a + b \cdot \lambda \), where \( a = \frac{w_{r,i}}{\theta_{r,i}^{1/2}} - \rho_{r,i} \cdot (1 - y) \cdot \left( \frac{q_{r,i}}{\theta_{r,i}^{1/2}} - \rho_{r,i} \right) \left( \frac{p_{r,i}}{p_t} \right) \) and \( b = \frac{q_{r,i}}{\theta_{r,i}^{1/2}} \). Thus, we can express the last term of (A.2) as \( \int_{\lambda} \ln(a + b \cdot \lambda) d\lambda \). Integrating by parts, one obtains:

\[ \int_{\lambda} \ln(a + b \cdot \lambda) (1) d\lambda = \lambda \cdot \ln(a + b \cdot \lambda) - \int_{\lambda} \frac{b \cdot \lambda}{(a + b \cdot \lambda)} d\lambda. \quad (A.5) \]

Next, working on the last term of (A.5), one gets the following expression:

\[ \int_{\lambda} \frac{b \cdot \lambda}{(a + b \cdot \lambda)} d\lambda = \frac{b \cdot \lambda + a - a \ln(a + b \lambda)}{(a + b \cdot \lambda)}, d\lambda = \int_{\lambda} a \cdot b \cdot \lambda - \int_{\lambda} \ln(a + b \cdot \lambda) \cdot b d\lambda \]

\[ = \left\{ \lambda \right\}^{\lambda} - \left\{ \frac{b}{a} \ln(a + b \lambda) \right\}^{\lambda}. \quad (A.6) \]

Substituting (A.6) into (A.5), the expression becomes

\[ \int_{\lambda} \ln(a + b \cdot \lambda) d\lambda = \left\{ \lambda \cdot \ln(a + b \cdot \lambda) - \frac{a}{b} \cdot \ln(a + b \cdot \lambda) \right\}^{\lambda} \]

\[ = \left\{ \ln(a + b \cdot \lambda) (\lambda - \frac{a}{b}) - \lambda \right\}^{\lambda} \quad (A.7) \]

Expressing (A.7) in terms of the original variables of the problem, one finally gets:
\[
\int \ln \left[ \tilde{e}^{i} (\tilde{\lambda}) \right] = \ln \left[ \tilde{e}^{i} (\tilde{\lambda}_n) \right] + \left\{ \frac{\lambda}{n} + \frac{w}{q_{r+1}} \cdot \left[ \frac{q^{i} (1-y)}{q_{r+1}} \right] - r_{r+1} \left( \frac{p_{r+1}}{q_{r+1}} \right) \cdot \left[ \frac{b^{i}}{p_{r+1}} (\tilde{\lambda}_n) \right] \right\}
\]

\[
-\ln \left[ \tilde{e}^{i} (\tilde{\lambda}) \right] = \left\{ \tilde{\lambda} + \frac{w}{q_{r+1}} - \rho^{i} \cdot \left[ \frac{q^{i} (1-y)}{q_{r+1}} \right] - r_{r+1} \left( \frac{p_{r+1}}{q_{r+1}} \right) \cdot \left[ \frac{b^{i}}{p_{r+1}} (\tilde{\lambda}) \right] \right\} + \tilde{\lambda} - \tilde{\lambda}_n
\]

Next, substituting (A.8) into (A.3), one obtains the following expression

\[
u^{i} \left( c^{i}, \tilde{c}^{i}, \tilde{\lambda}, \tilde{\lambda}_n \right) = \ln \left( \frac{b^{i}}{p_{r+1}} \right) + \left( \tilde{\lambda} - \tilde{\lambda}_n \right) + \left( \tilde{\lambda} - \tilde{\lambda}_n \right)
\]

\[
\ln \left[ \tilde{e}^{i} (\tilde{\lambda}_n) \right] = \left\{ \tilde{\lambda} + \frac{w}{q_{r+1}} - \rho^{i} \cdot \left[ \frac{q^{i} (1-y)}{q_{r+1}} \right] - r_{r+1} \left( \frac{p_{r+1}}{q_{r+1}} \right) \cdot \left[ \frac{b^{i}}{p_{r+1}} (\tilde{\lambda}_n) \right] \right\}
\]

Finally, after simplifying, one obtains the closed form of the original expected lifetime utility

\[
u^{i} \left( c^{i}, \tilde{c}^{i}, \tilde{\lambda}, \tilde{\lambda}_n \right) = \ln \left( \frac{b^{i}}{p_{r+1}} \right) + \left( \tilde{\lambda} - \tilde{\lambda}_n \right)
\]

\[
\ln \left[ \tilde{e}^{i} (\tilde{\lambda}) \right] = \left\{ \tilde{\lambda} + \frac{w}{q_{r+1}} - \rho^{i} \cdot \left[ \frac{q^{i} (1-y)}{q_{r+1}} \right] - r_{r+1} \left( \frac{p_{r+1}}{q_{r+1}} \right) \cdot \left[ \frac{b^{i}}{p_{r+1}} (\tilde{\lambda}) \right] \right\}
\]

2. The Borrower’s Choice of \( \left( \frac{b^{i}}{p_{r+1}} \right) \)

Let \( LHS \) denote the left-hand side of (11a) and \( RHS \) denote its right hand side. They are defined as

\[
LHS \left( \frac{b}{p} \right) = \frac{1}{(b/p)} \quad \text{and} \quad RHS \left( \frac{b}{p} \right) = \frac{r \cdot p_{r+1}}{q_{r+1}} \cdot \left\{ \ln \left[ \tilde{c}^{i} (\tilde{\lambda}_n) \right] - \ln \left[ \tilde{c}^{i} (\tilde{\lambda}) \right] \right\}
\]

It is apparent that \( LHS \) is decreasing in \( (b/p) \) while \( RHS \) is increasing in the same argument. To simplify the notation, I will denote the optimal choice (fixed point) of real debt by \( (b/p)^* \). In addition, I must point out that \( RHS \) is a decreasing function of \( \tilde{\lambda} \), such that \( \lim_{\tilde{\lambda} \to \infty} RHS \left( (b/p)^* , \tilde{\lambda} \right) = 0 \).

Obviously, the fixed point \( (b/p)^* = (0, w/\theta) \) is such that \( LHS \left[ (b/p)^* \right] \geq RHS \left[ (b/p)^* , \tilde{\lambda} \right] \) holds, where the strict inequality holds when \( (b/p)^* = (w/\theta) \) or close enough from the left. Figure 1 illustrates the properties of the function \( (b/p)^* \). This solution is unique, and the reader may notice that \( (b/p)^* \) increases with \( \tilde{\lambda} \) until it reaches its upper bound \( (w/\theta) \) for some values of \( \tilde{\lambda} \leq \tilde{\lambda}_n \).
3. Proof of Proposition 5

The elements equation (25b) are defined as follows:

\[
A_1(\bar{\lambda}) = \frac{\theta \cdot (b/p) \cdot \tilde{c} \cdot (\bar{\lambda}) \cdot \tilde{c} \cdot (\frac{\bar{\lambda}}{\bar{\lambda}_R}) \cdot (\bar{\lambda} - \frac{\bar{\lambda}}{\bar{\lambda}_R}) \cdot (p_{\bar{b}}) + (\bar{R}_{\bar{b}})^2 \cdot \frac{q_{\bar{b}} \cdot (\bar{\lambda} - \frac{\bar{\lambda}}{\bar{\lambda}_R}) \cdot (p_{\bar{b}} + 1) \cdot (b/p)^2}{2 \cdot (\tilde{c} \cdot (\bar{\lambda}) \cdot \tilde{c} \cdot (\frac{\bar{\lambda}}{\bar{\lambda}_R}) \cdot (\bar{\lambda} - \frac{\bar{\lambda}}{\bar{\lambda}_R}) \cdot (p_{\bar{b}} + 1) \cdot (b/p)^2}}, \tag{A.12}
\]

\[
A_2(\bar{\lambda}) = \frac{p_{\bar{b}} \cdot \tilde{c} \cdot (\bar{\lambda}) \cdot \tilde{c} \cdot (\frac{\bar{\lambda}}{\bar{\lambda}_R}) \cdot [\ln (\tilde{c} \cdot (\bar{\lambda}) \cdot \tilde{c} \cdot (\frac{\bar{\lambda}}{\bar{\lambda}_R}) \cdot (\bar{\lambda} - \frac{\bar{\lambda}}{\bar{\lambda}_R}) \cdot (p_{\bar{b}} + 1)]}{q_{\bar{b}} \cdot \tilde{c} \cdot (\bar{\lambda}) \cdot \tilde{c} \cdot (\frac{\bar{\lambda}}{\bar{\lambda}_R}) \cdot (\bar{\lambda} - \frac{\bar{\lambda}}{\bar{\lambda}_R}) \cdot (p_{\bar{b}} + 1)}, \tag{A.13}
\]

and

\[
A_3(\bar{\lambda}) = \frac{\tilde{c} \cdot (\bar{\lambda}) - (1 + q_{\bar{b}}) \cdot \tilde{c} \cdot (\frac{\bar{\lambda}}{\bar{\lambda}_R})}{q_{\bar{b}} \cdot \tilde{c} \cdot (\bar{\lambda}) \cdot \tilde{c} \cdot (\frac{\bar{\lambda}}{\bar{\lambda}_R})} \cdot (\bar{\lambda} - \frac{\bar{\lambda}}{\bar{\lambda}_R}). \tag{A.14}
\]

It is straightforward to show that \(A_1(\bar{\lambda}) + A_2(\bar{\lambda}) > 0\) holds, for all values of \(\bar{\lambda}\) that belong to the intervals \([\frac{\lambda}{\lambda_1}, \frac{\lambda}{\lambda_M}]\) and \([\frac{\lambda}{\lambda_1}, \frac{\lambda}{\lambda_M}]\), while \(A_3(\bar{\lambda}) > 0\) for \(\bar{\lambda} \in \left[\frac{\lambda}{\lambda_1}, \frac{\lambda}{\lambda_M}\right]\). It follows that \(d(b/p) / d\bar{\lambda} > 0\) everywhere but in the small interval \((\bar{\lambda}_1, \bar{\lambda}_3)\).
THE SYSTEM OF TRAINING TEACHERS TO THE VILLAGE SCHOOLS IN TURKEY BETWEEN 1940-1954

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to manifest the important training system of Turkey between 1940-1954. Before the War of Independence, the population was 13.000.000, after the War it turned 10.500.000 in Turkey and there were about 40.000 villages and there was no school in 35.000 of those villages.

Why the Village Institutes so important;

75 % of the population was living in the villages in the years when the young Turkish Republic was founded. Almost all of the populations were illiterate. The villagers had to be made conscious of carrying out the development of Turkey and also of getting them to comprehend the virtues the Republic brought. To that end, the studies carried out the labor force that would provide the development caused the experiments of training instructor schools and teacher schools to be carried out.

The studies carried out then made it possible for the Village Institutes to emerge. The preparations of primary education were being made against backwardness through education while the greater parts of the World were in the state of war in the 1940. The leaders of Turkey wished for such a war of 30 years that would be made to raise the modern Turkey to the summits of civilization. The movement of Village Institutes became the gravity centre of this pacifist war (Kirby, 1996: 85-94). The Act of Village Institutes numbered 3803 and dated 17.4.1940 was enacted thanks to the efforts of Tonguç. That’s why, Village Institutes, whose training period was for 5 years, were established to train village teacher and the personal of other professions in the villages that had the lands suitable for agriculture, and then “Village Teacher Schools” were turned into Village Institutes (Cicioğlu, 1982: 303).

Village Institutes opened the shortest bypass to the village. Thus, health, technical and modern agriculture were being introduced into the villages and the country folk were being informed about every subject. The teachers who graduated from the Village Institutes were being appointed to his/her own village. The number of Village Institutes raised to 21 in a short period of time thanks to the studies carried out (Gündüzalp, 1950: 295–296). The important of this study is to tell all the developments with Village Institutes and its success. It can be good example for today in different versions.
False Divides? Blurring the Boundary of Private/Public Sectors and Sensibilities

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Abstract:
The paper is part of a larger research project which analyzes of how private sector funding in Canadian sport intersects with changing federal funding regimes to impact upon representations of female sport participants in Canada. Representations of female athletes produced by profit motivated corporations often offer a narrow range of subjectivities which normalize whiteness, hyper-femininity, and heterosexuality. Often the task of offering more diverse and just representations of active females is thought to fall to public sector advocacy organizations that are presumably motivated and mandated by issues of social justice and the public good. In such framings of the problems of representation, the private and public sector are juxtaposed. Drawing on examples from the larger project, this paper aims to highlight that it is increasingly difficult to sustain this notion of a public/private distinction, when advocacy increasingly occurs at the intersection of reduced public sector funding and a proliferation of market discourses and neoliberal sensibilities beyond the private sector.
King Saud University
College of Arts
Department of Arabic language

Research Title:

THE IMPACT OF CO-EDUCATION ON
SAUDI ARABIAN STUDENTS
APPLYING ON SAUDI ARABIAN STUDENTS
WHO USED COEDUCATION

by

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Assistant professor

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Oalsaif@hotmail.com
Abstract

This paper investigates the impact of co-education on Saudi Arabian students, especially because co-education is illegal in Saudi Arabian schools and universities and there is a cultural battle in Saudi newspapers on this issue. So, it is a primary research, because it depends on questionnaire that investigate for statistic information using quantitative method by sixteen of multiple choice questions and two open-ended questions, and all participants were 110 students (81 of males and 29 of females). This paper aims to identify the major effects of the mixed education on the Saudis, if there are changes in their views after their experience. In addition, this paper examines the issues that need to be addressed if there are differences between males and females towards the impact of co-education. Results indicated that the experience of co-education has increased conviction of Saudi students that single-sex setting is better than co-education. However, in general Saudi females are more receptive than males to co-education.

The key points for this discussion are the effectives, comparison, the conditions and preconceptions.
Abstract: This paper proposed two moderate variables and the outcome of work family conflict. The two moderate variables are gender and social support (including supervisors support, co-workers support, spouses support and relatives/friends/neighbors support), and the outcome are work and family satisfaction (including work satisfaction and family satisfaction). Based on the empirical data, this paper explored the moderating impacts of gender and social support and the relationship of work family conflict and work family satisfaction. The results are shown as follows: first, work family conflict of male employees is higher than female employees; second, social support is negatively related to work family conflict; third, work family conflict is negatively related to work and family satisfaction. Finally, coping strategies were provided to moderate the impacts of work family conflict from perspectives of gender difference and social support.

Keywords: Work family conflict, Gender, Social support, Work satisfaction, Family satisfaction.

1 Introduction

Work and family are two key domains of life to most people[1], and work family conflict has become a major area in organizational research. The results of work family conflict refer to increased levels of stress, decreased performance at home and work, and decreased life and work satisfaction[2]. Many scholars have been designed to explore antecedents or outcomes of work family conflict, and try to propose many coping strategies to moderate the impact of work family conflict[3]. Recently, the study moderator variables of work family conflict has been a new topic and some moderator variables have been assessed (e.g., social support, gender) [4].

Gender differences in work and family experiences have been a consistently important theme in work-family research (Lewis & Cooper, 1999)[5]. According to Loscocco (2000), the erosion of the gender division of labor is the main source of work-family conflict[6]. The evidence suggests that there are gender differences in work-family conflict due to social role differences between working men and working women. Research suggests that social support in the workplace, such as the support of supervisors and coworkers, has a positive impact on work outcomes, such as job satisfaction[7]. Studies also show that social support outside of work, such as that provided by spouses and friends, may have a positive impact on work-family balance by reducing work-family conflict[8]. It is critically important to consider the relationship of the entire social support network with work-family balance and work-related outcomes[9].

Based on the empirical data, this paper will explore the moderating effect of gender and social support to work family conflict, and discuss the relationship between work family conflict and work family satisfaction.

2 Literature review

Work family conflict is defined as "a form of interrole conflict" in which the role pressures from the work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respect[10]. Moreover, work family conflict can also be conceptualised as "work interferes with family (work-family conflict)" and "family interferes with work (family-work conflict)". Frone et al. (1997) proposed that work-family conflict and family-work conflict can reciprocally affect one another[11].

Men and women face different social and organization dilemmas in a complex environment. Greenhaus and Beutell supported the importance of role salience to the work-family conflict (1985)[12]. McMurray et al. (2000) examined gender differences in job satisfaction, work life issues and burnout in a large sample of US male and female physicians, women physicians indicated higher levels of burnout[13]. Many scholars also proposed that women experience more work-family conflict than men because of their typically greater home responsibilities and their allocation of more importance to family roles[14].

The rapidly growing literature on social support in the past two decades suggests that social support can have a direct impact on psychological well being. [15]. Researchers have shown that support from social such as supervisors, co-workers, spouses, relatives/friends/neighbors is more effective in moderating the adverse impacts of stress. Social support has long been known to moderate the effects of stress, and particularly close or intimate social supports can buffer the effects during difficult times (Cohen & Wills, 1985)[16]. Michael et al. illustrated the value of investigating specific sources of social support as
potential moderator variables [17]. Quick et al indicated that both work and non-work related social support reduces, or buffers, the adverse impact of exposure to work-related job stress (Quick et al., 1990; Leong et al., 1996; Munro et al., 1998).

Netemeyer et al. revealed that work family conflict has a negative effect on aspects of career success such as work satisfaction and family satisfaction. Work family conflict is linked with work and family satisfaction since they share common causes[18]. Examples of these causes include inflexible job schedules, long working hours, and frequent overtime[19]. Inter-role conflict and work and family satisfaction are also associated with each other because when a person fails to distribute his/her time over work and family domains effectively, he/she is likely to put his/her efforts in work at the expense of family. Employees who possess high levels of work satisfaction and family satisfaction are apt to have stronger commitment to an organization and are also less likely to search for a job (Brown and Peterson, 1993) [20]. Moreover, work family conflict is found to be an important predictor of work and family satisfaction [21].

3 Methodology

3.1 Hypotheses

McElwain et al. found that women generally report more work family conflict than men, because women deem work as more of an imposition on family than men, given women feel greater family responsibility [22]. Social support at work from supervisors may have powerful influences on the way subordinates handle work-family problems[23]. Perlow (1995) pointed out that the norm within a specific team may promote people to talk about problems in their private life, so co-workers support can reduce employees’ work family conflict[24]. Frone (1992) have shown that the husbands of women entrepreneurs seldom help out in household chores and childcare[25]. And proper support from friends or relatives or neighbors support has been found to enhance both adaptability and tolerance to work family conflict[26]. Work-family conflict has been shown to reduce work performance and increase absenteeism[27], turnover and work dissatisfaction[28]. Work-family conflict has also been shown to reduce life satisfaction, marital and family satisfaction[29].

In terms of the above mentioned findings and discussion, this paper proposed the following three composite hypotheses (the structure model see Fig 1.).

Hypothesis1 (H1): Work family conflict of male employees is higher than female employees.

Hypothesis2 (H2): Social support is negatively related to work family conflict.

H2a: Supervisors support is negatively related to work family conflict.

H2b: Co-workers support is negatively related to work family conflict.

H2c: Spouses support is negatively related to work family conflict.

H2d: Relatives/friends/neighbors support is negatively related to work family conflict.

Hypothesis3 (H3): Work family conflict is negatively related to work and family satisfaction.

H3a: Work family conflict is negatively related to work satisfaction.

H3b: Work family conflict is negatively related to family satisfaction.

Fig.1 Structure model of Work Family Conflict Based on Gender and Social Support
3.2 Data and questionnaire for empirical research

The data of this research come from the International Research Project of Work-Family Balance. This project is designed to study how people manage their work and family life in different parts of the world and refers to 9 countries and regions such as America, Canada, China, India, etc. The people investigated must meet three criterions. First, married or having a partner living together; second, with at least one unmarried child under the age of 21 living with them; third, employee of an organization (not self-employed).

The questionnaire used in this study covers 46 items (see Appendix A). These items can be divided into three parts: Q1A-Q1L referring to the work-family conflict, Q2A-Q7D referring to the social support and Q8A-Q8J referring to the work and family satisfaction. Each item is measured using six-point scales where 1= strongly disagree and 6= strongly agree.

4 Results

4.1 Work family conflict

The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Adequacy (KMO) of the factor analysis of work family conflict is 0.815, and sig. is 0.000. Therefore, the items of work family conflict are suitable for factor analysis. The items of Q1A-Q1L are used in this exploratory factor analysis, and the results are shown in Table 1. The number in tab. 1 is factor loadings value (sorted by size, suppress absolute values less than 0.6).

From tab. 1, we can find that the work family variables are sorted into two factors. Factor1 contains 6 items and shows work interfering with family. So it can be named work-family conflict. The Cronbach reliability coefficient of this sort is 0.855. Factor 2 also contains 6 items. It indicates family interfering with work and can be called family-work conflict. The Cronbach reliability coefficient of this sort is 0.857. All Cronbach reliability coefficients are all in an acceptable range, which suggests these variables belong to their own sort. The eigenvalues are 3.602 and 3.547 respectively, and the cumulative variance explained is 59.547%. Based on the data processing, the classification of work-family conflict can be tested.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Factor1</th>
<th>Factor2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>0.805</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q1C</td>
<td>0.791</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q1E</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q1D</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q1A</td>
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<tr>
<td>Q1J</td>
<td>0.626</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q1G</td>
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<td>0.821</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q1H</td>
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<td>0.817</td>
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<td>Q1H</td>
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<td>Q1B</td>
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<td>0.637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q1F</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2 Social support

The results of factor analysis for social support show that the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Adequacy (KMO) is 0.783, and sig. is 0.005. It means that the items of social support are suitable for factor analysis. Data from 24 items of social support are used in the exploratory factor analysis. The results are shown in tab. 2. The number in tab. 2 is factor loadings values (sorted by size, suppress absolute values less than 0.5).

Tab. 2 shows that social support is sorted into four factors. Factor 1 can be called supervisors support because it indicates the support from supervisors. The Cronbach reliability coefficient of the 6 items in this sort is 0.831. Similarly, factors 2-4 can be respectively named as co-workers support, spouses support and relatives/friends/neighbors support. Accordingly, the Cronbach reliability coefficients of these three factors are 0.859, 0.793 and 0.775. Each Cronbach reliability coefficient is within an acceptable range, which suggests these variables belong to their own sort. The eigenvalue for each factor is greater than 1.0 (4.632, 3.759, 3.687 and 2.735). The cumulative variance explained is 61.726%. From the data processing, we can conclude that the classification of social support can be tested.

<table>
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<th>Factor4</th>
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Tab. 1 Factor analysis of work family conflict

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Tab. 2 Factor analysis of social support

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<td>Q5D</td>
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</table>

Eigenvalues | 3.602 | 3.547 |
Percentage of variance explained | 30.013 | 29.561 |
Percentage of cumulative variance explained | 30.013 | 59.574 |
Cronbach reliability coefficients | 0.855 | 0.857 |

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization
Rotation converged in 3 iterations
4.3 Work and family satisfaction

The results of factor analysis for work and family satisfaction show that the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Adequacy (KMO) is 0.804, and sig. is 0.000. So the items related to work and family satisfaction are also suitable for factor analysis. The items of Q8A-Q8J are used in this exploratory factor analysis, and the results are shown in Tab. 3. The number in Tab. 3 is factor loadings values (sorted by size, suppress absolute values less than 0.5).

Tab. 3 reveals that items related to work and family satisfaction can be divided into two factors. The first sort, factor 1, consists of 5 items, which indicating the satisfaction degree of employees’ work can be called work satisfaction. The Cronbach reliability coefficient of the 5 items in this sort is 0.820. The second, factor 2, also consists of 5 items, which shows the satisfaction degree of employees’ family life can be called family satisfaction. The Cronbach reliability coefficient of these 5 items in this sort is 0.781. All the Cronbach reliability coefficients are within an acceptable range. It suggests that these variables belong to their own sort. The eigenvalue for each factor is greater than 1.0 (3.618 and 2.892), the cumulative variance explained is 59.739%. Therefore, the classification of work and family satisfaction can also be tested.

4.4 Mean analysis

In order to analysis the relationship between gender and work family conflict, the mean analysis was used and the results are shown in Tab. 4. There are 127 male employees in the samples, and the number of female sample is 73. The mean score of work-family conflict for male employees and female employees are 1.451 and 1.577 respectively (SD are 0.736 and 0.651). So, the work-family conflict of male employees is higher than female employees. Similarly, the mean score of family-work conflict for male employees and female employees are 1.192 and 1.850 respectively (SD are 0.759 and 0.803). Therefore, the family-work conflict of male employees is higher than female employees, too. Conclusively, work family conflict of male employees is higher than female employees, and the H1 is proved.

4.5 Multiple regression analysis

(1) Work family conflict and social support

To deeply understanding the relationship between the social support and the work family conflict, this study makes a multiple regression analysis. The results are shown in Tab. 5. When the work-family conflict is treated as dependent variable, and the supervisors support is treated as one of the independent variable, the Beta is -0.179 and sig. is 0.003. When the family-work conflict is treated as dependent variable, and the supervisors support is treated as one of the independent variable, the Beta is -0.034 and sig. is 0.000. There is a significant negative relationship between supervisors support and work family conflict. So, H2a is supported. Similarly, it is obvious that the correlations between co-workers support and work family conflict, spouse support and work family conflict, relatives/friends/neighbors support and work family conflict are all obvious negative. The H2b, H2c and H2d can be proved, too. Therefore, the whole H2 is proved.

Tab. 4 Mean analysis of work family conflict based

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work-family conflict</td>
<td>1.451</td>
<td>0.736</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family-work conflict</td>
<td>1.192</td>
<td>0.759</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tab.5 Multiple regression analysis of work family conflict and social support

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent variable</th>
<th>Regression analyses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Independent variable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work -family conflict</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Work-family conflict is negatively related to work satisfaction, and the H3a is proved. Similarly, when independent variables are treated as dependent variables, it is obvious that there is a significant negative correlation between work-family conflict and work satisfaction (Beta is -0.074, and sig. is 0.000). We can still find that the relationship between work-family conflict and work satisfaction is also negative (Beta is -0.207, and sig. is 0.000). Therefore, Work family conflict is negatively related to work satisfaction, and the H3a is proved. Similarly, when family satisfaction is treated as dependent variable, and work-family conflict and family-work conflict are independent variables, the relationship between work family conflict and family satisfaction is obviously negative (Beta are -0.301 and -0.129, with corresponding sig. 0.021 and 0.000). The H3b are supported, too. So, the whole H3 is proved.

Tab. 6 Multiple regression analysis of work family conflict and work and family satisfaction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent variable—</th>
<th>Regression analyses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work satisfaction—</td>
<td>0.034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work-family conflict</td>
<td>-0.074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family-work conflict</td>
<td>-0.207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family satisfaction—</td>
<td>0.117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work-family conflict</td>
<td>-0.301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family-work conflict</td>
<td>-0.129</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5 Discussion

5.1 Discussion of the data analysis results

From the results of the mean analysis, it can find that the degree of female employee’s work family conflict is obviously higher than that of male employee. So, the society and enterprises should pay more attention to female employees’ work family conflict and take coping strategies to moderate these problems. Based on the data of tab. 4, supervisors support is significant related to work-family conflict. Therefore, improving supervisors support is useful to reduce employees’ work-family conflict. Similarly, co-workers support is obvious related to work-family conflict, spouses support is significant related to both work-family conflict and family-work conflict, relatives/friends/neighbors support is obvious related to family-work conflict. Proper action can be taken to moderate employees’ work family conflict in terms of these conclusions. From the results of tab.6, work satisfaction is much more related to family-work conflict than work-family conflict. So, if we want to enhance employees’ work satisfaction, we should reduce their family-work conflict especially. Also, if we want to improve employees’ family satisfaction, we should moderate their work-family conflict in particular.

As the more and more intense competition in workforce, individuals are stretched tighter and tighter to balance their work and family demands. Advice and suggestions that can help employees’ to cope with work family conflict effectively are becoming more and more important. It is useful to explore the moderated impact of gender and social support to work family conflict and the inter-relationships between work family conflict and work family satisfaction. For example, organizations should try to establish supervisors’ trust in employees, offer co-workers communication opportunities to enhance employees’ work satisfaction and family satisfaction; spouses/relatives/friends/neighbors can support employees’ especially female employees’ careers by participating housework, giving spiritual encouragement, etc.

Acknowledgement

This research was supported by the NSFC (70972096) and the Humanities and Social Sciences Project, State Education Ministry (09YJC630050).

References


ABSTRACT

Less than four decades ago, United Nations embarked on the mission of integrating women into governance having found male domination of this in virtually every part of the world. Certain percentage, specifically, 30 or 33, were recommended to be reserved for women in both appointive and elective posts. However, this is seen as mimicking some African Traditional governance which allows for gender balance in governance.

There are a lot of communities in Nigeria today – and it has been so before the advent of colonialism – where governance is gender based. States where this is mostly common are Ondo, Ekiti, Delta, Kwara and Anambra. In these communities, male and female traditional rulers co-exist for complex administration of their communities. In most of them, one finds female and male palaces, cabinets, crowns and other symbols of royalty.

Although colonial authorities in conjunction with greedy male traditional rulers tried to submerge female traditional rulers under the male ones, it failed. About two and a half years ago, a research group on female traditional rulers, based in the Department of Local Government Studies of Obafemi Awolowo University, embarked on extensive tour of the country to verify and ascertain authenticity of their existence.

Our finding shows that three categories of female traditional rulers exist. The first ones are those female traditional rulers who exercise suzerainty over male and female members of their communities. Examples of this could be found in Niger, Adamawa and Eboyin states. The second ones are balanced types in which male and female rulers, based on gender, ruled their communities. The third ones are the regents who have been ruling their communities for more than five, ten, fifteen and even twenty years. What seems to be the fourth one are the communities where female regents as well as female kings jointly ruled their communities. See the attachments for the pictures of some of these categories of female traditional rulers.

Since our focus in this paper is on gender balance in governance under traditional rulership we shall focus mainly on it showing the reality of this.
INTRODUCTION

From time immemorial, some communities in Africa and specifically in Nigeria have adopted gender balance in governance and along sex-line. In Nigeria, most of the communities with balanced-sex rulership are found in Ondo, Ekiti, Delta states and Onitsha in Anambra state. Political and Administrative activities in the communities with balanced rulership along sex-line are such that each sex has its own political and administrative structures that are though separate but largely interdependent. In short, in each of the communities under study, as it has male king so does it have female king. In theory, while in some places none of the two sexually contradicted kings is superior to the other, in others; female kings are subordinated to the male kings. However, generally, in practice, male kings are superior and this is not because of any extra intellect on the part of male kings but rather over the ages of gradual ascendancy of patriarchal system over and above matriarchal system, underpinned by inter tribal, ethnic and religious wars that colonialism accentuated. Female attributes that weaken female kings against their male counterparts in physical as against intellectual battles in the pre-colonial days include menstrual period, pregnancy, child rearing, inability of women to keep secret and “stress of war” (Olasupo, 2007:172). Civilization, modernization and technology have however obliterated these and women have begun to spring back into reckoning, not least in governance.

While efforts are being made globally and nationally towards women advancement in modern governance, little or no effort is made in traditional governance that is the precursor of it, especially, in places where it forms part of modern governing structures. In those places where monarchies have been completely abolished, this is understandable but not where monarchical rulership runs side by side with modern ones, especially at the local level. In Nigeria in particular where modern local government system runs side by side with Emirate/Traditional council, no effort is made at fighting back the eclipsing of women traditional rulers by the male rulers. In modern local government system in Nigeria, male and female citizens have equal rights of becoming local government chairman or chairperson. This is not so in traditional rulership in spite of the significant evidences of women traditional rulers in the country.

In those days, most communities in Nigeria were “not strictly patrilineal, hence female children had equal rights to inheritance as their male counterparts” (Olomola, Ajuwon and Omotoso, 2003:19). And this is due to the fact that some female daughters of Oduduwa were kingdom founders. Kingdoms founded by daughters of Oduduwa include Orile-Owu, Owu Egba, Erin-Ijesha, Ado-Awori, Ondo (Olomola, Ajuwon and Omotoso, 2003:). Female traditional rulers in the country can be categorized into three. There are those who are female traditional rulers on both sexes in their communities e.g. Unwana in Afijbo North local government of Eboyin state, Kumbada in Muyan local government in Niger state, Arnado Debo in Ganye local government and Nokowo, Numan local government of Adamawa state respectively (Olasupo, 2007:183, Olasupo, 2005: ). Finally is the case of Mary Igbayilola Alari in Oriire local government of Oyo state, who reign as Baale of Maya for 34 years (1964-1997) See the Table and Photographs of some of them:
# SOME DIRECT WOMEN TRADITIONAL RULERS AT THE LOCAL LEVEL IN NIGERIA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>TOWN OR VILLAGE</th>
<th>L.G.A</th>
<th>STATE</th>
<th>TYPE OF RULERSHIP</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>TIME SPENT IN OFFICE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hajia Hadza Muhammed</td>
<td>Kumbada</td>
<td>Munya</td>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>Substantive</td>
<td>2001-2008</td>
<td>7 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>L.G</td>
<td></td>
<td>Traditional ruler</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Nya'a Ggangwu'u</td>
<td>Arnado Debo</td>
<td>Ganye</td>
<td>Adamawa</td>
<td>Substantive</td>
<td>2004-2007</td>
<td>3 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>L.G</td>
<td></td>
<td>Traditional ruler</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bwaratu Nzumosu</td>
<td>Nokowo</td>
<td>Numan</td>
<td>Adamawa</td>
<td>Substantive</td>
<td>2005-2008</td>
<td>3 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>L.G</td>
<td></td>
<td>Traditional ruler</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Alu Ibiam</td>
<td>Uwanna</td>
<td>Afigbo</td>
<td>Ebonyi</td>
<td>Substantive</td>
<td>1996-2008</td>
<td>13 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>North</td>
<td></td>
<td>Traditional ruler</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mary Igbayilola Alari</td>
<td>Maya</td>
<td>Oriire</td>
<td>Oyo</td>
<td>Substantive</td>
<td>1964-1997</td>
<td>34 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>L.G</td>
<td></td>
<td>Traditional ruler</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are also those communities where female regents reign for more than five, ten and even seventeen years in office as traditional rulers, though temporarily but are nonetheless traditional rulers while there as regents. Ondo and Ekiti states typified those states where women act as regent at the demise of male kings. Lastly, there are those communities where male and female kings exist simultaneously.

**SOME WOMEN REGENT TRADITIONAL RULERS IN THE COUNTRY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>TOWN OR VILLAGE</th>
<th>L.G.A</th>
<th>STATE</th>
<th>TYPE OF RULERSHIP</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>TIME SPENT IN OFFICE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Princess Adeyinka</td>
<td>Akure</td>
<td>Akure</td>
<td>Ondo</td>
<td>Regent</td>
<td>2000-2004</td>
<td>5 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Princess Adejoke Adekanye</td>
<td>Akungba Akoko, Akoko South West LG</td>
<td>Ondo Regent</td>
<td>2002 to date</td>
<td>4 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Princess Joke Adesunloye</td>
<td>Ifira Akoko, Akoko South East LG</td>
<td>Ondo Regent</td>
<td>2001 to date</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Princess Janet Adigun</td>
<td>Iye Akoko, Akoko North LG</td>
<td>Ondo Regent</td>
<td>2003-date</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Princess Emilia Adejola Adetoba</td>
<td>Ife Wara, Ife Central</td>
<td>Osun Regent</td>
<td>1974-1975</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Princess Ade Gbolarin</td>
<td>Ire-Ekiti, Oye L.G</td>
<td>Ekiti Regent</td>
<td>1999-2004</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Princess Fehintola Omolewo</td>
<td>Ayegabju – Ekiti, Oye L.G</td>
<td>Ekiti Regent</td>
<td>1997-2004</td>
<td>7 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Princess Bosede Elizabeth Fadiya</td>
<td>Oloje-Ekiti, Oye L.G</td>
<td>Ekiti Regent</td>
<td>2002-2004</td>
<td>11 ½ years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Princess Adeboboye Aladeyelu</td>
<td>Ibara Odo Town, Ekiti South West</td>
<td>Ekiti Regent</td>
<td>1996-2006</td>
<td>11 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Princess C.A Falade</td>
<td>Ido Ani, Ose L.G</td>
<td>Ondo Regent</td>
<td>1978-1993</td>
<td>15 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Princess Emilia Adejola Adetoba</td>
<td>Ife Wara, Ife Central</td>
<td>Osun Acting Oba</td>
<td>1971 - 1974</td>
<td>4 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Since our focus in this paper is on communities with gender balance in traditional governance, our concern is to examine the existence of this system, how the balanced kings on sex bases relate, how this system is being gradually eroded and extracted in favour of male rulers alone. What effort is being made to prevent or halt this is also the concern of the paper?

**BALANCED RULERSHIP**

Today, in modern governance, various strategies are adopted to accommodate women in governance. The strategies are working to the extent that we now have upsurge of women leaders with respect to governorship and chairmanship of local governments across the country. However, little effort is made at incorporating the strategies into
traditional governance – the earliest form of governance – even though some traditional communities have had different inbuilt strategies that accommodate gender balance in governance from time immemorial. Our empirical research, though so far limited to Yoruba speaking areas of the country, has shown clearly that gender balance in traditional governance is a reality. Theoretically, places such as Delta and Anambra states also have this tradition. However, series of efforts before, during and, even, after colonialism to extinguish this fine tradition, have failed. It is rather getting stronger but lacked recognition by the various governments of the day and the patriarchal traditional rulers who see them as rivals rather partners in governance, progress and development.

In communities with balanced kings on sex bases, our research shows that such communities have recognition for their traditions which allow for female and male kings respectively with their paraphernalia of office such as palaces, crowns, cabinet members and specific duties they perform in the political and administrative system of their communities. There are strong evidences that female and male kings on one hand, and female and male kingmakers on the other, intermarry in a way that shows the male kings as husbands of the female kings while the male kingmakers are the husbands of the female kingmakers. In short, the two gender based governing institutions are like husbands and wives with their subjects being the children of both.

Here are some examples. In Ile-Oluji, the female king, Oba (Queen) Adetomiwa is married to a prince, who is presently, the Otun Oba (right hand man of the male king) of Ile-Oluji (Abiodun, 2007:19). The current regent to female king stool in Ondo, Oba Akinrinfola Adesida, is married to a male High Chief Jomu Lobun of Ondo. Also, the current female king of Ijero Ekiti is a princess from one of the male ruling houses of Ajero of Ijero stool. In Ilawe Ekiti, as there are seven administrative headquarters headed by male chiefs, so are seven female administrative heads, with “Olufi” as overall head. According to Ayo and Awotokun, “One should also clarify that, in Ilawe Ekiti, though there are important female chiefs, these chiefs are not decision makers per se. At best, they serve as advisers to their husbands who are either Ilerin Chiefs or Elegbes (War Lords) (Ayo and Awotokun, 1997:179).

It must be admitted however that in practice female kings are subordinated to male kings and this is due in part to patriarchal tradition and, largely to bias recognition given to male governing structures over and above those of women by colonial authorities. Although women protested the accentuation of this discrimination apparent in the colonial system of administration, it was to no avail. For instance, the Abeokuta Women’s Union, led by Mrs. Ransome-Kuti, expressed the women’s frustration under this arrangement in the colonial period, as follows: “The system of Sole Native Authority (SNA) had been a great source of oppression and suppression to the Egba people. Even most of the members of the council were not free to express their minds. The Alake always passed as ‘Mr. Know all. The Egba women would very much like the power of SNA removed because we are not happy under it. It is foreign to the custom of Egba” (Awe, 1992:139).” Expressing similar frustration, Alagoa also noted in respect of women of the South East: “The position of women within the Warrant Chief System was a peculiar one. They were, to a large extent, an invisible factor within it…Although women were thus virtually excluded from the administration yet they came under their surveillance” (Alagoa, 1992:V).
In spite of the series of efforts, before, during and after colonial periods to sink this tradition of gender balance in governance, it has survived the onslaughts, as its basic structures are still intact up till today. First are the female kings, their crowns, cabinet members and the palaces. The table below shows some examples of some communities with balanced governing institutions.
# Communities with Balanced Kingship or Balanced Rulership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>Female king</th>
<th>Male king</th>
<th>Town or village</th>
<th>L.G.</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Type of Rulership</th>
<th>Date:Female</th>
<th>Years in office Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Oba Akinfolarins Adesida</td>
<td>Osamawe of Ondo, Oba Kiladejo</td>
<td>Ondo</td>
<td>Ondo</td>
<td>Ondo</td>
<td>Balanced</td>
<td>2007-2008</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Oba Kokumo Bolatito Unice</td>
<td>Oba Afolabi Idowu Babade</td>
<td>Ijero</td>
<td>Ijero</td>
<td>Ekiti</td>
<td>Balanced kingship</td>
<td>1990-2007</td>
<td>17 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Oba Adetomiwa</td>
<td>Oba S.S. Adedugbe</td>
<td>Ile-Oluji</td>
<td>Ile-Oluji/Oke-Igbo</td>
<td>Ondo</td>
<td>Balanced kingship</td>
<td>1995-2007</td>
<td>12 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Oba Victoria Cole</td>
<td>Owa of Idanre, Oba Frederick Arolaye</td>
<td>Idanre</td>
<td>Idanre</td>
<td>Ondo</td>
<td>Balanced kingship</td>
<td>1988-2004</td>
<td>16 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Oba Ibijoke Ayoola</td>
<td>Oba D.O Akinloye</td>
<td>Odigbo</td>
<td>Odigbo</td>
<td>L.G</td>
<td>Ondo, State</td>
<td>Balanced kingship</td>
<td>1997-2008</td>
<td>11 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Oba Taye Alademon mi Adebayo</td>
<td>Oba Lawrence Temikotan</td>
<td>Ore</td>
<td>Odigbo</td>
<td>Ondo</td>
<td>Balanced kingship</td>
<td>1996-2008</td>
<td>12 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Oba Emily Meriwen Aworgbigun</td>
<td>Oba Patrick Adejoye Osuwe</td>
<td>Ajue</td>
<td>Odigbo</td>
<td>Ondo, State</td>
<td>Balanced kingship</td>
<td>1988-2008</td>
<td>20 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Omu Mathia Dunkuwn</td>
<td>Okpanam</td>
<td>Delta</td>
<td></td>
<td>Balanced kingship</td>
<td>2003-2007</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Omu</td>
<td>Obi of Ogwashi-Uku, Prof. Chukwuka Okonjo</td>
<td>Ogwashi Uku</td>
<td></td>
<td>Delta</td>
<td>Balanced kingship</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Omu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ibuse</td>
<td></td>
<td>Delta</td>
<td>Balanced kingship</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Baale Comfort Ajogbe Adeleye</td>
<td>Shoun of Ogbonmosho</td>
<td>Ogbonmosho</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Just developing toward Balanced kingship</td>
<td>1940-2006</td>
<td>67 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Female chief</td>
<td>Oba Adekunle Aromolaran</td>
<td>Ilesha</td>
<td>Ilesha</td>
<td>Osun</td>
<td>Just developing toward Balanced kingship</td>
<td>Since pre-colonial days</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Female Kings

Female kings variously called Lobun among the Ondos, Eye-Ule, Eyegun or Eyelobinrinle among the Ekitis and Akures; and Omu among the Ibo speaking areas of Delta and the Onitsha area of Anambra states. These various appellations in Yorubaland have common meaning which in Yoruba language means “Obabinrin” or “Oba Obinrin” (that is female king). Note the gender ascent here which categorically states that it is a ‘female king’ which, by inference, means there is also ‘male king’. What is common to the two sexes therefore is the word “Oba” that is “King” (Akinfemiwa, 1994:24, Makinde and Aladekomo, 1997:78). In the Ibo speaking areas of Delta and Onitsha in Anambra states on the other hand, the female king, Omu, is not gendered as is the case in Yorubaland, but rather seen as “mini-king”(Oseghale and Osiki, 2008:7, Otabor, 2009:7). It is the confirmation of our research that these female kings are however kings over females alone while the male kings are kings over both male and female. Thus, the female kings, in practice, are subordinate to male kings. In theory however, according to Makinde and Aladekomo, “the Eyegun is of equal status with Ajero, i.e, Oba of Ijero” (Akinfemiwa, 1994:24, Makinde and Aladekomo, 1997:82).

It is quite a different situation in Ondo kingdom. Here, the female king is superior to the male king theoretically because the existence of male king presupposes the existence of female king. In simple language, unless there is a female king, there could not be a male king. If the two sexually different kings die at the same time, traditionally, female king has to be installed first before the installation of the male king. This is because, in the custom and tradition of Ondo kingdom, the female king is traditionally empowered to crown the male king while the male king has no input into the making of the female king. The enthronement of the female king is by female and female kingmakers alone. Ile-Oluji, a neighbouring town of Ondo kingdom, differs slightly in this area. While the female king in Ile-Oluji participates fully in the installation process of the male king, the existence of the male king is not predicated on the existence of the female king as is the case in Ondo kingdom. But in Ile-Oluji as well, the choice of the female king is by female kingmakers who are entirely female. However, from our interview of the female king, on the day of the installation of the female king, the male king witnesses the installation. Lobun, the female king, is one of the male kingmakers although in the elevenths position out of the thirteen members that constitute the male kingmakers (Akinfemiwa, 1994:27). Of these thirteen kingmakers, six are high chief which does not include the female king. The implication of this is that the female king who is a member of the male kingmakers is a minor chief within it. This also attests to the fact that the female king is just king over females alone. Recently, some of these female kings were presented to Alaafin of Oyo and the Ooni of Ife.
Female kings in a group photograph with Alaafin of Oyo and the Oyo Mesi (Cabinet members). Seated on the ground to the left hand of Alaafin of Oyo is the researcher, F.A Olasupo. The picture was taking at the palace of Alaafin of Oyo on the 4th of May 2009. See more pictures on page 19.
In the Ibo speaking areas of Delta and Onitsha in Anambra states, the installation of an Omu (minor king) is by oracular pronouncement. The selection is restricted to the royal family and, according to Oseghale and Osiki, “the office was the exclusive preserve of the royal enclave”. In making the choice of Omu, “names of eligible candidates from among the first daughter of every wife of the new Obi were presented to the royal diviner who would commence the process of selection and appointment. So, “The Omu was normally the daughter of the reigning Obi who could have been married out or of marriageable age. The person so appointed remained in office until when she died in which case the new Obi would have appointed another Omu” (Oseghale and Osiki, 2008:6, Agborh, 2007:13). “As part of her installation, the Omu was provided with all the insignia of royalty such as sword, drums and fan, like those that were given to the Obi”. The presence of war drums in her palace was to demonstrate her defensive powers. By this, she was expected to prepare and purify the warriors before they would embark on any war (Oseghale and Osiki, 2008:7). An Omu of Onitsha and Western Igbo, in the pre-colonial days, according to Awe, had military, religious and administrative functions. She was the field marshal and her canoe led others in any military expedition (Awe, 1992:102). The appointment of Omu is normally made during the installation of the Obi. A similarity to this, though in a different context, can be found in Yoruba speaking area of Akure, the capital of Ondo state. According to the immediate past regent of Akure, Regent Adeyinka Adesida, “when a Deji is crowned, his first and eldest daughter is crowned with him on the same day and the daughter becomes the regent immediately after the demise of the Deji” (Olasupo, 2007:178). In the case of Omu who is crowned the same day with the Obi, as a “mini-king” in “the council of state was considered more powerful than the Obi’s male chiefs”. The implication of this is that as a king in her own right, she is next in rank to the Obi, not just in office but in blood as well because she is one of the daughters of the reigning Obi in the first instance (Oseghale and Osiki, 2008:7).

The institutions of female kings are hereditary in some places but not in others. In Ijero-Ekiti, “Any woman of high integrity and of good family background is qualified for this position”(Makinde and Aladekomo, 1995:79). Similarly, in Ibusa, in Delta state, “it is believed that any woman of substance could take the Omu title provided she could feast the Otu Omu”(Agborh, 2007:13). It is important to note the opening or opportunity which this arrangement provides for capable female commoners to have a taste of royalty not just as cabinet members but at the highest level of traditional leadership as well.

Another place where this kind of opening exists to the commoners, although in male kingship, is Jos, in Plateau state. “According the custom and tradition of Berom people, any Berom adult who had reached 18 years of age could contest for the stool of the Gbong Gwom Jos. This however excludes the ruling houses in the 11 Berom districts where it is expected that crowned prince only fills such vacancies or any member of the ruling family”. Apart from this arrangement, the stool of the Gbong Gwom had remained a general contest amongst the Beroms following the removal of the first Gbong Gwom in 1942 (Ayuba, 2009:6). The first elected Gbong Gwom Jos,
under the watchful eyes of the colonial masters, was in 1944. The election is normally conducted among the 12 kingmakers. The current Gbong Gwom Jos, beats his closest rival, retired col. John Dungs and former Military administrator of Delta state, by eight votes to three.

A point however comes when female rulers as female kings and the regents (female regents) dominate the entire political and administrative structures of some of these communities. In some communities such as Ero, Ibulesoro, Isharun, Oda and Irese in Ifedore local governments of Ondo state, a point in time comes when the rulerships of their communities are entirely that of women affairs. In Ero and Ibulesoro currently, heads of both female and male governing institutions are females. Ones as female kings while others as female regents, supported by male kingmakers, occupying the stool of the deceased male kings pending when new male kings would be installed. The point we are making is that our research discovered some communities where female and male governing institutions have been dominated by female rulers, as female kings and female regents, for more than ten years. In Ondo kingdom, the female kings, by tradition, are substitute to the male kings and without them, male kings cannot be enthroned. In places where female regents presently exist side by side with the female kings, the regents, by tradition must dress like male kings. They are also not permitted to have issues while on the throne. While these traditional encumbrances do not directly affect their governance of the communities, they create psychological problems for those who have not yet married before they became regents. For, the regent must not only be the daughter of the deceased king or the next high-ranking chief to the deceased Oba, but must also be celibate. In any case, all these are breaking down; some regents have begun to wear female cloths while on the throne as regents and some have also begun to have babies while on the throne as well. It is not by compromise that these are braking down but by female regent struggles to be their natural selves. Good examples are regent Jolade in Ero, Regent C.A Falade of Ido-Ani and regent Adeola Adeosun of Erin Íjesha (Afolabi and Olasupo, 2008:12). It should be stated however that abilities of these female kings to assert themselves depend largely on their levels of education and enlightenment. As Agborh stated, majority of them are not “literate enough and are still holed up by ancient tradition”.

King of Ibulesoro.

STATISTICS OF COMMUNITIES WITH FEMALE KINGS AND FEMALE REGENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>Female king</th>
<th>Female Regent</th>
<th>Town or Village</th>
<th>L.G</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Type of Rulership</th>
<th>Date: Regent</th>
<th>Years in Office:Regent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Regent Jolade</td>
<td>Ero</td>
<td>Ifedore</td>
<td>Ondo</td>
<td>Balanced</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Oba Victoria Adanlawo</td>
<td>Ibulesoro</td>
<td>Ifedore</td>
<td>Ondo</td>
<td>Balanced</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Osemawe of Irese</td>
<td>Irese</td>
<td>Ifedore</td>
<td>Ondo</td>
<td>Balanced</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Oda</td>
<td>Ifedore</td>
<td>Ondo</td>
<td>Balanced</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ipinsha</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ifedore</td>
<td>Ondo</td>
<td>Balanced</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Oba Ibukun Mary</td>
<td>Iwarun</td>
<td>Ifedore</td>
<td>Ondo</td>
<td>Balanced</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Generally, our finding is that in the installation of whichever of the two kings in the balanced-sex political system in parts of Yoruba speaking areas that practice gender balance in governance, interlocking relationship exists between the two gender kings. The process of installing either of the kings is the same. The situation in Delta and Onitsha in Anambra state is not radically different. In Yorubaland for example, a newly installed male king is expected to undergo certain purification and confinements for at least three months. The female kings also undergo similar process in the course of their installation as female kings. The acceptance of female kings as traditional rulers is attested to by the way they are addressed by their subjects in their communities as “Her Royal Highness”. Few examples would suffice here. The female kings of Ondo, Ile-Oluji and that of Okpanam in Delta states are addressed as such not only by their subjects but by the press as well (Agborh, 2007:13, Abiodun, 2007:19, Abiodun, 2006:3). However, by tradition, those to be made female kings in Ondo, Ekiti, Delta and Onitsha in Anambra states are expected to attain menopausal stage before they could take up the responsibility of being female kings (Oseghale and Osiki, 2008:16, Makinde and Aladekomo, 1997:78). This is one of the numerous ways by which the institution of female kings in balanced political system is kept dieing. Making old women traditional rulers is designed to make them (female kings) less active to be able to rival their male counterparts. Although this is breaking down these days as young married women are made female kings. What is more, a maiden who is still a student is currently a female king of her community, Awule, in an Akure area of Ondo state.

**REGENCY**
“Traditional Yoruba culture”, according to Olomola, Ajuwon and Omotoso, “provides that the throne should not be totally vacant, particularly during the interregnum”. Following the announcement of the demise of an Oba (king), in the case of the great dynasties, “the head of the kingmakers traditionally assumes leadership of the town, until a new Oba is appointed. But in other places, particularly in Ondo and Ekiti states, “whenever problems arise, and a candidate cannot be provided easily, the kingmakers in consultation with the particular ruling house agree on a regent to stay on the throne until all knotty issues are resolved”. Usually, a substantive candidate, which is often a female, is agreed upon. However, there is variation on how this is done from one community, town or city to the other. In Erin Ijesha, According to Regent Adeola Adeosun:

> Prayers were normally held to decide who would become the regent after the demise of the king. She explained that by the kingmakers’ divination she was chosen among the daughters of his late father, since February 10 1999 (Adewumi, 2004:18).

In Akure, as Regent Adeyinka Adesida puts it:

> to be a regent you must be the first daughter of the Deji and when the Deji passes on you take up the stool, until a substantive Deji is appointed by the governor and crowned. In Akure, we believe in continuity so when the Deji passes on the first daughter holds fort until a new one comes on.
And also for you to be a regent you must be crowned on the same day the Deji is crowned. So I was crowned regent on the day my late father was crowned Deji of Akure (Olasupo, 2007:178).

In relation to the institution of female king, the choice of the regent who is usually a female is also done by the female kings makers. But unlike the male one the regent in the female institution transforms into substantive kind at the death of the male king; and this is peculiar to Ondo kingdom. This is because she is the one who would have to crown the male king and she cannot do so if she is not a female king. For instance, when female king of Ondo kingdom, Oba Comfort Adekunmi Adesida died at the age 135 years on May 2007, almost a year after her twin male Oba, her daughter, Grace Akinfolarin Adesida, assumed regency of the throne (Abiodun, 2007:27). Oba Comfort Adekumi Adesida was herself regent for many years before she transformed into substantive Oba.

**CROWN**

Another important evidence of the existence of female kings is the ability to wear crown like their male counterparts. Although their own crowns are not beaded, they are crowns all the same, since their communities recognise them (female crowns) as such. Lobun (Obabinrin) (Female king) in Ondo and Ile-Oluji have their own crowns. In Ile-Oluji, “Olulu”, the crown of the female king is a piece of white cloth tied round her head with red feathers stuck in it. (Akinfemiwa, 1994:24 and 217, Abiodun, 2006:3). In some places, like Ondo, the female king, like the male counterparts, “has her own praise singer who once in a while blows her special flute made from elephant’s tusk”. As marks of royalty, like their male counterparts, female kings also wear beads on their necks, wrists, ankles and also handle horsetails (Akinfemiwa, 1994:24, Abiodun, 2006:3). In the case of Omus, the insignia of royalty, apart from their traditional crown, include the sword, drums and fans, like those of their male counterparts. It is important to note that the insignia of office in the case of Omus in Delta and Onitsha area runs counter to that of some Yoruba speaking areas. In Ile-Oluji and Ondo kingdoms, for example, female kings “are not to use swords, drums and “Agogo” (native bells) but have “Aje” that is, “Symbol of wealth” (Akinfemiwa,1994:24). In the course of our research to the palaces of some of the female kings in the Yoruba speaking areas where institution of balanced-sex governance exists, we found that the inscriptions on their crowns show them as High Chiefs. Most of them, been illiterate, they could not see the relegation in this but we pointed it out to them to effect the correction and they did. Instead of the inscription of ‘High Chiefs’, we asked them to replace it with “Obabinrin” (female kings) which they did. By the next time they came for a meeting in our Department, they all wore their newly looked crown with the inscription, “female kings”.

Crown wearing, although a powerful sign of royalty, is not enough to make a good ruler. According to the late Ooni of Ife, Oba Adesoji Aderemi, “it is not the hood that makes the rank: it is not beaded crown that makes an Oba. For instance, you have in the hierarchy of chiefs great rulers such as the Olubadan of Ibadan, the Shohun of Ogbomosho, the Timi of Ede to mention just a few who never wear a beaded crown the fact is that non-wearing of beaded crown by them does not detract a jot from the importance and the dignity attached to their titles and their personalities.
Behold, the Timi of Ede in his Akoro headgear (by extension the female kings of Ondo, Ile-Oluji and the Eyegun of Ijero headgears) which is the proper thing for him to wear and you find a dignified ruler who is very confident of himself and his ancient title: the same hold good for Shohun of Ogbomosho who has never bothered himself about the beaded crown which his village have made so cheap. And what of Olubadan of Ibadan, head of more than three quarter of a million people; his dignity, indeed his greatness lies in his simplicity. A word is enough for the wise” (Alaafin, 1976, Akinfemiwa, 1994:24, Abiodun, 2007:3). Although most of them, if not all, are today beaded crown wearers none is a female ruler. In most of the states in western part of Nigeria today, traditional rulers have been graded into first class, second class and third class respectively. This makes it possible for an Oba to move from one class to the other depending on the criteria set by the state governments for this (Oba Olayiwola Oladeji II, 2000:45). It is appalling to observe however, that rarely do you find any female king upgraded, especially in the states where tradition of female kings exist!

CABINET
Possession of cabinet members, like their male counterparts, by female kings in the balanced governance is another important evidence of balanced-sex political system in some communities in Nigeria. In all communities with this system, the cabinet members assist the female kings in the political and administration of their communities. In the Delta and Onitsa area of Anambra state, the cabinet members of the female kings, made up of male and female, are known as “Otu Omu”. A retinue of other advisers and assistants also attend to her (Oseghale and Osiki, 2008:7, Agborh, 2007:13). However, these cabinet members do not in any way constitute kingmakers as the power to appoint the female king (Omu) is vested in the Royal Diviner and the Obi. While the Royal Diviner makes oracular pronouncement to that effect, the Obi appoints the Omu (Oseghale and Osiki, 2008:7).

In Ondo and Ekiti states, the cabinet of some of the female kings resemble that of the Omus and others diverge. Among those that resemble that of the Omus are those of the Ijero-Ekiti and Idanre. In these two places, like in the case of Omus, the cabinet members are not kingmakers but mere advisers to the female kings.

But there are some other communities in Ondo and Ekiti where the cabinet members of the female kings are made up of female kingmakers as well as advisers. The female kingmakers in these places are known as “Iwarefa” just like that of their male counterparts. In Ile-Oluji and Ondo kingdoms, in particular, the cabinet members of the female kings who are also female kingmakers run up to six. And it is important to note that they are replicas of male kingmakers not only in number but also in nomenclatures and duties. In the appointment of their kingmakers and other cabinet members, both kings (female and male) have exclusive and sole rights to appoint their High Chiefs and the lesser ones as well. While the female kings have six kingmakers, the male kings also have six kingmakers, below is the example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female King Cabinet Members</th>
<th>Male King Cabinet Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lobun (female king)</td>
<td>Jegun (male king)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. The High Chief Lisa Lobun</td>
<td>1. The High Chief Lisa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This is for Ondo and Ile-Oluji kingdoms. For Ijero-Ekiti, just as the male king, Ajero of Ijero has six title holders who form the inner council of the Ajero-in-Council, so does Eyegun, female king has six titled chiefs who are “the decision making body of the female chiefs”. Below are the graphic examples of the two gender cabinet members:

Ajero of Ijero (Male king) | Eyegun (Female king)
High Chiefs        | High Chiefs
1. Obanla            | 1. Ojumu
2. Eisaba            | 2. Alaye
3. Eisinkin          | 3. Omupetu
4. Odofin            | 4. Eyewi
5. Ogboni            | 5. Ejemu
6. Saade             | 6. Odofin

An organogram of the female king in Ijero and her high chiefs is below reproduced as Makinde and Aladekomo presented it.

“Oba Obinrin”(Female king)

Eyegun,

The Ikoyi  Ojumu  Eyelaye  Omupetu
(Next in command)

Odofin Ijero  Ejemu Ijero

Eye Baasa  Eyewi
For Ilawe-Ekiti, the town is made up of seven quarters with both female and male heads. Each quarter has male and female head Chiefs. The overall head of both female and male Chiefs is the paramount ruler of the town, the Alawe of Ilawe, while the overall head of the female quarter Chiefs is “Olufi” of Ilawe. The female heads of the quarters are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women Chiefs</th>
<th>Quarters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ajakerede</td>
<td>Okebedo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Olobinrin Adin</td>
<td>Adin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Olobinrin Okeloye</td>
<td>Okeloye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Asaoni</td>
<td>Okeemo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Onilepou</td>
<td>Aje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Ekunare</td>
<td>Okepa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Ayo and Awotokun, 1997:156)
However, our research has discovered attempts by male counterpart rulers in some of these communities trying to usurp the traditional functions of the female rulers in the appointment of their female chiefs. In Igbara Oke, Ikota, Ijare, indeed most of the communities in Ifedore local government of Ondo state, this is the case. Ijero-Ekiti in Ekiti is not left out of male rulers’ encroachment into the traditional functions of these female kings. Most of them complained bitterly about this before the Ooni of Ife and Alaafin of Oyo when our research group presented some of these female traditional rulers to them as part of our research findings.

FUNCTIONS OR DUTIES

Generally, the functions of female kings and their cabinet members in balanced governance ranges from carrying out ritual activities, administration of the markets, participation in the installation of male kings, settling disputes among disputing women and awarding of chieftaincy titles to deserving citizens within the community. In the strict sense of the matter, none of these can be actually regarded as female affairs because they all have to do with the affairs of the community in general. At worst, they can be regarded as gender functions in traditional governance. In other words, they are division of functions or duties in traditional governance. In the pre-colonial and even during the early part of colonialism, traditional rulers at the local level exercised executive, legislative and judicial functions all of which are embodied in the functions that custom and tradition allot to female governing institutions in the communities with balanced-governing institutions (Olasupo, 2008:10, Olasupo, 2007:169-170). Although when an issue becomes complex for the female governing institutions to handle, mechanism exist for the transfer of such issue to the male governing institution in which women representative (female king) exist. Thus, while judicial functions of female kings is limited to adjudication over women, they legislate over matters concerning marketing and trading. In the case of the Omus, the adjudication of female kings slightly extend beyond women to men where in particular the case has to do with violation of “any of the codes concerning sanctity of marriage” (Agborh, 2007:13) Their executive roles is found mostly in creation of markets, trade and carrying out of ritual activities.

Market Control

In the past, the pre-colonial periods were not safe for men to move away from their farms but comparatively, women enjoyed relative immunity from attacks. Hodder traced that period to when Yoruba women met for trading purposes on neutral grounds between warring groups. A Yoruba anthropologist, Olatunde Lawuyi asserted the veracity of this “when he explained that because Yoruba society traditionally has been socially stratified, men and women sought to fulfill themselves differently”. Women headed the marketplace and women’s societies, and this afforded them to be wealthy”. The sacred canon and the historical narratives, says Lillian, emphasize the Yoruba women’s historical ownership and dominance of the marketplace. This, according to Lillian, “indicates that women generally are associated with wealth.” (Lillian Ashcraft-Eason, 1993:90). These are enough evidences that attest to the fact that historically, women created and owned markets

However, contrary to perceived notion of market as economic institution, research on traditional institutions shows those markets in Igbo and Yoruba traditions, in the pre-colonial period, were more of political and spiritual institutions than economic. As
social institutions they served as rendezvous of different kinds of societal activities: good or bad e.g. entertainers, criminals, debtors and mentally deranged people, beggars, love makers, friends, relations (to meet and settle quarrel) deal makers and medical herbalists. As religious institutions, markets, especially ‘Oja Oba’ (kings’ or central markets) is arenas of religious activities such as masquerade (Odo juju in Ibo and Egungun in Yoruba) Oro (another form of cult) and other forms of religious and social activities (Vagale, 1971:1). In the days of Oyo Empire, central market called Oja-Oba (king’s market) had a deity under the control of a priestess called Eni-Oja (owner of the market) before who the king leaned on the day he went to worship there “i.e. to propitiate the deity that presides over the market” (Johnson 1921:P66). The goddess in charge of the markets in Igbo land according to Amadiume is known as Idemili (Olasupo, 147).

Economically, they (markets) served as arena for exchange of goods and commodities. Agbaje asserted that they also serve as information exchange centers (Vagale, 1971:1, Agbaje 1989:249). As a political arena, markets served and still serve as campaign platforms for both female and male traditional politicians. Among women politicians that seized this advantage for campaign purposes were Madam Tinuubu and Efunsetan Aniwura. But male traditional rulers use it for another purposes of serving as execution ground as in the case of Ibadan and burial ground as in the case of Binin that buried Queen Emotan in the Oba’s market as a way immortalizing her for her political and economic wizardry (Olasupo, 2007:29, Olasupo, 2007:147).

Female chiefs appointed by the female kings to be in charge of the markets are, in Yoruba speaking areas, known as Iya lojas (female market leaders). Through this officials, over the years, the markets became organized according to commodity being dealt in, e.g. Egbe Alajapa (the guild that trade in inanimate objects such as food and medicinal items); Egbe Alarobo (the guild of those who traded in animate objects such as goats, sheep and poultry); Egbe Alaso (the guild of cloth sellers); Egbe Olose (the guild of soap makers); Egbe Alata (the guild of pepper sellers) etc. There are other various guilds named after their commodities hence those mentioned were just few examples (Ogunremi, 1998;122, Osinubi and Amaghionyeodiwe, 2005:77). It is important to note that each guild had its leader called Olori (head). While the heads organized their members and led them to the markets especially long distance ones, according to Amadiume, among the Igbo group, the senior women administered the periodic market days of the week (Amadiume, 1987:517).

With time the guild developed into social companionship without losing its original trademark – guild. The social aspect of this guild necessitated a sense of belonging that fostered periodic outings (e.g. naming, burial or house warming ceremonies) of such social groups with members all dressed alike in “aso-ebi” or “aso-Egbe” (uniform: whereby ladies or women turn out in the same head tie or it could be the attire type where they are attired in the same tailored clothing”(Olasupo, 2006:160). “All of this demands some expenditure of money” on the part of every member of the social groups (Maboguje, 1961:16)

It, (guild/social groups) finally began to engage in civic duties and acquired the name Egbe Alasowopo ti Oja (association of joint efforts or civil society, market branch) (Daramola and Jeje, 1967:155). All these, according to Amadiume, “provided”
women “with a networking system which enabled rapid mobilization for action” against tyrannical ruler, be it male or female. However, these rapid developments of market institution caught the attention of the male kings who did everything possible to bring this institution under their control. The leaders of these market women, previously appointed by female kings and Idemili goddess respectively, were snatched by the male kings. The Nigerian Constitution has in turn snatched market function from the male kings and made it part of the functions of the new local government system in Nigeria. But women market leaders, appointed by the male kings, although to the protestation of the female kings, today remain the economic heads of the markets.

Trading Control

Trading in the pre-colonial period also came under the purview of the female kings who appoints the most successful women traders in their various communities as Iya laje (leader of women traders). Traders in those days engaged in long distance trading from communities to communities, towns to towns and kingdoms to kingdoms. The arrival of colonial authorities attested to this in various ways. According to to Faseke, Mabogunje and Ade-Ajayi: “The women, like the men, travelled in caravan for protection”. In 1833, Lander also observed one hundred wives of the Alaafin trading at Ilora. Writing of Ibadan in the second half of the 19th Century, Johnson says: “the women of those days were as hardy as the men and often went in a body of caravans to Ikere and Apomu for corn and other foodstuffs although the road was unsafe for the kidnappers” (Faseke, 1998:153). Hugh Clapperton in 1825 also found the wives of the Alaafin of Oyo trading far away from home at ‘Duffo’, south of Shaki, and noted “like other women of the common class they carried large loads on their heads from town to town”. Other travellers in 19th century Nigeria who met trade caravans along their journeys emphasized the considerable number of women amongst them (Mabogunje, 1961:15). Hodder and Ukwu, described the caravans thus: “these asses were the first beasts we had observed employed in carrying burdens, for hitherto people of both sexes and of all ages, especially women and female children, have performed these laborious duties (Hodder and Ukwu, 1968:27). Ade-Ajayi and Smith described how these women traders in the pre-colonial days organize themselves for trading: “Traders gathered at agreed times and places and travelled together in caravan” (Ade-Ajayi and Smith, 1964:3).

Other than economic activities and advantages, other by-products of the trading activities of women, from towns to towns and kingdoms to kingdoms, were information gathering and dissemination, and of course, espionage activities (Ifeanyi Onyeonoru, Taiwo Eneji and Corelia Chiagozie, 20004: 8). These advantages also attracted the attention of male kings who felt some female institutions were becoming too powerful to be left to female kings alone, hence, their encroachment into female roles of appointing certain female chiefs. For instance, when opponents of Ife raided the town and created confusion, Moremi, “wife of one of the early Oonis”, posed as a market woman and was taken hostage. After understudying her captors for sometime she soon escaped and came to tell Ife people about the secret of their tormentors. Similar to this was the series of espionage activities, which Queen Emotan provided for Prince Ewuare to become king in Benin against the preferred candidates of the kingmakers (Akinjogbin, 2002:131, Awe, 1992:26, Sani, 2001:13).
Chieftaincy Titles

Female kings in their different communities also have power to confer chieftaincy title on deserving citizens of their communities irrespective of the sex. In Ijero-Ekiti, the female king, Eyegun, “confers chieftaincy titles on deserving women just like the Ajero does on deserving citizens. However, the Eyegun has to inform the Oba any time she plans to confer chieftaincy titles on people” (Makinde and Aladekomo, 1997:78). The Omus on the other hand, confer title on citizens of both sexes. According to Agborh, “There are communities where Omu is flanked by also few men whom the Omu had conferred with traditional title” (Agborh, 2007:13). The verification of this by our research group shows usurpation of this role by some male kings. In Igbara-Oke, the female Oba in that town, Obal Rachel Odofin, complained bitterly to us about the effort of the male king to prevent her from appointing her female chiefs. According to her, by the tradition of her town, the male king installs the male chiefs while the female king installs the female chiefs. Similarly, the female Oba of Ikota, Oba Celina Folorunsho, the Osemawe of Ikota, had similar problem with her male counterpart who wanted to dabble into how she manage her chieftaincy matters. She took the matter to court and it was in the process that the male king naturally lost his life.

PALACE

Possession of palace by female kings in the communities with balanced-sex governance, in traditional governance, is another powerful evidence of female kings’ existence. Their palaces may not be as imposing as their male counterparts but are nonetheless standard ones with every feature of a standard traditional palace. As small as their palaces are, they contain not less than five rooms in most cases. Within the living room of the palaces are special seats meant for the female kings while their chiefs have their own seats that face those of the kings. In most cases, the palaces are built close to the male palaces, an indication that shows closer proximity for easier communication and consultation between the two gender kings. This is the case in Ondo, Ijero-Ekiti, Ijare and others, too numerous to mention. Besides, most of the palaces are community built and have been prior to the advent of colonialism (Makinde and Aladekomo, 1997:85). The advent of colonialism saw to the development of male palaces to the exclusion of the female ones. Female palaces were neither developed nor maintained by the colonial authorities, a trend that African leaders continued after the independence. According to Makinde and Aladekomo, “Eyegun’s” (Female king) “palace has been abandoned as recognition is given only to the Ajero by the state government whose duty it is to cater for Obas” (Makinde and Aladekomo, 1997:85).

However, when our research group visited the female king of this kingdom, sometime in 2008, we found the palace rehabilitated not by the government or through the assistance of the male king or even the community but by the female king herself. The Eyegun, Oba Enuice Bolatito Omidiji, confirmed this to us in the course of our interviewing her. There is a place however, where the male king had begun to see his female counterpart as partner in progress – Ondo kingdom. The immediate past male monarch of Ondo kingdom, late Oba Ibidapo Adedinsewo Adesanoye, did not only renovate and rehabilitate the palace of the female king, built more than 500 years ago, with one hundred and fifty thousand naira but also carried out series of reforms that
broke up series of taboos (Nigerian Monitor, 1991:45). Taboos such as the one that forbade the male king from passing through some streets, including Otunba street in the ancient town; the two gender kings not seeing each other again after the coronation of the male king; and that of the fact that when the male king dies his female counterpart must die along with him, were all broken by the revered Oba Adesanoye (Editorial, 2006:6).

**Ruling houses**

As is the situations in male kings where choice and selection of kings are from ruling houses, some with two three or more, so do institution of female kings also have ruling houses from which the female kings are selected. However, in most communities particular families or quarters produce the female kings. “Examples”, in cases of “Okpanam, home of Major Chukwuemeka Nzeogwu of blesses memory, where the Umuosuma family of Ogodo Agbala Quarter, produces the Omu. Similarly in Ogbashi Uku, it comes from Agidiase” (Agborh, 2007:13). In Yoruba speaking areas of Akure and Ekiti, most of the female kings also come from a particular ruling house. Good examples here are Ifare and Ikota in Ifedore Local government area. A Good example of a place with multiple female king ruling houses in Yorubaland is Ondo kingdom. There, in Ondo kingdom, the four ruling houses that produce the female kings include: Fwenlu Stock, Lomuyinke Stock, Osungbeni Stock and Olurunjomu Stock.

**Observation**

From theoretical and empirical evidences, it is undoubted that there are communities in Nigeria where gender balance in traditional governance exist. It is equally true that this fine tradition that allows for women parity with their male counterparts in traditional governance has been under sustained assault to prevent it from seeing the modern-day-light. Attempt to modernize the crown, by some women traditional rulers, in line with modernity and change, is not going down well with some monarchs, particularly those of Ile-Oluji and Ijero Ekiti. In my face-to-face and telephone discussions with these two male kings respectively, they warned that their female counterpart 'kings' could go to anywhere provided they would not wear crown, use horsetail and carry the appellation "Oba Binrin" (Female kings) (Afolabi and Olasupo, 2008:11). Championed by some male traditional rulers and their patriarchal traditional supporters therefore, there are those that argue that Oba Kii pe meji laafin (two kings could not occupy a palace at the same time).

Those opposed to this reactionary view faulted it by arguing to the contrary. In Egba kingdom, they argue, multiple and not even balanced kind of ruler ship existed even before the advent of colonial masters with each having its king and palace (a miniature federal arrangement) (Olowu and Erero, 1997:26, Oludimu, 1996:35). Monitor on Saturday puts it this way: “In Nigeria for instance before 1914, precisely in 1894, the Egba kingdom was an autonomous federation, distinct from the Southern Protectorate, where the Alake (paramount king) was the president and other Obas (kings) in Egba serving as ministers” (Monitor on Saturday, 2002:3). Similarly, at a point in the history of Ondo community, three rulers existed at the same time, two male kings and one female king. What led to this was the sudden death of the female king whose two children (Ario and Luju) scrambled for power and thus became Osemawe in succession and thus “lived in different palaces where all other Osemawes still use as their palace up till today”. Meanwhile the eldest daughter of the female king also
insisted that she had the right to succeed her mother king, hence the existence of three
kings at the same time then. With time this got reduced to two – one male and female
king each (Nigerian Monitor, 1991:45). The Egba federal arrangement just serves as
benchmark for traditional federal system but it is not the only one. Other
communities, cities or towns with balanced kingship are Ogbomosho (Soun of
Ogbomosho in Ogbomosho north local government and the Onpetu of Ijeru in
Ogbomosho south local government. Both are beaded Obas); Ikere Ekiti (Ogoga of
Ikere and Olukere of Ikere. Again both are beaded Obas) and Akure where there is the
Deji of Akure, Osolo of Akure and Iralepo of Akure. The last two got their staff of
offices only last year). Recently as well, some pre-Oduduwa Obas in Ife: e.g.
Obalufe, Obaloran, Obalaaye, Obajo who were relegated to quarter heads by
Oduduwa on his arrival have regained their Obaship status (Eluwole, 1995:30, New
Okunade Sijuwade, granted them independence on the 5th of September 2009. Some
other quarter heads, Baale, like those of Modakeke and Ifetedo were equally upgraded
to the status of Oba (News, 2009:12). By this, Ife kingdom, like the Egbas, has not
only adopted traditional federal system of government but also reinstated the Oba who
lost their crowns to Oduduwa.

Further to their argument is the fact that there are some communities presently where
the female kings and female regents (temporary replacement for deceased male kings)
are in existence. Ero and Ibulesoro communities in Ifedore local government area of
Ondo state are good examples. Here, some of the regents have been there for more
than eight years; thus making the political and administrative affairs of such
communities the sole affairs of female rulers.

Conclusion:
In most communities where female kings have been found, the indices or parameters
that determine royalty anywhere in the world are present – Crown, Palace, Royal
Houses, Regency institution, Cabinet members and traditional governance. Our
findings also show that male rulership institutions, particularly the palaces, are much
more grandeur than their female counterparts but those of the females are no less
palaces as their male counterparts, though miniature. Most of these female kings are
found in the rural communities where literacy level is very, very low. But the ancient
traditions are still prevalent there and that is why this tradition of female kings has
continued to survive up till now. There are cities and towns where these traditions of
female kings still exist, though persistently subdued by their male counterparts who,
in spite of the position of their customs and traditions, refuse to see them as partners
in traditional governance. Such cities and towns include, Ondo, Akure, Ado-Ekiti and
Ijero-Ekiti.

Over and above these, is the discovery that gender balance in governance that United
Nations has been clamouring for is mimicry of what obtains in Africa. Whereas part
of the recommendations of the United Nations towards uplifting women in
governance is allocating a certain percentage of cabinet positions for women (India
allocated 33%, South Africa 30% and Nigeria 30%), in some of the communities
mentioned in this paper, male and female traditional rulers have their different
governing structures that are distinctly separate but coordinate.
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Abstract

Research is abundant concerning the current motives for sexual interaction in western societies. We have recently witnessed a swing from the “free love” promiscuity of the 1960s and 1970s to the more conservative, health-conscious climate of the 1980s and 1990s. Now, people of all ages have ample sexual opportunities that arise not only in traditional face-to-face interaction but also through new technology such as the web, the mobile phone, and the various social networking platforms (such as MySpace and Second Life) that are accessed through electronic devices. Experiments are now measuring the impacts of these new technologies on sexual motives and sexual conduct.

In the past, such monumental swings in sexual motives and behavior occurred, too. But we did not use experiments to measure and analyze them—we had no such means. However, we can understand past sexuality indirectly, through the examination of information revealed by scholars in areas such as history, politics, and religion.

This presentation will assemble information from across disciplines to describe what we know about the history of human sexuality. Following a chronological path, I will analyze sexual motives by describing cultural context, power relationships between men and women, political ideals, evolutionary success, religious affiliations, and economic values. In short, I will describe sexual motives of the past by examining behavior in the context of time and culture.
India is home to thousands of community-protected forests, called sacred groves. Sacred forests or groves are sites that have cultural or spiritual significance to the people who live around them. These areas may also be key reservoirs of biodiversity. Sacred forests have been protected around the world for a variety of reasons, including religious practices or ceremonies, as burial grounds, and for their watershed value. Ethnographic research was conducted to evaluate the historic and current management and beliefs associated with several sacred forests in India. Cultural change and pressure to use natural resources within the groves is leading to reduction of these forest areas in India. Sacred forests often have associated legends and taboos on the use of specific plants and hunting of certain species of animals within the area. In some cases, these traditions can serve a conservation role. The size of groves varies greatly from very small plots (less than one hectare) to larger tracts of land of several thousand hectares. These fragments may represent the sole remaining forests in an area and therefore, the last locations with potential for conservation of flora and fauna. Research consisting primarily of interviews with community members near sacred forests focused on groves of the Meghalaya region in northeastern India and the Western Ghats region of Karnataka in southern India. Culturally protected sacred sites can play a key role as biodiversity conservation areas.
ABSTRACT

After the twelve (eight years primary, four years high school) education period in Turkey, high school students who wants to get University education can enter the university entrance exam if they apply for it. After this exam, according to student’s marks and the chosen departments, placement to the universities are realized. Who lasts this period successfully was waited by university education system which is thought by the students that allow them to bring their opinions openly and carry out themselves more freely.

The university is a place where the students get the schooling of their professions. In this respect, the ability of comprehensive thinking, taking responsibility, having the notion of democracy and democratic processes and self-esteem in high school years will support and contribute to the individual with giving decision for the dream-job. In this process, planning and curriculum should be adjusted according to their participation processes to such events. With this study which is compilation will be given to Turkey’s education system and the process of university entrance that turning point for high school students in the context of participant democracy.
Greening Human Resource Practices: An Assessment of Local Level Initiatives

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ABSTRACT

Environmental initiatives and going green are part of common parlance these days. But how have those issues permeated the human resources realm? This article, through a nationwide survey, examines the extent to which cities have incorporated environmentally friendly human resource practices. Results reveal that income, education, environmental awareness, and presence of pre-existing successful environmental programs have an impact on technical and strategic human resource practices in US cities. This paper discusses the implications for public administration.

Keywords: Green Management, Human Resources, Environment Management
INTRODUCTION

The theoretical question of whether government organizations can regulate themselves has been under investigation for some time. Early studies looked at the effectiveness of one agency mandating behavior in other agencies and typically came to the conclusion that attempts at interagency control, at least at the federal level, generally failed (Wilson and Rachal, 1977). In the specific investigation of environmental issues, mixed findings have been revealed. For instance, Durant (1984) explored the responses of Tennessee Valley Authority to the EPAs clean air and clean water mandates and found both compliance and noncompliance. The question later developed into one posed more complexly, that is, in what sort of organizations (public or private) and under what circumstances is it more likely to achieve effective compliance with mandated behaviors (Paehkle, 1991)? This line of questioning can be extended to ask to what extent cities have been successful in regulating themselves that is holding themselves accountable to uphold environmental laws and practices. This paper seeks to explore this line of questioning by asking: When are cities more likely to effectively integrate into their HR management practices the larger efforts of government, and society in general, to adopt green behaviors?

The critical need for sustainable organizational practices and strategies as well as ecologically responsible products and processes is undoubted in the face of growing global concern for the environment (Shrivastava, 1995). Public and private sector organizations have responded to this call by adopting a number of environmentally responsible strategies either through mandated or proactive means (Bansal and Roth, 2000). While there is substantial evidence for changes in operational procedures and behavior (e.g. eliminating waste, recycling, reducing energy use, and using environmentally benign products), there is relatively less
evidence for how this concern for the environment has permeated into the human resource (HR) realm. While changes in operational procedures and employee behavior are crucial, a holistic approach to environmentally responsible practices requires that environmental initiatives be fully integrated with HR practices.

The symbiotic relationship between HR and eco-friendly initiatives can be illustrated by the fact that sustainability practices can be implemented successfully only through a well trained, well informed pool of employees and new initiatives can be envisioned only by employees who are motivated, creative and empowered. As Mcgregor (1988) observed, human resources are strategic assets and strategic management of these assets will result in the success of public enterprises. Similarly, there is a significant body of research that explores the link between strong HR practices and strong private firm performance (see for example, Becker and Huselid, 1998; Bowen and Ostroff, 2004). Applying the link between HR practices and firm performance to the realm of environmental performance, Daily and Huang (2001), Fernandez, Junquera and Ordiz (2003) and Jabbour and Santos (2008) emphasize the association between HR factors such as environmental training, employee empowerment, rewards, teamwork and support of top management as essential in achieving sustainability and in implementing successful environmental management systems. There is evidence both from the private sector and the public sector that changes in certain aspects of HR are underway. For instance, Google has special parking spaces for employees with cars powered by rechargeable batteries so they can plug in and recharge. A number of municipalities and firms are hiring sustainability directors. Generally, there seems to be a tacit understanding that HR practices should assist organizations in achieving their green goals but there have been few attempts to understand the extent to which specific HR practices and the implementation of eco-friendly workplace strategies coexist.
HR practices can be divided into strategic and technical (Huselid, Jackson & Schuler 1997). Based on Huselid and colleagues’ conceptualization, strategic human resource factors include teamwork, employee participation and empowerment, workforce planning, workforce productivity and quality of output, management and executive development, employee and manager communication, and advance issue identification and strategic studies. Technical human resource factors include recruitment, job description and classification, interview and selection processes, job training and orientation of new employees, compensation, benefits, incentives, and performance appraisal (Huselid et al, 1997). The alignment of strategic and technical human resource factors with organizational environmental goals is vital to successful achievement of environmental objectives. Hays (2004) provided a comprehensive documentation of various strategic and technical HR trends and best practices at the state and local levels of government. While his research provided evidence for substantial HR changes there was no evidence for HR best practices targeted specifically towards the achievement of environmental goals. Similarly, perusal of a recent Public Administration Review issue (Jan/Feb 2009) that served as an outlet for research on recent trends in HR management focused on strategic and technical HR issues such as patronage, the effects of sector switching, time stress on employees, and centralization and decentralization issues in civil service reform but none that was aimed specifically at environmental initiatives.

The overarching objective of this paper therefore, is to explore the mutually beneficial relationship between HR practices (strategic and technical) and the adoption of eco-friendly strategies and behaviors in public sector. In particular, this paper reports findings of a national survey of public sector HR senior managers from cities with populations of 100,000 or more. We explore three specific questions: Is there recognition of the connection between HR practices
and achievement of organizational eco-friendly goals? If yes, to what extent is this approach recognized? What are the specific areas of HR practices that are influenced by environmental concerns? This paper is organized as follows. First, we review the literature on environmental practices and human resource management. Next we present our specific hypotheses. Then, the methods section provides details about the survey we administered to collect data and provides information about the variables and measures used in this study which is followed by a discussion of results. Finally, we discuss the implications for public sector entities when HR practices and environmental strategies are juxtaposed.

LITERATURE REVIEW

A variety of factors affect the achievement of environmental goals by organizations and communities. The starting point for such a discussion must be with the dimensions of general support for environmental concerns and the associated dynamics. Attitudes toward the environment are complex and multidimensional. Research shows that attitudes toward environmental matters are drawn from three underlying dimensions: the interrelationship between the desire for economic growth and the wish for environmental protection; concerns about the impacts of more or less regulation; and a quality assessment of the actual condition of the environment (Carman, 1998). The quality assessment dimension constitutes what is typically referred to as overall environmental awareness or the extent to which one is concerned with the state of the environment. Environmental opinions have been shown to be related not only to a quality assessment of the environment but also to the perception of the effectiveness of existing environmental programs. The more one perceives existing programs as effective, the more one is likely to support overall environmental initiatives (Johnson, Brace and Arceneaux, 2005).
Geographic location influences environmental policy support. Hays (2000) argues persuasively that one of the roots of opposition to environmental values lies in an older economic, social, and political culture for whom environmental values represent a threat. This source of opposition comes from an economy based in farming, grazing, timber, and drilling or mining. These extractive economic interests ally with manufacturing industries that process and refine raw materials. According to Hays, this segment of the environmental opposition is strongest in those regions where the extractive economy is still viable or plays an important symbolic role. Environmental opposition is weakest in those regions that have moved beyond the extraction economy and the economy of heavy industry into a service- and information-based economy (including tourism). Regions that have strong environmental cultures based on this assessment include New England, New York, New Jersey, the Upper Great Lakes states, Florida, and the West Coast. Regions with weaker environmental cultures include the western Gulf coast states, the Plains states, and the Rocky Mountain states.

Affluence and educational achievement are associated with acceptance of environmental values and policies tailored to protect the environment. Coan and Holman's (2008) findings show that median family income and education are significant predictors of support for environmental measures. Additionally, the presence of environmental advocacy groups active on issues within a community has been shown to be a significant factor for agency decision making, often prompting government officials to take actions they would fail to take without the pressure of advocates (Daley, 2007).

Size of organizations has been shown to have an influence on voluntary environmental behavior. All other things held constant, large organizations are more likely to participate in more voluntary environmental activities. Research shows however that unless these
organizations consider environmental issues a particular concern, they are no more likely than other organizations to adopt environmental management practices (Khanna, Koss, Jones and Ervin, 2007).

The idea that organizations should reconsider their practices with an eye toward environmental sustainability has been gaining prominence and winning followers over the last decade. In the business world, the central focus of this movement has been corporate social responsibility (CSR, henceforth). CSR traces its beginning to pressures for corporations to become good citizens coming from advocacy group, employees, investors and shareholders or in anticipation of government regulation. Some companies have been criticized for using CSR as a means to appear socially responsible, improve their image, and win support in public relations rather than truly undertaking efforts to fully embrace environmentally friendly practices. Other firms have moved beyond this approach and fully accept CSR as a pillar of their organizational practices. They see CSR as entirely in step with profits and long-term company success (Price, 2007). CSR is broadly defined as how companies manage their organizational processes to produce a positive impact on society. While CSR extends to all social issues, environmental responsibility is a key part (Hilpern, 2009).

There are several factors that help explain why the private sector is taking CSR seriously. Research indicates that both legal and market incentives exist for businesses to plan and adopt good environmental management practices. These include reducing compliance costs and liability threats along with public and market pressures (Khana and Anton, 2002). A recent survey on CSR undertaken by Krauthammer International, a management consulting company, suggests that employee demand is a key factor. The survey results point to large majorities of employees who participate in environmentally conscious practices at home who see the
workplace as an extension of their homes. They expect those practices to be honored in the workplace. Consumers, clients, and investors want corporate purchasing to reflect eco-friendly considerations. CSR can attract and retain talent. Krauthammer International's survey showed that new entrants to the workforce and younger people are especially positively influenced by CSR (Hilpern, 2009). Hewitt's 2007 Top Companies for Leadership study showed that CSR was a prime way to attract, retain, and develop leaders within organizations (Guarnieri and Kao 2008).

Despite the growing recognition of the importance of CSR, its integration into business activities remains incomplete. A 1999 survey of 911 organizations in the UK, updated by interviews in 2004, reveals that environmental concerns have not yet become part of the key strategy making process in many firms. The study found that organizations are still primarily focused on short-term issues even though they appreciate the opportunities offered by adopting environmentally sustainable practices (Faulkner, Carlisle and Viney 2005). In an attempt to remedy this, private sector HR departments are becoming more involved in managing CSR efforts.

As Greening and Turban (2000) argue, a firm’s effective management of human resources gives it a strong competitive edge. Their research provides evidence for a strong link between corporate social performance and a firm’s ability to attract a quality workforce. They observe that a firm’s strong corporate social performance provides signals to potential applicants about its value systems and influences subsequent attraction to an organization. They show that firms higher in corporate social performance are seen as more attractive and potential employees are more likely to pursue a job, more likely to interview and more likely to accept a job offer from such a firm than one than firms lower in corporate social performance. In a similar vein,
Bauer and Smith (1996) found that the inclusion of environmental statements in recruitment brochures was likely to enhance organizational attractiveness, intentions to pursue a job and eventual acceptance of the job offer.

There is, however, a good deal of variation in the extent of involvement of HR teams. In some organizations the HR department leads the effort (Hanson 2009) while in others implementing CSR strategies is seen as a major challenge for HR staff. This is primarily because CSR is still viewed as peripheral to the main organizational identity. This poses a challenge for the HR staff, who need to assure that the values professed in the CSR programs are fully integrated into the strategic and operational aspects of the organization (Ledwidge 2007).

A study of HR managers in eight large North American firms that had a strong commitment to a CSR strategy showed that HR managers tended to be only marginally involved with or interested in the organization's CSR programs and mission (Fenwick 2008).

While the public sector has no direct equivalent of CSR, public sector organizations are not immune from the general cultural demand for environmental protection. The demand for implementing environmentally sustainable programs in government organizations is as real as in private sector organizations. How has the public sector responded?

**HYPOTHESES**

Based on our review of the literature, we generated the following hypotheses.

H1: Affluence (as measured by median household income) will be a significant predictor of adoption of green strategic and technical HR practices.
H2: Education (as measured by the percent of the population 25 years and older with a 4-year college degree or higher) will be a significant predictor of adoption of green strategic and technical HR practices.

H3: Geographic region will be a significant predictor of adoption of green strategic and technical HR practices.

H4: Environmental awareness will be a significant predictor of adoption of green strategic and technical HR practices.

H5: The perception of performance of existing environmental programs and initiatives will be a significant predictor of the adoption of green strategic and technical human resource practices.

H6: Population will be a significant predictor of adoption of green strategic and technical HR practices. Larger communities, with presumably larger public sector organizations, will be more likely to adopt green strategic and technical HR practices.

METHODS

The data were collected by administering a web-based survey instrument created specifically for this study to city-level human resource administrators. Cities in the United States with a population of more than 100,000 were identified using 2005 Census Bureau data. Two hundred fifty five cities with a population of 100,000 or more were initially identified. E-mail addresses of human resource directors in those cities were obtained for 211 cities either from the human resource department's web page or by phone call. Certain cities were in a transitional phase with interim human resource directors and in those cases, the e-mail address of the top HR professional was obtained. Twenty eight of the addresses proved to be no longer active, leaving
a population of 183 cities. The survey was administered over three weeks in June 2009. Non-respondents received a second copy of the survey. Sixty nine surveys were returned resulting in a response rate of 38 percent. Respondents represented 23 states. Twenty eight percent of respondents were from California and 20% of respondents were from Texas.

The survey was divided into three sections. Part 1 asked questions about the HR director's perception of his or her city's overall environmental record and use of "green practices." Green practices were defined as actions that result in reduced waste, pollution, and energy use that together create a cleaner, healthier, and more sustainable workplace and community. Respondents were asked to state their agreement with questions using a 4 point Likert type scale of strongly disagree, disagree, agree, and strongly agree. Items in this section targeted the city’s awareness of environmental issues and concerns, influence of environmental advocacy groups, presence of recycling programs, water conservation initiatives, mass transit systems, use of special programs by city employees to reduce transportation and energy demands (e.g. telecommuting, flextime, car pooling, 4-day work week, special parking places for employees who drive fuel efficient cars), use of environmentally sound practices in city offices (e.g. the use of recycled paper, soy ink, double-sided printing and copying, recycling toner cartridges), programs addressing greenhouse gas emissions, emphasis of environmental awareness and attention to green practices in the strategic plan and involvement of the HR department in the city's strategic planning process.

Part 2 asked questions specific to technical HR functions such as recruitment, reward and recognition programs, job descriptions, interviewing, training, job rotation, job titles, and assessment. Sample items from this section are as follows: my city prefers to recruit individuals with knowledge, skills and abilities to participate in green practices; my city’s recruitment
materials include information about our green practices; my city has reward and recognition programs for employees who contribute to our green practices; city job descriptions typically include green responsibilities whenever applicable; my city emphasizes employee training about federal, state and local environmental regulations; my city has created new job titles (e.g. sustainability director) to manage our green initiatives;

Part 3 asked questions to assess to what extent strategic HR best practices are essential for achieving environmental goals. Items in this section assessed teamwork and cooperation among employees to help achieve environmental goals; empowerment of employees to make suggestions, provide feedback and participate in decision making processes to help achieve environmental goals, HR manager’s role in strategies towards human capital assessment to achieve environmental goals, attraction and retention of talented employees, examining relationship between employee productivity and green initiatives, measuring employee work quality improvements in relation to our green initiatives. Part 3 ended with an open-ended question that asked respondents to describe some HR practices they would like to adopt to help their city achieve its environmental goals.

Several other variables were added to the data set. These included the 2005 population, median household income (American Community Survey inflation adjusted 2007 dollars), percent high school completion or higher for the population 25 years and older (American Community Survey 2007), percent 4-year college completion or higher for the population 25 years and older (American Community Survey 2007), percent graduate or professional degrees for the population 25 years and older (American Community Survey 2007), geographic region (using EPA's 10 regions), government structure (council-manager or mayor-council), and an indicator of whether or not the city derived benefit from eco-tourism.
The two dependent variables were constructed as indexes using survey items. For the first dependent variable, an index of strategic HR practices was developed. This was done by adding together survey responses to 9 survey items. These questions included features of teamwork, employee participation and empowerment, workforce planning, workforce productivity and quality of output, management and executive development, advance issue identification and strategic studies, and employee and manager communication. The resulting index has a range of 1 to 36. The second dependent variable of technical HR practices was created using responses to 16 survey questions. These individual questions asked about specific activities associated with technical HR practices including recruitment, job description and classification, interview and selection, job training and new employee orientations, compensation structures including benefits and incentives, and performance appraisal. The resulting index has a range of 1 to 64.

RESULTS

Descriptive statistics for all variables in this study are presented in Tables 1 through 5. As presented in Table 1, the population of cities ranged from 100,135 to 2,016,582. Their median household income (obtained from the American Community Survey 2007 data) ranged from $26,143 to $124,701. The educational attainment of the population in these cities was determined using three different measures. The percentage of population that had completed high school or higher ranged from 56% to 96.4%. The percentage of population that had completed 4 years of college or higher ranged from 13% to 70.9% while the percentage of population with graduate or professional degrees ranged from 2% to 41.7%. As Table 3 indicates, 53.2% of the respondents...
were from the West and Southwest. Twenty cities out of the total of 69 were categorized as having a strong ecotourism identity (see Table 4). As far as government structure is concerned, 46 cities have a council-manager form of government while 23 cities have a strong mayor form of government (See Table 5).

The frequencies for the responses to survey items is presented in Table 2. Examination of these results show that in general these cities pride themselves as having an excellent awareness of environmental issues (88.7% strongly agree or agree), strong environmental advocacy groups (66.1% strongly agree or agree), strong recycling programs (86.9% strongly agree or agree), water conservation initiatives (82.3% strongly agree or agree), strong energy conservation programs (91.5% strongly agree or agree) and a strategic plan that emphasizes attention to green practices (86.7% strongly agree or agree).

Although there is strong evidence for general environmental programs in place, there is less emphatic evidence when it comes to integrating human resource elements to achieve environmental goals. Although the HR department plays a strong role in the general strategic planning process of the city, it does not play a prominent role when it comes to environmental strategy. The results show that the HR department does not play a strong role in helping achieve environmental goals (59% disagree or strongly disagree), city recruitment plans do not include information about green practices (89.7% disagree or strongly disagree), city reward and recognition programs are not geared towards improving green practices (70.1% disagree or strongly disagree), city job descriptions do not typically include green responsibilities wherever applicable (79.3% disagree or strongly disagree).
Interestingly enough, there is evidence for minimal in-house efforts to train employees about green initiatives and 64.3% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that their employees are sent elsewhere (e.g., conferences, workshops etc) to learn about green practices. This point is substantiated by the fact that initial employee orientation in these cities do not provide information about the nature of green initiatives in the city (76.4% disagree or strongly disagree), only 53.4% of cities agree that there is employee training about federal, state and local environmental regulations, there are no job rotation programs that would help employees develop a more holistic knowledge of city-wide green initiatives (100% disagree or strongly disagree).

Chi square tests revealed that there is a significant relationship between geographic region and the HR manager’s realization of the importance of HR needs associated with green initiatives \[\chi^2(6, N = 55) = 13.098, p < .05.\]. Respondents from the West were more likely to acknowledge the importance of identifying and planning for HR needs associated with green initiatives. Results also indicated a significant association between creation of new job titles related to green initiatives and population. Small cities are significantly less likely to create new job titles \[\chi^2(3, N = 57) = 11.005, p < .05.\].

The wealth of a city and the use of special environmental programs such as telecommuting, flextime, 4-day work week, carpooling etc are significantly related. Poor cities are less likely to have such programs in place than their rich counterparts \[\chi^2(3, N = 61) = 9.956, p < .05.\]. Similarly poor cities are less likely to use other environmental practices such as use of recycled paper, soy ink, double-sided printing etc. \[\chi^2(3, N = 61) = 8.382, p < .05.\].
There is a significant relationship between median income of a city and its efforts to send employees to conferences/workshops and training sessions to learn about green practices [$\chi^2(9, N = 56) = 16.550, p < .05$]. When it comes to sending employees to conferences, workshops, or training sessions those cities below the 25th percentile in terms of median income do not seem to make much effort at all. Predictably so, the cities above the 75th percentile seem to make a lot of effort probably because they have monetary resources devoted to such initiatives. However, the most interesting observation relates to the group of cities with median income between the 25th percentile and the median as they seem to make the second best effort to send their employees to learn about green practices. When it came to emphasis on executive and leadership development, the same group seemed to agree more with the need for leadership development to help with green initiatives [$\chi^2(9, N = 56) = 17.282, p < .05$].

Bivariate statistics are presented in Table 6. There were moderately strong positive correlations between median household income and education ($r = .52, p < .05$), environmental awareness and environmental performance index ($r = .60, p < .01$), environmental performance index and mass transit index ($r = .40, p < .01$). There were weak positive correlations between geographic region and ecotourism ($r = .24, p < .05$), environmental awareness and environmental advocacy ($r = .28, p < .05$), mass transit index and environmental advocacy ($r = .35, p < .05$) and mass transit index and environmental awareness ($r = .28, p < .05$). The examination of bivariate statistics was undertaken to examine if there were strong correlations between the independent variables. There was no perceivable concern of multicollinearity issues based upon review of these correlation coefficients.

Regression analysis was performed to determine the level of impact of different independent variables on two human resource performance indexes. The 10 independent
variables included in the regression were 1) population, 2) median household income measured in dollars based on the rationale that the more affluent a city is the more resources it has to spend on environmental initiatives which would in turn result in better HR strategies that would complement its environmental initiatives, 3) educational attainment measured as percentage of four year college completion or higher in 25 years or older population on the assumption that the more educated a community is the more likely it is that they would place greater emphasis on achieving their environmental goals and therefore the more sophisticated their human resource initiatives would be, 4) geographic region based on the rationale that cities from more environmentally conscious regions are likely to have more nuanced HR strategies, 5) government structure coded as a dummy variable with 1 being council-manager form of government and 0 being strong mayor form of government 6) ecotourism coded as a dummy variable with 1 indicating a city with a distinct ecotourism identity and 0 as not having a distinct ecotourism identity, 7) presence of strong environmental advocacy groups on the assumption that they would enthuse their community towards a more nuanced approach to achieve environmental goals that would include specific HR strategies, 8) environmental awareness 9) mass transit which was an additive index of two survey items dealing with established green transportation initiatives and finally 10) environmental performance which was an additive index of six survey items that measured different aspects of environmental performance such as recycling, water conservation, and use of environmentally sound practices in operations.

The two dependent variables were a strategic human resource performance index and a technical human resource performance index. The strategic human resource performance index is an additive index of 16 items adapted from Huselid et al. (1997). They identified seven sub aspects of strategic human resource performance. These were employee participation and
empowerment, work force productivity, quality of output, management and executive
development, teamwork, workforce planning, advance issue identification and employee and
manager communication. The technical human resource performance is an additive index of 16
items adapted from Huselid et al. (1997). While the strategic human resource performance index
focuses on broader issues, the technical human resource performance index focuses on specific
human resource techniques such as recruitment, performance appraisal, job training,
compensation and benefits etc.

Table 7 presents results from a multiple regression on strategic human resource
performance index. As far as strategic human resource performance as it related to achievement
of environmental goals is concerned the overall regression model was statistically significant (F
=7.127, df = 10, p <.01). Fifty five percent of the variance in strategic human resource
performance as it relates to environmental goals is explained by this model. Educational
attainment, geographic region, environmental awareness, and environmental performance are
significant predictors of strategic human resource performance. Perception that existing
environmental programs are successful, as measured by the variable environmental performance
has the most impact on strategic human resource performance (β=.385, t=2.659, p<.01). If a city
already has invested significantly in water conservation programs, recycling initiatives, and has
green practices in place in the daily operations of the workplace, then it is more likely to
integrate human resource strategies to achieve its environmental goals. Environmental awareness
has the next highest impact on strategic human resource performance (β=.358, t=3.144, p<.01).

Table 8 presents results from a multiple regression on technical human resource
performance index. Once again, the overall model was statistically significant (F =4.401, df = 10,
p <.01). Forty three percent of the variance in technical human resource performance is
explained by this model. Hypothesis 7 was partially supported when regression results revealed that having eco-friendly transportation programs in place was the only significant predictor of technical human resource performance ($\beta=.253$, $t=1.928$, $p<.05$). It was not a significant predictor of strategic human resource performance.

The last question on the survey asked: What are some HR practices you would like to adopt that would help your city achieve its environmental goals? The most commonly expressed response was that HR departments should move to electronic files, electronic document imaging, and they should implement a fully paperless personnel system.

DISCUSSION

This study is an addition to the body of knowledge that emphasizes the importance of a holistic approach to the achievement of environmental goals. In particular this study emphasizes the importance of comprehensive human resource planning to achieve environmental goals. The overarching objective of this study was to examine the extent to which cities have integrated strategic and technical human resource practices with the overall city's environmental goals. Our findings are mixed. While there seems to be some sense that the full integration of HR practices with environmental objectives is desirable, that integration has not yet been fully implemented. This finding is not surprising in light of similar findings coming from private sector organizations (Faulkner, Carlisle, and Viney, 2005).

The results are consistent with our hypotheses that education, environmental awareness, presence of environmental advocacy groups, existence of positively perceived environmental programs, and geographic region are likely have an impact on strategic and technical human resource practices. The impact of these variables on strategic human resource practices was more
definite than on technical human resource practices. The results of our study show evidence for the predictive power of our regression models. However, when the results are teased out variable by variable in terms of their effect on strategic and technical human resource performance, there is more support for our hypotheses about strategic human resource performance than there is for technical human resource performance.

A deeper scrutiny of these results underscores the point that there is probably a good deal of municipal-level activity that emphasizes general HR strategies aimed at improving environmental performance. These would include teamwork, employee participation and empowerment, workforce planning, workforce productivity and quality of output efforts, management and executive development, advance issue identification and employee-manager communication. It is reasonable to expect that these components of strategic HR practices would be influenced by factors that the literature identifies as typical drivers of eco-friendly behavior (education, perception of existing successful environmental programs, affluence, and overall environmental awareness). However, when the specific aspects of technical human resource practices are considered -- specific activities including recruitment, job description and classification, interviewing and selection, job training, compensation, and performance appraisal--it does not appear that the standard drivers of eco-friendly behaviors have equal influence. Given that the current political context in the country is conducive for more environmental initiatives, there is very little evidence at least at the local level aimed at grooming leaders that would help with such initiatives or any kind of succession planning initiatives aimed at environmental performance.

Future studies could explore the impact of other potential variables such as leadership, citizen participation, funding and organizational culture on technical human resource practices.
In depth interviews with environmental specialists as well as human resource specialists could be carried out to determine barriers to the integration of HR and environmental strategies. This study could be extended by examining strategic and technical human resource practices in environmental agencies in particular to examine if they have a more nuanced approach to integration of human resource practices as they relate to environmental performance. The effect of societal level variables, organizational level variables and individual level variables on technical and strategic human resource practices could be examined separately to see the dynamics of these variables of technical and strategic human resource management. Moreover, the foundation laid by this study in exploring the relationship between human resource strategies and municipal environmental goals could be built upon by examining the same at the federal and state levels. Future studies could also gain a better understanding of HR initiatives related to environmental initiatives by focusing only on cities which have a dedicated HR department as opposed to including a whole gamut of HR management offices. An interesting line of inquiry could involve longitudinal methods that trace the development of HR initiatives over time and examine the connection to environmental programmatic commitments. We also recognize the need to control for social/political desirability of responses in order to gain objective measures of performance. This study used self-reported measures to guage the performance of city-level initiatives. The results of this study should therefore be interpreted with caution given the likelihood of cities inflating their achievement in human resource endeavors related to environmental initiatives. Future studies could use a multimethod approach to address this issue. Triangulation by analysis of documents, participant observation and multi-stakeholder surveys (HR directors, environmental directors, past and current city employees, citizens etc.) could
provide a more realistic and comprehensive picture of HR initiatives related to environmental initiatives.

CONCLUSION

There is a growing awareness within organizations of the need to be good stewards of the environment. Public and private sector organizations have responded to this need by putting in place a variety of eco-friendly policies and procedures. Perhaps the most common of these include recycling, reduced energy use, water conservation, and elimination of hazardous products from the workplace. More extensive efforts involve attempts to radically alter the way traditional activities are undertaken so that they conform to the ideals of environmental stewardship. Many private sector organizations have demonstrated commitment to corporate social responsibility which includes a large component of environmental conscientiousness. Public sector organizations, too, have begun to focus on environmental concerns and have put in place programs and policies with eco-friendliness in mind.

This paper has examined the question of to what extent cities have been successful in regulating themselves or holding themselves accountable to uphold environmental laws and practices. When are cities more likely to effectively integrate into their HR management practices the larger efforts of government, and society in general, to adopt green behaviors? When has concern for the environment permeated traditional HR practices used by cities? The basis for asking such questions is rooted in the notion that the complete transformation of business-as-usual practices, which typically ignore or downplay negative environmental outcomes, will depend on a well trained and motivated cadre of employees empowered to make sustainable practices the new business-as-usual. Using a conceptualization originated by Huselid
et al, we explored both strategic and technical HR practices in U.S. cities. The strategic human resource factors we explored included teamwork, employee participation and empowerment, workforce planning, workforce productivity and quality of output, management and executive development, employee and manager communication, and advance issue identification and strategic studies. The technical human resource factors we examined included recruitment, job description and classification, interview and selection processes, job training and orientation of new employees, compensation, benefits, incentives, and performance appraisal. Via an online survey, HR directors and high-level personnel managers in the cities provided us with information regarding their city's HR practices and environmental objectives. We incorporated variables discussed in the literature to have known positive impacts on eco-friendly behaviors into the study and explored their impact on the HR practices of the cities.

We found that the cities are indeed attempting to adopt environmentally friendly practices and behaviors. Almost all cities in the study perceived themselves as having a high degree of environmental awareness and had put in place a number of general programs to improve municipal environmental performance. However, when we explored the more specific question of strategic and technical HR practices and the adoption of eco-friendly strategies and behaviors, we found that few cities had fully integrated environmental concerns with the array of HR practices studied.

Our results suggest that income, education, environmental awareness, and the presence of pre-existing successful environmental programs are associated with green human resource practices in US cities, but the nature of the data prevents us from drawing causal inferences. Future studies might attempt to sort out the causal order. Do green HR management practices
result in more green programs in cities or do the presence of green programs in cities eventually spill over into green HR practices?
REFERENCES:


Table 1
Descriptive Statistics

<table>
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<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
<th>Mean</th>
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<td>Population</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>100,135</td>
<td>2,016,582</td>
<td>251,575.74</td>
<td>286,675.855</td>
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<td>Median household income ACS inflation adjusted 2007 dollars</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>26,143.00</td>
<td>124,701.00</td>
<td>53,679.1014</td>
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<td>Percent High School Completion or higher population 25 years and older ACS 2007</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>56.20</td>
<td>96.40</td>
<td>83.8203</td>
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<td>Percent 4-year College Completion or higher population 25 years and older ACS 2007</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>13.00</td>
<td>70.90</td>
<td>31.9493</td>
<td>14.87004</td>
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<td>Percent Graduate or Professional Degrees population 25 years and older ACS 2007</td>
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<td>SD</td>
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<tr>
<td>My city has an excellent awareness of environmental issues and concerns.</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>1.6</td>
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<td>Environmental advocacy groups significantly influence policy on environmental issues in my city.</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>55.9</td>
<td>33.9</td>
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<td>My city has a strong recycling program.</td>
<td>50.8</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>9.8</td>
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<td>My city actively encourages water conservation.</td>
<td>59.7</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>17.7</td>
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<td>My city actively encourages energy efficiency and energy conservation.</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>8.5</td>
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<td>My city has an excellent mass transit system.</td>
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<td>23.0</td>
<td>41.0</td>
<td>18.0</td>
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<td>My city strongly encourages the use of special programs by city employees to reduce transportation and energy demands (such as: telecommuting, flextime, car pooling, 4-day work week, special parking places for employees who drive fuel efficient cars).</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>41.0</td>
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<td>My city strongly encourages the use of environmentally sound practices in city offices (such as: the use of recycled paper, soy ink, double-sided printing and copying, recycling toner cartridges).</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
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<td>My city is working diligently to reduce its greenhouse gas emissions to address the issue of climate change.</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>50.9</td>
<td>28.1</td>
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<td>My city's strategic plan emphasizes environmental awareness and attention to green practices.</td>
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<td>53.3</td>
<td>13.3</td>
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<td>My HR department is heavily involved with my city's strategic planning process.</td>
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<td>48.3</td>
<td>30.0</td>
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<td>My HR department plays a strong role in helping my city achieve its environmental goals.</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>4.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>My city REQUIRES that our new hires have environmental knowledge, skills and abilities.</td>
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<td>3.4</td>
<td>69.0</td>
<td>27.6</td>
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<td>My city PREFERENCES to recruit individuals with knowledge, skills and abilities to participate in green practices.</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>53.6</td>
<td>23.2</td>
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<td>My city’s recruitment materials include information about our green practices.</td>
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<td>10.3</td>
<td>69.0</td>
<td>20.7</td>
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<td>My city has reward and recognition programs for employees who contribute to our green practices.</td>
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<td>24.6</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td></td>
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<td>City job descriptions typically include green responsibilities whenever applicable.</td>
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<td>19.0</td>
<td>60.3</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td></td>
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<td>My city’s job interview process is structured to explore candidates’ interest in green practices (by asking questions like “how do you feel about integrating environmentally friendly procedures and practices into your job duties?”)</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>70.2</td>
<td>24.6</td>
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<td>We determine job candidates’ willingness to participate in our city’s green practices.</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>71.9</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td></td>
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<td>We determine the extent to which our green practices were a motivation for job candidates’ interest in our city.</td>
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<td>1.8</td>
<td>71.4</td>
<td>26.8</td>
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<td>My city emphasizes employee training about federal, state and local environmental regulations.</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>8.6</td>
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<td>City employees are sent to conferences/workshops/training</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>25.0</td>
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sessions to learn about green practices.

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<tr>
<td>Initial employee orientation sessions in my city provide</td>
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<td>information about the nature of our green initiatives.</td>
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<tr>
<td>We specifically rotate jobs to allow city employees to</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>71.9</td>
<td>28.1</td>
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<td>develop a more holistic knowledge of city-wide green initiatives.</td>
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<td>My city gives paid time off to employees to volunteer in</td>
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<td>8.9</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>33.9</td>
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<td>community environmental programs.</td>
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<td>My city has created new job titles (e.g. sustainability</td>
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<td>26.3</td>
<td>49.1</td>
<td>10.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>director) to manage our green initiatives.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>We formally assess our employees’ green practices as part of</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>61.4</td>
<td>31.6</td>
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<td>their annual performance appraisal.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>My city encourages teamwork and cooperation among our</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>71.4</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>7.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>employees to help achieve our environmental goals.</td>
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<td>My city's employees are empowered to make suggestions,</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>7.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>provide feedback and participate in decision making processes</td>
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<tr>
<td>to help achieve our environmental goals.</td>
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<tr>
<td>As a senior HR manager, I regularly analyze how much</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>58.9</td>
<td>25.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>human capital is needed to achieve our environmental goals.</td>
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<td>As a senior HR manager, I assess the relationship between</td>
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<td>10.9</td>
<td>63.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>employee productivity and our green initiatives.</td>
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<tr>
<td>My city has systems in place to measure employee work quality</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>61.1</td>
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<td>improvements in relation to our green initiatives.</td>
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<td>My city emphasizes the development of managers and executives</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who will assist with achieving our future environmental goals.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As a senior HR manager, I realize the importance of</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>65.5</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>identifying and planning for human resource needs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>associated with our city’s green initiatives.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In general, employees in my city can easily communicate</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with their supervisors about any issue related to our green</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>initiatives.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographic Region</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VT, ME, MA, NH, RI, CT</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>NY,NJ</td>
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<td>2.9</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>PA, WV, VA, DE, MD</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>KY,TN,NC,SC,GA,AL,MS,FL</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>MN, WI, MI, IL, IN, OH</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8.7</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>NM, TX, OK, AR, LA</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NE, IA, KS, MO</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MT, ND, SD, WY, UT, CO</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA, NV, AZ, HI</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WA, OR, ID, AK</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>69</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>71.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Structure</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council-Manager</td>
<td>46</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mayor-Council</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>69</td>
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### Table 6
Bivariate Statistics: Pearson Correlation Coefficients

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Median Household Income</th>
<th>% 4 year college completion or higher</th>
<th>Geographic Region</th>
<th>Government Structure</th>
<th>Ecotourism</th>
<th>Environmental Advocacy</th>
<th>Environmental Awareness</th>
<th>Mass Transit Index</th>
<th>Environmental Performance Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% 4-year college completion or higher</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>.52**</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographic Region</td>
<td>-.15</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Structure</td>
<td>.24*</td>
<td>-.36**</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecotourism</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.24*</td>
<td>.02</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Environmental Advocacy</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Awareness</td>
<td>-.16</td>
<td>-.20</td>
<td>-.29*</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>.28*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass Transit Index</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>-.31**</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>-.28*</td>
<td>.35*</td>
<td>.28*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Performance Index</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>-.37**</td>
<td>-.30*</td>
<td>-.28</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>-.20</td>
<td>.40**</td>
<td>.60**</td>
<td>.54**</td>
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</table>

*p<.05   **p<.01
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>SE B</th>
<th>β</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
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<td>.00</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Household Income</td>
<td>-.00</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>-.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% 4-year college completion or higher</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.29**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographic Region</td>
<td>.36</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.23**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Structure</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>.78</td>
<td>-.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecotourism</td>
<td>-.49</td>
<td>.79</td>
<td>-.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Advocacy</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Awareness</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>.36**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass Transit Index</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Performance Index</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>.38**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( R^2 \)   
\( F \) for change in \( R^2 \)  

\*\( p < .05 \).  **\( p < .01 \).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>SE B</th>
<th>β</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>4.71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>-.00</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>-.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median Household Income</td>
<td>-.00</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>-.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% 4-year college completion or higher</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographic Region</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Structure</td>
<td>-1.32</td>
<td>1.42</td>
<td>-.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecotourism</td>
<td>-.99</td>
<td>1.43</td>
<td>-.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Advocacy</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Awareness</td>
<td>1.73</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass Transit Index</td>
<td>.99</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td>.25*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Performance Index</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>.33</td>
<td>.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$R^2$</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$F$ for change in $R^2$</td>
<td>4.401</td>
<td>**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05. **p < .01.
I Preface

Recently, there were disasters, both natural and man-made, throughout the world. Japan is no exemption. I was somehow involved in some disasters as a clinical psychologist at least 4 occasions. For instance, the Great Kobe (Hanshin)-Awaji Earthquake in 1995 where more than 300,000 people lost their homes, 32,000 people injured, and 6,600 people died was one. Foreign community in Kobe was also devastated and more than 230 people were victimized. It was the second largest disaster in the Japanese history and the intensity of the earthquake was 7.2 in the Richter scale which was about the highest on the scale. Life lines such as water, city gas, electricity, telephones, and public transportations were nearly all damaged. People who survived suffered a survivor’s guild or experienced a PTSD. I was also a victim as I lived in the middle of the area. However, I was asked to work for the survivors as the supporting director of the team that was consisted of clinical psychologists. While I was caring my duty for about 3 months I observed many people who struggled to survive with grief and agonized to cope with their survivor’s guilt.

An O-157 bacteria hit schools in Sakai, a suburban Osaka, and killed several pupils in 2003. Hence, school principals and teachers were blamed on suspicion that their were responsible for sanitary. I was requested to meet with one of principals who were in a state of weak both physically and mentally. I sat with one female principle and talked for about 4 hours, then met teachers and dieticians in the kitchen. All in all they were suffered from sorrow and guilty feelings.

Eight pupils and one teacher were killed in an elementary school in Osaka in 2005. Other 12 pupils were injured in the disaster. Thirty-two years old criminal was immediately arrested at the disaster. Next morning the disaster happened I was called for as the president of the Association for the Certified Clinical Psychologists in Osaka to take in charge of the clinical care for the victims and the survivors of the disaster. I was engaged in helping the people in concerned, which lasted for nearly one year. It was together with about 80 clinical psychologists and I encountered people who were in sorrow and anger.

The above is not all but the ones I was involved in taking care of helping. The helping is still continuing to the degree I was requested to do psychotherapy.
These experiences have led me to help people who were families of the victims in the JR accident in Amagasaki in 2005 where 107 people were killed and 540 were injured. My task was to do a grief work with the families together with people who wanted to take part with the work mentioned above. It is still in a process of on-going group grieving work and so far I met the families and others once a two weeks for 6 months.

II Purpose
While I am involved in the process I thought that it would be helpful to know how we people in general was feeling and doing during grieving. In addition a repot from the Yomiuri News Paper Co. on the accident telling that the families are still suffering from the accident accelerated my motivation in finding the above(Graph 1). Therefore this study aimed at finding our grieving behavior at the time when we loose the one near us.

![Graph 1. PTSD: Families of The Victims](image)

### III Method
I administered a survey to see our grieving behavior with a questionnaire method. The question was consisted of 8 items as below. Ss were 127 persons as shown in Table 2.
Table 2 Subjects (Ss)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>m/f</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Number(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grief experience (m)</td>
<td>26 persons (mean age=37.5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grief experience (f)</td>
<td>95 persons (mean age=39.2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No experience (m)</td>
<td>2 persons (mean age=24.5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No experience (f)</td>
<td>4 persons (mean age=21)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>127 persons</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IV Results
Main findings are described in Tables 2 through Table 8 in succession.

Table 3. Who Was It You Lost Someone Near You (No4.)
Lost m/f Grandparent Father Mother Friend Son or Daughter Husband Wife Siblings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Grandparent</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Friend</th>
<th>Son or Daughter</th>
<th>Husband</th>
<th>Wife</th>
<th>Siblings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m (Religion)</td>
<td>2 persons (mean age=23.6)</td>
<td>3 (mean age=33.4)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (age=33)</td>
<td>1 (age=70)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (age=73)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f (Religion)</td>
<td>11 persons (mean age=30.33)</td>
<td>10 (mean age=33.3)</td>
<td>6 (mean age=46.6)</td>
<td>3 (mean age=31.93)</td>
<td>2 (mean age=74.3)</td>
<td>1 (age=33.4)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (age=34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m (No religion)</td>
<td>6 persons (mean age=33.0)</td>
<td>4 (mean age=43.3)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (mean age=32)</td>
<td>1 (age=62)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (age=20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f (No religion)</td>
<td>32 persons (mean age=33.3)</td>
<td>7 (mean age=44.3)</td>
<td>3 (mean age=46.2)</td>
<td>9 (mean age=30.6)</td>
<td>9 (mean age=30.6)</td>
<td>1 (age=20)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (age=20)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No grief experience  m=2 persons (mean age=24.3)  f=4 persons (mean age=21)
Two subjects were incomplete in their data.

Table 4. The Place the One Deceased(No.7).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hospital</th>
<th>Home</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>101 persons (79.5%)</td>
<td>12 persons (9.4%)</td>
<td>14 persons (11.0%)</td>
<td>127 persons (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. What Did You Experience When You Lost Someone Near You? (No.2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Depressed</th>
<th>Trip</th>
<th>High Tension</th>
<th>Aggressive</th>
<th>Alcohol</th>
<th>Not remember</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religion (52 persons)</td>
<td>38 (73.0%)</td>
<td>4 (7.7%)</td>
<td>2 (3.8%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (1.9%)</td>
<td>4 (7.7%)</td>
<td>10 (19.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Religion (69 persons)</td>
<td>37 (53.6%)</td>
<td>4 (5.7%)</td>
<td>3 (4.3%)</td>
<td>6 (8.7%)</td>
<td>1 (1.4%)</td>
<td>7 (10.1%)</td>
<td>7 (10.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total 121 persons</td>
<td>75 (61.9%)</td>
<td>8 (6.6%)</td>
<td>5 (4.9%)</td>
<td>6 (4.9%)</td>
<td>2 (1.6%)</td>
<td>11 (9.1%)</td>
<td>17 (14.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A \( \chi^2 \) test between those who have religion and those who haven’t. \( \chi^2 = 7.261, \ df=2, \ p<0.05 \)
Three subjects were incomplete in their data.
A $\chi^2$ test between those who have religion and those who haven’t. $\chi^2 = 22.12$, df=3, $p<0.01$

V Discussion

There were findings worthwhile to mention to the study of grieving. First of all, one hundred twenty one Ss (95.2%) out of 127 subjects experienced some kind of grieving. It was rather surprising to me that many people in Japan where we have either Buddhism or Shinto that has a mourning system as ritual experienced grieving. It might mean religion in modern Japan is less functioning than before to the level that well help people when they grieve.

Another finding was that grandparent was the most likely the one Ss lost followed by father. On the other hand, husband and wife were least in number the one Ss lost. These depend on a kind of subjects we sampled, telling that they were rather young in the middle of their lives. Also people died in the hospital (79.5%) rather than at home (9.4%). It means we seldom observe the moment people die. Hence, we have few chance to say good by to the one near us. This has to do with our coping behavior of
grieving.

As to “What did you experience when you lost someone near you in terms of grieving? (No.2)” 1) Became depressed/physically weak/confused was the most popular experience among all (61.9%) followed by 8) Not remember (9.1%), 2) Took a trip/sports/music/others (6.6%), and 4) Became aggressive (4.9%). It is well understood why people became depressed, physically weak, and confused because it was a great loss by all means. More over if it was either a beloved one or the central pillar of the house it damaged the family. Not only those mentioned above but anyone to whom we love it is hurting and devastating. A family animal is no exception. However, there was a significant difference between those who have religion and those who haven’t when a \( \chi^2 \) test was administered. The test showed that those who have religion tended to become more depressed but became less aggressive and less not remember. It suggested that religion might have helped to better cope with grieving although it wasn’t good enough to avoid becoming depressed. But it may have to investigate further how well the religion functions.

As to the coping behavior, “How did you cope with your grieving? (No.8)” 13) Let it go as time goes by (60.3%) was the most likely the way people coped with their grieving. It couldn’t be helped but letting it go as time goes by. It was quite comprehensible that people didn’t know how to cope with their grieving and the more they struggled the less successful. Therefore they just let it go. There were those who have been unable to cope with their grieving (8.2%) and yet didn’t know what to do. And there were tendencies in that those who had religion they believed in relied upon religion while those who had no religion sought a help in reading books (\( \chi^2 = 22.12, \ df = 3, \ p < 0.01 \)).

These findings show for one that we Japanese need a mourning work or a grief work to cope with our grieving even if we observe a service held on the seventh day after a person’s death, the forty-ninth day, one year day, and so forth, according to our religious (Buddhist) tradition. Next is how to do our mourning work or grief work. Whether we do it individually at home or do as a psychotherapy with a professional is a question.

Personally as I described earlier I have began working with the people who lost their beloved ones in the form of a group psychotherapy and feel that I can function in helping their grieving process. And the findings from the present study help me greatly and meaningfully.

Lastly in addition to what I have mentioned here I do psychotherapy at my private
clinic where clients come and talk, essentially doing either a mourning work or a grief work in their relations to others. In other words people inevitably escape from encountering and parting people from which we learn a great deal although it comes with joy and sorrow.
1. Title of the submission.

Using a Social Capital Lens to Design Agricultural Productivity Programs (with application to the Philippines)

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6. Abstract

Conventional models emphasize higher profits as the motivation for adopting new technology. However, after more than fifty years of promoting the use of certified seeds, and being able to convince only about 25% of farmers to adopt it, it is but imperative to consider other models. This study brings together the issues of institutions, social capital and adoption of new technology in Philippine agriculture. A typology of property rights is introduced, as well as a measure of social capital. Empirical results show that radical changes in formal institutions bring about initial uncertainty and subsequently affect real decisions concerning production and technology choice. Social capital mitigates risk and encourages shifting to the new technology. Needless to say, this choice is informed by the relative profitability of the new technology. There is also evidence that farmers adopt a “wait and see” attitude which also means that farmers update their initial opinion after interacting with early adopters. In designing an extension program, there should be an adequate examination of the constraints faced by the farmer, a characterization of their existing networks and establishment of hierarchies, as necessary and a realistic appraisal of the returns to learning.
Spatial access to local public parks and neighborhood socio-demographic characteristics in the United States: An ecological analysis

Authors: Ming Wen, Xingyou Zhang & James Holt

Background and Purpose: The purpose of this paper is to examine ecological associations between neighborhood socio-demographic characteristics and spatial access to parks at the local neighborhood levels. As an important feature of the built environment, neighborhood access to public parks has been found to be a facilitating factor of leisure-time physical activity and reduced risk of overweight and obesity. We are interested in exploring whether neighborhood socio-demographic features are linked to access to parks and whether this association varies significantly at different geographic aggregation levels.

Theory: social disorganization theory (neighborhood deprivation, residential instability and ethnic heterogeneity are positively associated with low stock of social capital which would lead to poor resources and facilities at the neighborhood level).

Hypothesis: higher SES, higher stability, and less ethnic heterogeneity are linked better spatial access to public parks at the local neighborhood levels.

Data: Census 2000 data and 2004 public park data created by NavTech.

Statistical analysis:
- Access to park, measured by the distance from the neighborhood centroids to nearest parks, is the dependent variable.
- Independent variables include neighborhood socioeconomic status (i.e., percent of households below the poverty level, percent of college educated residents, percent of unemployment rate among residents aged 16 or above, and percent of households on welfare assistance), residential stability (i.e., percent of households that moved into the neighborhood at least five years ago), ethnic heterogeneity (i.e., a composite index of presence of different racial and ethnic groups in the neighborhood) are independent variables.
- Three-level associations will be examined: block group level, census tract level, and county-level
- Statistical modeling: Ordinary Least Square models (access to parks can be used as a continuous dependent outcome in the analysis)

Results:
- We are currently constructing neighborhood social and built environmental data.
- The analyses will be finished by the end of May.

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Perception of Social Causality: A Developmental Perspective

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Abstract.
Infants showed the sensitivity to the movements that specify chase events of two disks on the computer screen by the age of (Rochat et al., 1997). Using a habituation paradigm, they also showed that by the age of 8-10-month, which is a key developmental stage in social cognition; infants begin to infer social causality in abstract dynamic entities (Rochat et al., 2004). However, it is not clear that 8-10-month-old infants could perceive social causality in the same way as adults do. To address this issue, we recorded eye movements while viewing two abstract discs chasing each other between 5-month-old infants, 9-month-old infants, and adults.

The participants were 12 5-month-olds, 12 9-month-olds, and 12 adults. Using a remote eye-tracking device, we measured the eye movements while the participants were shown the video clips in which a pair of discs moving in systematic interaction on the computer screen, one chasing the other but never actually contacting one another (chase condition) or moving either independently (random condition).

In the chase condition, 5-month-old infants spent significantly more time fixating the chaser compared to the chasee (p<0.001), and 9-month-old infants also showed the similar tendency but not significant difference. In contrast, adults spent significantly more time fixating the chasee compared to the chaser (p<0.05).

These results, such a remarkable difference in looking behavior between infants and adults, suggested that cognitive process accompanied with the perception of social causality in moving discs event was different. One possible explanation for the fixation bias to the chasee observed in adults is that adults might tend to empathize with the chasee and to infer about plans and intentions attached to the chasee.
A Case Study On Grief Work: An Explosion of Anger For the First Time In 30 Years Since the Death of Her Husband
Yukiko Kurato (Department of Psychology, Otemon Gakuin University)

Client
Client: Sixty-three years old female. She attended a therapy group that was facilitated by me. Her concern was to do her unfinished business with her husband who died 30 years ago due to a stomach cancer. It was a therapy group consisted of 9 participants which was a three nights and four days over night group held at a retreat center. She looked fine at first and easily to relate with other participants. She dressed nicely. But she was suffering from a hernia and an articular rheumatism in the knee for a long time. She has two children; the older one has had a chronic disease and the younger was a school refusal in his school days.

A Case Summary
One afternoon in the group psychotherapy, she began to speak out about her unfinished feeling that was not clear at first what it was but she was certain it was something to do with her husband’s death occurred 30 years ago. It has been kept on her mind since then. Then, I as a psychotherapist, invited her to talk about her unfinished feeling about her husband’s death. “Was there any feeling at the time when her husband dead?” I asked. She said she felt none. Because she had two children who were just a little and didn’t understand what the death of their father meant to them. She thought she had to protect them. So she became alienated, only being concerned about how to keep surviving with the little children. She became busy working hard. When she became aware about her unfinished feeling it had been passed for 30 years.

One thing that came to her mind in the therapy was that she was blamed badly by the doctor why she didn’t bring her husband earlier to the hospital and it was too late only allowing her husband to live for a couple of months. “Didn’t you notice any symptom of trouble in her husband?” She was blamed again and felt as if she killed him. Then, I told her to stay with her feeling for a while. She was silent to begin with but gradually became aware that she was angry to the doctor. At the same time she admitted that it was her fault, not to bring him to the hospital earlier, hence, she was a bad wife. However, she became aware she was also innocent about the trouble that her husband had with his health. She was just about 30 years old, she recalled, which was not old
enough to know what was happening around her in the family. So, she regretted about her innocent and felt a guilty feeling. She wasn’t aware that the guilty feeling had developed upon her shoulder since her husband died, which was so heavy accumulated that she became ill. She has been suffering from a hernia and an articular rheumatism on her knee since then. She became to notice that she had to face herself looking back what was wrong with her in relation to her husband’s death and she began playing a self-torture game. She has developed a low self-esteem. Consequently, she became weak and thought of committing suicide. Whenever she wanted to commit suicide, she realized if she committed suicide she had to leave two children behind. So, in the end she gave up an idea of committing suicide. To her children were precious treasurer.

On the other hand, she remembered that she asked her husband to go to the hospital and consult with a doctor many times but he didn’t listened to her. Then, I said to her whom she wanted to express her feeling that was emerging at that time. She was feeling resentment to both the doctor and her husband. First, she said to the doctor she was imagining in her mind on the empty chair that I provided for her, that she wasn’t bad, rather it was the doctor who were supposed to support her at loss, not knowing what to do, she abused the doctor in her imagery. “You are a quack doctor, a phony!” “You don’t want to take risk and blamed me instead of yourself.” Her voice was large enough to threat the people in the group. Her limbs trembled with anger.

Then, she suddenly said she also wanted to say something to her husband who didn’t listened to her and died already. She imagined of her husband on the chair and screamed at him. “You are not responsible!” “You should have cared for your health by yourself.” “You are grown up adult enough to be able to take care about yourself.” “It was not fair you left me and two children behind. Who you think to take care the children who were so little……you know it was me who took care of the children.” She did it over and over and in the end she flew into a rage. She exploded her feeling of anger to her husband to the point that she said she said enough.

Then, interestingly enough, she shifted her anger to herself. She imagined herself in the empty chair and said, “You are a fool! The most foolish person I ever met in the world. You made a fool of yourself!” And she burst into tears. It took several minutes until she recovered from her chair work in agony. She said everybody was sad and didn’t know what to do except blaming each other; the doctor, her husband, and herself were all in all innocent.
The next morning before the group session began, she took a stroll near the retreat house and while breathing a fresh air she felt she was slowly relieving from her unfinished business. She knew now what it was. She felt peace and free. Then, she saw an image of her husband who was smiling at her up in the fog morning air. She realized how happy she was with her husband and children until the husband’ death took away every thing from her. She recalled how affectionately she loved him and missed him greatly. She was suddenly convinced that her husband was also sad and regretted he had to go, leaving his wife and children behind. She felt warm in the heart and broke into tears. She talked to her husband with tears and soon had a strange experience where she felt right as if she was drifted up in the air and sat next to her husband. It was a very spiritual experience she said. The people in the group, hearing what she said, were greatly moved by her during the whole process of her saying and knew she did a great job in the form of group psychotherapy.

Discussion

It seemed not only a spiritual experience for her but a great closure from the unfinished business that she struggle with her husband’s death for 30 years.. Therefore, what she had done with me might be called a grief work. In the grief work she at first felt uneasiness by something that might have had to do the death of her husband who died young with a stomach cancer. She in the group psychotherapy gradually but reluctantly became able to touch with what she was feeling as something unfinished. It was an empty chair technique that enabled her to contact with her unfinished business. In the empty chair she first felt resistant but soon became accustomed to articulate what she was feeling through all years since her husband’s death. It was anger to the doctor, first, and then, her husband, and finally herself. Here, anger that appears in the foreground is resentment or aggression in the background according to Perls(1969). So, what she felt as guilty feeling was her aggression behind that directed toward the doctor, her husband, and herself. It could be said that it was a top dog and underdog conflict to use a Gestalt therapy terminology. At first her top-dog was dominated and she tortured herself, depressing her anger inside. She lost her self-esteem and became weak. It was perhaps why she had a hernia and an articuler rheumatism. It was a somatization. She could articulate her anger to the point she said she did enough. Also she expressed how sad she was and felt alone after having been left by her husband. This articulation enabled her to accept herself as she was and accepted the doctor along with her husband.
Again here the empty chair technique was not only helpful but powerful to deal with the top dog and underdog conflict and enabled the foreground-background reversal. It freed her guilty feeling. It was a beautiful process in which she became able to accept herself, whereby forgave all. Also it was a moving experience to all in the group that she saw her husband and talked in her imagination peacefully and affectionately. All in all it was the closure of her grief work.
Idiot’s Delight: Censorship and the Adaptation Process

This paper focuses on a textual, as well as historical, analysis of the play *Idiot’s Delight* by Robert E. Sherwood and its 1939 film adaptation. The play was well received by critics and audiences and Sherwood received a Pulitzer Prize for his work. Sherwood was also the screenwriter for the film. The success of the original play as well as the same writer working on both versions leads to interesting comparisons. The analysis of the stage to film adaptation focuses on the Production Code implemented in the 1930s by the Hays Office and how those regulations affected the adaptation. Specific interest is paid to the international censorship of the film and the ways in which the global film audience’s reactions to the subject matter of war were taken more into account during the censorship process than those the American audience.
Interhemispheric Communication and Emotional Regulation

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ABSTRACT

Negative Emotions are associated with right hemisphere activation, while positive emotions are associated with activation in the left hemisphere (Borod, 1992). It has further been hypothesized that emotional regulation is associated with left-hemisphere activation (Bakan, 1969; Galin, 1974). This study sought to examine whether greater interhemispheric communication was associated with greater emotional regulation.

Participants completed the Emotional Contagion Scale (Doherty, 1997) and the Edinburgh Handedness Inventory (Oldfield, 1971), and “mixed-handed” participants (i.e., those with greater interhemispheric communication) showed less contagion to negative emotions (e.g., fear, anger, and sadness) than strong-handed participants (i.e., those with less interhemispheric communication). This provides preliminary evidence of interhemispheric communication facilitating greater emotional regulation.
Introduction

It has long been suggested that the hemispheres of the brain play different roles in the experience of emotion. Bakan (1969) and Galin (1974) suggested that the verbal, analytical left hemisphere acts as an inhibitor to the messages coming from the emotion-producing right hemisphere. This idea that emotion was associated exclusively with right hemisphere activation was referred to, predictably, as the Right-Hemisphere Hypothesis (Borod, 1992). This seemed to fit the logic that the left hemisphere was associated with more deliberate, analytical tasks and the right hemisphere was associated with more holistic, reflexive tasks (Tucker, 1980). However, at the time that this hypothesis was prominent, technological options for studying the workings of the brain were limited to examining sensory dominance in one side of the body or the other (e.g., using preferences in visual or auditory fields), brain damage studies, and electroencephalogram experiments.

A competing hypothesis, the so-called Valence Hypothesis, came into existence during the 1980’s (Bryden, 1982; Silberman & Weingartner, 1986) and gradually accumulated support as neurological technology such as PET Scans and fMRI became available (Pizzagalli, Shackman, & Davidson, 2003). Both methods show activity in specific areas of the brain, but fMRIs have been especially useful because the shorter testing period allows experimenters to attain a more “pure” indication of what was going on in the brain at a specific time (Pizzagalli et al.).

The Valence Hypothesis states that the neurological origin of an emotion is based on the valence (positive or negative) of the emotion (Borod, 1992). Specifically, positive
emotions (e.g., love or joy) are thought to involve left hemisphere activation, while negative emotions (e.g., anger, fear, sadness) are thought to involve right hemisphere activation. This arrangement seems especially adaptive because, the right posterior (i.e., parietal) region of the brain activates during threat responses and produces an increase in visuo-spatial attention, vigilance, and autonomic arousal (Heller, Koven, & Gregory, 2003). Thus, when threat is detected, no interhemispheric interaction is required in order to efficiently produce the necessary emotion (fear or anger) to resolve the situation.

For the most part, this distinction of the left hemisphere being associated with positive emotion and the right hemisphere being associated with negative emotion has produced reliable results. The left hemisphere showed activation during approach behaviors (Davidson, 2000), processing reward information (O’Doherty, Kringelbach, Rolls, Hornak, & Andrews, 2001) and pleasant visual information (Canli, Desmond, Zhao, Glover, & Gabrieli, 1998), and in individuals scoring high in behavioral activation (BAS) (Coan & Allen, 2003). Conversely, in those same studies, the right hemisphere showed activation during avoidance behaviors, processing punishment and aversive visual stimuli, and in individuals scoring high in behavioral inhibition (BIS), although in the last case, it was not as strong a relationship as the relationship between the left hemisphere and behavioral activation (Coan & Allen).

The Development of Hemispheric Differentiation of Emotion

As one would expect from the development literature on the emergence of distinct emotional states, emotional reactions seem to differentiate early on. In fact, Fox and Davidson (1986) showed some support for the Valence Hypothesis in newborns. Normally, ten-month old infants are used for studies such as this because it has been
identified as the age when children generally are considered to be able to produce all the facial expressions corresponding to primary emotions (Davidson & Fox, 1988). However, using EEG scans, Fox and Davidson were able to show greater left-frontal activation when newborns were provided with a sucrose solution, which is considered pleasant for infants. However, they were not able to produce a correspondingly negative reaction to an aversive substance: citric acid. A disgusted face was produced, but electrical activity in the right-frontal hemisphere was not.

This actually represents a common finding in the infant literature: the left hemisphere is reliably active during positive emotions, but right-hemisphere activation is far less predictable. For instance, in multiple studies of ten-month-olds, pleasurable stimuli produced left-frontal activation, but aversive stimuli did not easily produce right-frontal activation (Davidson & Fox, 1982; Fox & Davidson, 1988). This, despite the fact that, according to various theories of emotional development (Bridges, 1932; Izzard, 1991; Sroufe, 1979), children should be producing each of the basic negative emotions by ten months of age. In a similar case of inconsistency, in study featuring infant responses to maternal separation, Fox and Davidson (1987) were able to show right-frontal activation when the mother departed, but only when the infant was crying. When the infant was not crying, they actually found a decrease in right-frontal activity.

Thus, while general patterns of hemispheric activation have been identified, these results do not always fit neatly into dichotomous categories. For instance, even though positive emotions, by definition, are associated with approach reactions, and negative emotions, correspondingly, are associated with avoidance reactions, in actual practice, the emotion category and the behavior category do not always match up. For example,
Davidson and Fox (1988) point out that when a person is angry, he or she may advance upon a target, or when a person is sad, he or she may be motivated to seek out others for comfort. In addition, the neurological response may be contingent upon the options available. For example, in a study that dealt with student participants reading about a tuition increase at the university they were attending, when participants read that the increase was being considered (i.e., something could still be done to prevent it) rather than definite, impending occurrence, the angered participants actually showed left-frontal activation (Harmon-Jones, Sigelman, Bohlig, & Harmon-Jones, 2003).

This returns us to the idea proposed by Bakan (1969) and Galin (1974), that another part of the brain might become active while regulating these reflexive, typically right-hemisphere responses. Both authors proposed that the analytic, left hemisphere was acting as the emotional regulator, and Buck (1985) supports this idea by pointing out the major difference between humans and other animals is our capacity for language (also associated with left hemisphere activation) and this, in turn, may provide us with a greater capacity for self-regulating our emotions.

**The Development of Self-Regulation**

The ability to regulate one’s own emotions is not present at birth. During the first six months of life, infants are dependent upon their caregiver for the regulation of their emotional arousal (Campos, 1989). When an infant is over-stimulated, it reacts with distress, and it is up to the caregiver to hold, rock, sing to, or otherwise soothe the infant back into a calm state. As motor skills develop, six-month-old infants are able to engage in simple forms of autonomous emotional self-regulation, such as turning away from the
offending stimulus or sucking on pacifying objects (Mangelsdorf, Shapiro, & Marzolf, 1995).

Beginning at about eighteen months of age, as verbal ability dramatically increases one’s capacity for interacting with one’s social environment, strategies for self-regulation increase accordingly. Children of this age are able to use their advanced motor skills or rudimentary verbal ability to directly manipulate the source of their frustration (Mangelsdorf et al., 1995) or to distract themselves from the source of their frustration (Grolnick, Bridges, & Connell, 1996). As verbal ability increases, the amount and depth of communication between a child and caregiver increases as well. Around the age of three, display rules that parents have expressed to their children begin to become internalized and children show greater capacity for suppressing outward signs of emotion (Lewis, Sullivan, Stranger, & Weiss, 1989). The self-regulation strategies that parents advocate often involve either mental distraction or attempting to understand the emotion-evoking experiences (Thompson, 1994; 1998).

The Current Study

The following study was undertaken to examine whether interhemispheric communication is associated with the ability to regulate negative emotions. If negative emotions are produced in the right hemisphere and regulated in the left hemisphere, one would predict that greater interhemispheric communication would lead to an increased ability to regulate one’s emotional state. In this study, we specifically will examine whether handedness impacts one’s self-reported experience of emotional contagion. Handedness was chosen because it is one of the easiest ways to examine interhemispheric communication, requiring a brief questionnaire rather than some sort of brain scan.
Emotional contagion was chosen as the measure of emotion because it is a form of emotional experience virtually independent of motivation. That is, most emotional experiences involve several steps that require an interpretation of our environment and our internal state. The only context necessary for emotional contagion to take place is another person who is present and experiencing strong emotion.

Method

Procedure

In exchange for extra credit, 142 participants (forty-seven males and ninety-five females) from a psychology class completed both the Emotional Contagion Scale (Doherty, 1997) and the Edinburgh Handedness Inventory (Oldfield, 1971). A total of nineteen participants were dropped from the study because of either a failure to complete both questionnaires in their entirety or problems comprehending English.

Handedness. The Edinburgh Handedness Inventory (Oldfield, 1971) consists of ten tasks (e.g., opening jars, using a toothbrush), and participants indicate how often they perform the tasks with their right hand or their left. They are given five options, each of which is later assigned different point values: “Always Left” (-10), “Usually Left” (-5), “No Preference” (0), “Usually Right” (5), and “Always Right” (10). This means that, once summed, scores can range from -100 to 100. Individuals who perform a variety of tasks with either hand (i.e., “mixed-handers”) are thought to have more efficient hemispheric interaction (Cherbuin & Brinkman, 2006). Thus, for the purpose of this study, rather than looking at a left-handed versus right-handed dichotomy or a strongly right-handed versus non-strongly right-handed dichotomy, we were interested in the
continuum from strong-handed (either hand) to mixed-handed. In order to obtain this measure, absolute values of handedness scores were calculated, such that people who performed all the listed tasks exclusively with their left hands (i.e., those with scores of -100) would be equivalent to those who perform tasks exclusively with their right hands (i.e., those with scores of 100). For the Handedness measure, then, a higher value describes a greater tendency to use one hand to perform tasks and less interhemispheric communication.

Another aspect of the scale measures Familial Sinistrality, or the presence of left-handed people in one’s immediate family. This measure examines the genetic components of handedness and usually involves a binary distinction (where “0” involves no left-handed people and “1” involves one or more left-handed people). A slightly more nuanced examination of this variable looks at the handedness of parents and whether neither, one, or both of them are left-handed. Because an ordinal variable would be more appropriate for a linear regression than a dichotomous variable, this latter system was adopted. Thus, for the Familial Sinistrality measure, a higher value describes a greater number of left-handed relatives, and one assumes, a greater genetic tendency toward mixed-handedness.

*Emotional Contagion Scale.* Emotional contagion has been defined as “the tendency to automatically mimic and synchronize facial expressions, vocalizations, postures, and movements with those of another person, and, consequently, to converge emotionally” (Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, 1992, p. 153-154). During the course of an interaction, people show several indications that emotional contagion is taking place. First, people tend to mimic the facial expressions (Dimberg, 1982), postures (Bernier,
Davis, Knee, & Rosenthal, 1991) and vocal qualities of the person with whom they are interacting (Chapple, 1982). Vocalizations and movements between interactants also naturally synchronize (Bernieri et al., 1991). The emotional contagion that people experience while engaged in an interaction could be affected by the parts of the nervous system that initially activate this synchrony and mimicry, the feedback they receive from the person they are interacting with, or the their own self-perception (e.g., “I am scowling, so I must be angry”) (Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, 1994). All three mechanisms are thought to work in concert to elicit emotional contagion.

For the purpose of this study, individual susceptibility to emotional contagion was measured using the Emotional Contagion Scale (Doherty, 1997). The Emotional Contagion Scale (Doherty, 1997) is designed to measure an individual’s susceptibility to vicariously experience different emotions. It consists of fifteen statements, three for each of the five basic emotions, as identified by Fischer, Shaver, and Carnochan (1990): Love, Joy, Anger, Sadness, and Fear. For each of the fifteen items, participants are asked to indicate on a scale the degree to which the statement applies to them (5 = “Always true of me,” 1 = “Never true of me”). A sample item for the emotion of anger is: “I tense when overhearing an angry argument.” Since there are three items for each emotion, the scored items can be summed and used as a unidimensional measure of contagion, or as five subscales.

According to Doherty (1997), this scale features high internal reliability as a unidimensional construct (α = .90) and as a two-factor construct with positive emotion and negative emotion scales (.82 and .80, respectively). Despite the five, three-item subscales having insufficient alpha levels, Lundqvist and Kevrekidis (2008) make a
compelling argument for the validity of using a five-factor model for the scale. The Emotional Contagion Scale also has been correlated significantly with responsiveness to afferent feedback ($r = .30$) and facial affect mimicry ($r = .25$) (Doherty, 1997).

Emotional contagion was chosen for this study because it is, in many ways, a relatively pure emotional experience in the sense that there is little context required to experience emotional contagion. In fact, all that is required is exposure to someone else experiencing strong emotion and the ability to recognize the emotion. This study will break down the Emotional Contagion Scale into five subscales so that individual emotions can be examined. Higher values on the Emotional Contagion Subscales describe greater contagion and a more powerful emotional experience.

**Hypotheses.** Linear regressions were conducted using Handedness and Familial Sinistrality as predictor variables and the five subscales of the Emotional Contagion Scale as the outcome variables. We predicted that greater interhemispheric communication (indicated by lower Handedness scores) would be associated with less contagion of negative emotion. It was also predicted that Handedness will be unrelated to contagion of positive emotions because (1) positive emotions and regulation both are associated with left hemisphere activation and (2) the need to regulate positive emotions is typically less pressing than the need to regulate negative emotions.

**Results**

Linear regressions were conducted using Familial Sinistrality and the Handedness variable as predictors and the five subscales of the Emotional Contagion Scale as outcome variables. Handedness was a marginally significant predictor for Sadness, $t$
(140) = 1.85, $\beta = .15$, $p < .07$, such that mixed-handed participants reported less contagion to sadness than strong-handed participants. Familial Sinistrality was not a significant predictor.

Handedness significantly predicted Anger, $t (140) = 2.20, \beta = .18$, $p < .05$, such that mixed-handed participants reported less contagion to anger than strong-handed participants. Familial Sinistrality was not a significant predictor.

Handedness also significantly predicted Fear, $t (140) = 2.02, \beta = .17$, $p < .05$, such that mixed-handed participants reported less contagion to fear than strong-handed participants. Familial Sinistrality was not a significant predictor.

Neither Handedness or Familial Sinistrality significantly predicted Happiness or Love scores on the Emotional Contagion Scale. However, as with the previous analyses, Handedness was positively related to both variables, such that mixed-handed participants reported less contagion than strong-handed participants.

Overall, Handedness significantly predicted Negative Emotions (i.e., Anger, Fear, and Sadness), $t (140) = 2.53, \beta = .21$, $p < .05$, such that mixed handed participants reported less contagion to Negative emotions than strong-handed participants. Familial Sinistrality was not a significant predictor. Neither predictor variable was significantly related to the Positive Emotions (i.e., Love and Happiness).

**Discussion**

As predicted, Handedness was a significant predictor of susceptibility for two of the three negative emotions (Fear and Anger), a marginally significant predictor for the other negative emotions (Sadness), and not a significant predictor for the positive...
emotions. This general pattern of interhemispheric communication leading to greater emotional regulation was predicted for the negative emotions and not the positive emotions because positive emotions and emotional regulation both involve left hemisphere activation, and thus, do not require interhemispheric communication. Also, when one is experiencing positive emotions, one normally does not feel a pressing need to regulate them.

It is not known why the link between Handedness and Sadness was not as strong as the link between Handedness and Anger and Fear. Anger and Fear are both emotions that require a more immediate response than Sadness (not always, but unlike sadness, both anger and threat often involve the interpretation of threat from the environment). Perhaps efficient interhemispheric communication is more vital for threat-based emotions than it is for Sadness.

The Familial Sinistrality construct did not significantly predict anything. This construct should not be summarily discarded, however. The way it was measured in this study only allowed for three levels of the variable, making it far less sensitive than the Handedness measure. A more sensitive measure for Familial Sinistrality could be conducted, perhaps based on the percentage of left-handed people in one’s family so as to better account for siblings. However, one shortcoming of the Edinburgh Handedness Inventory (Oldfield, 1971) in that regard is that it asks the participant how many siblings they have and whether any of them are left-handed, not how many of them are left-handed. This could be rectified with minimal modifications. Another issue is that the Familial Sinistrality measure examined left-handedness, which is associated with, but not the same as, mixed-handedness. In order to address this, the full Handedness Inventory
would have to be completed by members of a participant’s family, and that might require more labor for a study of this scope than it is worth.

Since this study only examined self-reported, retroactive emotion, there are multiple alternative explanations for the results and multiple ways in which a more thorough examination can be conducted. One alternative explanation for the basic results could be that, instead of strong-handedness being associated with weaker regulatory ability, strong-handed people may be more emotional reactive than mixed-handed people. Another interpretation could be that strong-handed people are more aware of their own physiological arousal. One major way to improve the design of the study would involve having participants engage in an emotion-eliciting task (e.g., the stressful anagram task used in a study by MacLeod, Rutherford, Campbell, Ebsworthy, and Holker, 2002), instructing them to either regulate or not regulate their emotional state, and measuring emotional arousal using something other than self-report.

Most research previously conducted that examines the link between hemispheric laterality and emotion has involved only strongly right-handed participants. However, if this emotional regulation system differs based on interhemispheric communication, more comprehensive analyses should be conducted. Given that the field of psychology stresses the necessity of a diverse population of participants and warns against overgeneralizations, it only makes sense that these theories of functional neurology would take into account almost fifty percent of the population.
References


The Changing Role of the Gangster in 1930’s films: A Comparison of *Little Caesar* and *G-Men*

In his book *Public Enemies, Public Heroes: Screening the Gangster film from Little Caesar to Touch of Evil* (University of Chicago Press, 1999) Jonathan Munby states, “as a key part of a growing mass culture, gangster narratives addressed the consequences and modernization, mediating the relationship of modern Americans to increasingly anachronistic national idealism. Gangsters captured the antagonistic imagination of a population afflicted first by the repressive order of Prohibition and then by the devastating consequences of the Wall Street Crash.”

In this paper I look at two films, *Little Caesar* (1930) and *G-Men* (1935), and see, with regard to Munby’s statement, whether these two films, produced in the first half of the decade, follow the pattern proscribed by Munby. How does the film produced after the repeal of Prohibition differ from the film produced during Prohibition? How does the idea of nationalism change from the first film to the first film to the last? And lastly, does the changing economic climate reflect in these two films?
THE COST-EFFECTIVENESS OF INSTRUCTION EXPENDITURES TOWARDS
NATIVE HAWAIIAN PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETERS

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ABSTRACT

The following study attempted to ascertain the instructional cost-effectiveness of public high school teachers towards Native Hawaiian completers through a financially based econometric analysis. Essentially, public high school instruction expenditures and completer data were collected and bivariate interaction analyzed through a correlation and linear regression analysis. Based on the collective results, a statistically insignificant positive relationship was noted statewide and a statistically significant positive relationship noted for the densely populated Native Hawaiian Leeward District. Hence, public high school teachers in the Leeward District had an immensely more economically positive influence towards Native Hawaiian completers in contrast to statewide results from 2000 to 2007.

INTRODUCTION

According to the 2005 Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment conducted by the Policy Analysis & System Evaluation at Kamehameha Schools, Native Hawaiians are the least likely ethnic minority to graduate from high school (Kanaiaupuni, Malone, & Ishibashi, 2005). As suggested by the 2005 Assessment, the monitoring of high school completers and the factors that contribute to them can be one way in improving the overall educational well-being of Native Hawaiians (Kanaiaupuni, Malone, & Ishibashi, 2005).

Instruction is one of the most critically important factors that contribute to high school completion, where it is the teachers that facilitate the transfer of knowledge necessary for students to graduate high school (Westfall, Peltier, Sheehan, & Weber, 2006). Although there are many techniques to measure the productivity of educational instruction, assessing its effectiveness through a financial perspective remains one practical way to accomplish this task (Beard, 2009), especially given the historical lack of educational funding for Native Hawaiian students in the public school system in Hawaii (Kanaiaupuni, Malone, & Ishibashi, 2005).

Consequently, given the population density of Native Hawaiians living on the Leeward Coast of Hawaii’s Island of Oahu (Hawaii Department of Business, n.d.), this study will specifically analyze Hawaii’s Department of Education’s (DOE) high school instruction expenditures (i.e., teacher salaries and benefits, substitutes, instructional paraprofessionals, pupil-use technology, software and instructional materials, trips, and supplies) and its econometric relationship with high school completers statewide and the accredited public high schools in the Leeward District both individually and collectively (Hawaii Department of Education, n.d.a, n.d.d). With this research, it is hoped that the results will provide a current
snapshot of the effectiveness of the DOE’s teachers in fostering Native Hawaiian high school completion from an economical perspective.

INSTRUCTION EXPENDITURES, GRADUATION CLASSES, AND COMPLETERS

The following section will go over the DOE’s high school instruction expenditures, size of its graduation classes, and high school completers for both statewide and its Leeward District from 2000 to 2007.

Historical Results: Statewide
Table A1 summarizes the DOE’s high school instruction expenditures, size of graduation classes, and high school completers statewide from 2000 to 2007. Based on Table A1, high school instruction expenditures have been consistently increasing on an average of 10% with a standard deviation of 9.4% per year, respectively. The lowest increase in high school instruction expenditures was actually a decrease occurring during 2000 to 2001 and its highest increase seen during 2002 to 2003. Graduating classes has seen much volatility during this period and had a very low average growth rate of 0.1% with a standard deviation of 239 students per year, respectively. The smallest graduating class was reported in 2003 and its largest reported in 2005. Completers also experienced similar volatility during this time frame with a very low average growth rate of 0.1% and a standard deviation of 195 students per year, respectively. The lowest number of completers was recorded in 2003 and its highest recorded in 2007.

Historical Results: Leeward District
Table A2 summarizes the DOE’s high school instruction expenditures, size of graduation classes, and high school completers in its Leeward District from 2000 to 2007. Based on Table A2, high school instruction expenditures have been consistently increasing on an average of 12.7% with a standard deviation of 9.4% per year, respectively. The lowest increase in high school instruction expenditures was seen during 2000 to 2001 and its highest increase seen during 2002 to 2003. Graduating classes has seen much consistency during this period and had a low average growth rate of 2.7% with a standard deviation of 185 students per year, respectively. The smallest graduating class was reported in 2001 and its largest reported in 2006. Completers also experienced similar consistency during this time frame with a low average growth rate of 2.7% and a standard deviation of 167 students per year, respectively. The lowest number of completers was recorded in 2000 and its highest recorded in 2006.

METHODOLOGY

In order to investigate the econometric relationship of the DOE’s high school instruction expenditures towards Native Hawaiian high school completion, this research employed the following methodology. The study initially acquired the DOE’s high school instruction expenditures and completer data for both statewide and its Leeward District from 2000 to 2007. Upon separating both segments, econometric techniques consisting of both correlation and linear regression were utilized and key statistics recorded. The study then individually analyzed the statistical relationship between high school instruction expenditures and completers for both groups. Finally, the study collectively evaluated the quantitative results from both statewide and the Leeward District to gauge the cost-effectiveness of the DOE’s high school teachers in
advancing public high school completion of Native Hawaiians living on the Leeward Coast. Data used for these analyses were acquired from Hawaii’s DOE websites and the study’s econometric results were generated with the use of PASW 18.0 for Windows.

RESULTS

The following will initially present the econometric results of both the correlation and linear regression analyses that were utilized to ascertain the statistical relationship of the DOE’s high school instruction expenditures towards completers statewide and its Leeward District, individually. The section will then present the respective statistical findings from both segments evaluating the instructional cost-effectiveness of the DOE’s high school teachers in advancing the high school completion of Native Hawaiians.

Quantitative Results: Statewide

Table A3 summarizes the quantitative results of the correlation and linear regression analyses that were used in this study. Based on Table A3, the Pearson correlation coefficient was 0.297 and found statistically insignificant. This figure suggests that there was a weak positive correlation between the DOE’s high school instruction expenditures and completers from 2000 to 2007. In looking at the results of the linear regression, an $R^2$ of 0.088, ANOVA significance value of 0.474, and an unstandardized coefficient of 0.0000009723 were reported (See Table A3). Hence, although the results of the linear regression revealed the existence of a positive relationship between the DOE’s high school instruction expenditures and completers, it has not been a statistically significant relationship during 2000 to 2007. Consequently, statewide increases in high school instruction expenditures and its revealed economically positive effect towards completers during this period remain statistically unclear.

Quantitative Results: Leeward District

Based on Table A3, the Pearson correlation coefficient was 0.935 and found statistically significant. This figure suggests that there was a very strong positive correlation between the DOE’s high school instruction expenditures and completers from 2000 to 2007. In looking at the results of the linear regression, an $R^2$ of 0.874, ANOVA significance value of 0.001, and an unstandardized coefficient of 0.0001184 were reported (See Table A3). Hence, there was a very strong statistically significant positive relationship between high school instruction expenditures and completers during 2000 to 2007. Consequently, unlike statewide, Leeward District increases in high school instruction expenditures had an economical statistically significant positive effect towards completers during this period.

Analysis: Statewide vs. Leeward District

Based on the quantitative findings from both groups, the DOE’s high school instruction expenditures had a stronger correlation with completers in the Leeward District than statewide (See Table A3). Moreover, this correlation noted in the Leeward District was further reinforced by the statistically significant findings determined by the linear regression analysis (See Table A3). Hence, it would appear from this analysis that the instruction provided by the DOE’s high school teachers in the Leeward District was economically more effective in influencing high school completion than statewide during 2000 to 2007.
CONCLUSIONS

The following will present this study’s policy implications, limitations, and areas for future research, as they pertain to the educational advancement of Native Hawaiians living in Hawaii.

Policy Implications

The results of this study provided an econometric view of whether a significant statistical relationship between the DOE’s high school instruction expenditures and completers statewide as well as in the densely populated Native Hawaiian Leeward District existed from 2000 to 2007. Although a robust statistically significant relationship between high school instruction expenditures towards completers was revealed only in the DOE’s Leeward District, it behooves the DOE to maintain in the Leeward District and redouble statewide, its efforts in making sure that the money spent on its high school teachers are making high school completion one of their top priorities. Educational fiscal responsibility to the community (Beard, 2009) is necessary for the DOE in becoming more accountable to the Native Hawaiian as well as the general overall community they serve. Hence, it is in the interest of the State, the DOE, and the Native Hawaiian community to ensure that their high school teachers are continuing to emphasize high school completion.

From a human resource perspective, it would also serve in the DOE’s interest to begin reassessing how it hires and trains its high school teachers. In this study, the findings only confirmed a statistically significant positive relationship between the DOE’s high school instruction expenditures and completers in the Leeward District from 2000 to 2007. Hence, to address the deficiency statewide, the DOE can either revise its criteria of how it selects high school teachers or invest in better community-based teacher training and/or development (Landorf & Nevin, 2007). For example, the College of Education at the University of Hawaii at Manoa has been one of the higher education institutions in the State that has recognized the need for better culturally trained teachers in the DOE’s Leeward District and have taken actions to address this Native Hawaiian educational demand with culture integrated teacher education programs (“Programs & Projects Making A Difference,” 2009). Consequently, the DOE should also start looking at either increasing the hiring of high school teachers, who have graduated from such programs or begin requiring their current high school teachers to attend culturally specific programs specially designed to build and enhance their core competencies with respect to the cultural elements present in the multiethnic public high schools they teach.

Finally, although this study noted that the relationship between the DOE’s high school instruction expenditures and completers statewide as being statistically insignificant from 2000 to 2007, these findings should not be made to support knee-jerk reductions in overall educational instruction expenditures taken by State government officials or legislators, especially in the current fiscal crisis besieging Hawaii. Such impulsive cost-cutting measures would be ill advised, since major movements in overall educational instruction expenditures should be undertaken only after in-depth studies in this area have been completed. Moreover, even in the best-case scenario, such reductions would only serve as short-term fiscal fixes, which could negatively affect the current favorable level of instructional effectiveness towards high school
completion in the Leeward District as well as exacerbate the lack of instructional effectiveness towards high school completion statewide.

**Study Limitations**

Outside of the issue of small sample size that inherently affects the statistical validity of any quantitative study, the main limitation of this research lies with the complexity of measuring instructional effectiveness. This study focused its efforts on trying to assess public high school instructional effectiveness through a financially based econometric analysis. However, it is not sufficient to gauge instructional effectiveness by quantitative means alone. Moreover, in any assessment oriented quantitative studies that are undertaken, any negative findings should be seen as initial cues to potential problems and not solely used as grounds for corrective action. Consequently, this study should serve as but one quantitative study in a succession of other studies that tries to assess how effective the DOE’s high school teachers have been working to uphold the State’s commitment to Native Hawaiian high school completion.

**Areas for Future Research**

This study compared the econometric relationship of the DOE’s high school instruction expenditures towards completers statewide to that of the densely Native Hawaiian populated Leeward District. However, similar studies on other school districts with significant populations of Native Hawaiians should also be conducted. Such research would work to corroborate the findings of this study and potentially give a clearer overall picture on the impact of the DOE’s high school teachers on Native Hawaiian educational attainment.

Qualitative-based studies that attempt to investigate the DOE’s instructional effectiveness towards Native Hawaiian student achievement should continually and concurrently be undertaken. In this study, the research focused on quantitatively determining the relationship between the DOE’s high school instruction expenditures towards Native Hawaiian completers. Qualitative studies that similarly target the effectiveness of the DOE’s high school teachers on Native Hawaiian high school completion would not only work to corroborate the findings of this study, but also contribute to the broader context of whether the State’s current educational teaching strategy for Native Hawaiians is advancing their educational well-being.

Finally, high school instruction expenditures are but one functional area of the DOE’s total expenditures in education. Hence, research that seeks to uncover the economical relationship between the other functional areas of the DOE’s educational expenditures (i.e., instructional support, leadership, operations, and other commitments) towards high school completion among Native Hawaiians should be conducted (Hawaii Department of Education, n.d.a). Such studies would provide a cross-expenditure effectiveness perspective as well as illustrate how the other functional expenditure areas of the DOE economically contribute to Native Hawaiian high school completion.
REFERENCES


# APPENDIX

## Table A1. Statewide High School Instruction Expenditures, Graduation Class, and Completers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Year</th>
<th>Instruction Expenditures</th>
<th>Percentage Change</th>
<th>Graduation Class Size</th>
<th>Percentage Change</th>
<th>Total Completers</th>
<th>Percentage Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999-00</td>
<td>$170,276,442.57</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>11,145</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>10,666</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-01</td>
<td>$169,141,036.33</td>
<td>-0.7%</td>
<td>10,679</td>
<td>-4.2%</td>
<td>10,323</td>
<td>-3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-02</td>
<td>$187,969,568.91</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
<td>11,059</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>10,666</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002-03</td>
<td>$243,563,792.89</td>
<td>29.6%</td>
<td>10,596</td>
<td>-4.2%</td>
<td>10,190</td>
<td>-4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003-04</td>
<td>$255,462,131.86</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>10,975</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>10,501</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004-05</td>
<td>$278,153,350.59</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
<td>11,246</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>10,698</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005-06</td>
<td>$298,872,013.03</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>11,134</td>
<td>-1.0%</td>
<td>10,654</td>
<td>-0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006-07</td>
<td>$324,645,939.59</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
<td>11,170</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>10,700</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>$1,928,084,275.77</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>88,004</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>84,401</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>$241,010,534.47</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>11,001</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td>10,550</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. Dev.</td>
<td>$59,665,339.09</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. Hawaii DOE high school instruction expenditure data are from Reports, Expenditures by School [Data file], n.d.b, Hawaii Department of Education at http://doe.k12.hi.us/reports/expenditures.htm, while graduating class size and completer data are from Reports, High School Completer Statistics [Data file], n.d.c, Hawaii Department of Education at http://doe.k12.hi.us/reports/highschoolcompleter.htm; and all collectively retrieved on July 1, 2009.*

## Table A2. Leeward District High School Instruction Expenditures, Graduation Class, and Completers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Year</th>
<th>Instruction Expenditures</th>
<th>Percentage Change</th>
<th>Graduation Class Size</th>
<th>Percentage Change</th>
<th>Total Completers</th>
<th>Percentage Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999-00</td>
<td>$27,599,847.80</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>1,872</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>1,779</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-01</td>
<td>$29,115,246.70</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>1,854</td>
<td>-1.0%</td>
<td>1,793</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-02</td>
<td>$32,678,281.70</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
<td>1,884</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>1,818</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002-03</td>
<td>$43,565,237.73</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>1,903</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>1,840</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003-04</td>
<td>$47,336,120.57</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>2,145</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
<td>2,060</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004-05</td>
<td>$52,835,904.33</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
<td>2,152</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>2,061</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005-06</td>
<td>$57,047,394.06</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
<td>2,307</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
<td>2,186</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006-07</td>
<td>$62,425,749.83</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>2,235</td>
<td>-3.1%</td>
<td>2,130</td>
<td>-2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>$352,603,782.72</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>16,352</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>15,667</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>$44,075,472.84</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
<td>2,044</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>1,958</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std. Dev.</td>
<td>$13,189,775.70</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. Hawaii DOE high school instruction expenditure data are from Reports, Expenditures by School [Data file], n.d.b, Hawaii Department of Education at http://doe.k12.hi.us/reports/expenditures.htm, while graduating class size and completer data are from Reports, High School Completer Statistics [Data file], n.d.c, Hawaii Department of Education at http://doe.k12.hi.us/reports/highschoolcompleter.htm; and all collectively retrieved on July 1, 2009.*
Table A3. Correlation and Linear Regression Results (2000-2007)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>High School Instruction Expenditures and Completers (Statewide)</th>
<th>High School Instruction Expenditures and Completers (Leeward District)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>CORRELATION ANALYSIS:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearson Coefficient</td>
<td>0.297</td>
<td>0.935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LINEAR REGRESSION ANALYSIS:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$R^2$</td>
<td>0.088</td>
<td>0.874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANOVA Significance Value</td>
<td>0.474</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unstandardized Coefficient</td>
<td>0.0000009723</td>
<td>0.00001184</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* Correlation and linear regression results were generated with PASW 18.0 for Windows.
Title Page

Title of the Paper: Strategic Planning on Promoting Macau Cultural Heritage Tourism

Area of Topic: Urban and Regional Planning

Format of Presentation: Paper sessions

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ABSTRACT
The Macau economy has developed rapidly after the handover to China in 1999; the gambling industry made a great contribution to this development and continues today. However, overdependence of the unitary industry structure is risky; hence, diversity in economic development is essential to sustainable development in Macau.

After Macau was listed in the "World Heritage List" in 2005, Macau Cultural Heritage Tourism as a new concept has been promoted by the Macau government. This paper uses SWOT analysis to evaluate the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of Macau Cultural Heritage Tourism. The excellent guidance of promotion from the government is needed in order to successfully create a positive image of Cultural Heritage Tourism. Suggestions to promote Macau Cultural Heritage Tourism are given in the last part of the paper.

BACKGROUND
The Macau economy has developed rapidly after the handover to China in 1999; the gambling industry contributes greatly to this development. In 2006, the total revenue of the Macau gambling industry was over $7 billion (Macau Gaming Inspection and Coordination Bureau, 2006), which surpassed the revenue of Las Vegas and thus made Macau the largest gambling city in the world. However, overdependence on the unitary industry structure has led to an unhealthy economic
development and labor loss in other industries, while the social cost of the gambling industry, such as pathological gambling and increased crime rate, is high. Diversity in economic development is essential to Macau’s sustainable development.

In July 2005, “Macau Historical City” was approved by the General Assembly of the World Heritage Committee, and was included in the "World Heritage List." It was a great chance for Macau to change its unitary structure into a pluralistic economy. It is a new direction for the Macau government to utilize cultural heritage to promote tourism. The excellent guidance of promotion from the government is needed in order to successfully create a positive image of Cultural Heritage Tourism.

**SWOT ANALYSIS**

SWOT analysis is a tool for evaluating an organization and its environment. SWOT stands for strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats. The author will use SWOT analysis to evaluate Macau Cultural Heritage Tourism.

**S-Strengths:**

Macau has a unique historical background and Sino-Portuguese cultural features. Unlike Hong Kong, it maintained the Latin customs left by the Portuguese and traditional Chinese cultures. It is a city that combines Western and Eastern culture. Diversified languages, values, religions, architectural styles and cultures are strong influences and commonly exist in Macau. Although Macau is a small city, it has more than 20 Western-style churches, more than 40 Chinese temples, and 20 small museums and memorials (Macau Tourist Office, 2006).
In addition, Macau Cultural Heritage Tourism is one of the most attainable options for Macau’s sustainable development. Macau Cultural Heritage Tourism will help mitigate the overdependence on the gambling industry in some level with lower social costs. The Macau government has taken efforts to promote Macau’s culture and heritages. For example, the Macau Tourist Office launched the 2006 Macau World Heritage Year event, which intended to market Macau historical and cultural heritages. This event included global image projection, information dissemination, overseas and consumer promotions, media campaign, heritage tours, and cultural performances. Target audiences included potential tourists in Mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan, Korea, Europe, North America, and Australia (Macau Tourist Office, 2006).

Furthermore, Macau has obvious geographical location advantages. Tourists can arrive at Macau by land, sea, or air. Macau has a relatively complete network of highways with Hong Kong and most cities in Guangdong Province. Macau also opened a number of international and domestic air routes connected with the foreign countries via the Hong Kong aviation network and with the domestic network via Guangzhou, Zhuhai, and Shenzhen. Currently, Macau’s outside emanative highway, railway, and aviation networks have been basically formed. Therefore, the accessible and convenient transportation provides geographical location advantages to develop Macau Cultural Heritage Tourism.

W-Weakness

Although Macau Cultural Heritage Tourism could ease Macau unitary economic structure, it also heavily depends on the external environment. If there are any
problems with the external environments, Macau tourism will be strongly affected. For example, in 2003, Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) rapidly decreased tourism and damaged the Macau economy heavily.

Limited natural resources, centralized population, and pollutions limit Macau Cultural Heritage Tourism. Macau is one of the most population-dense cities in the world. Macau’s land is 29.2 square kilometers with a population of 541,200 (Macau Government Statistics and Census Service, 2009). Because of these above limitations, Macau could not provide visitors with various tourists activities besides gambling, and thus the average length of visitors stay in Macau is less than 1.5 nights (see figure 1), while that of Hong Kong is more than 4 nights.

Figure 1: Average length of stay of hotel guest in hotel (night)

![Figure 1: Average length of stay of hotel guest in hotel (night)](source from: Statistics and Census Service Macau SAR government and Hong Kong Tourism Board)

Moreover, the lack of professionals and experts in cultural heritage aspects restricts Macau Cultural Heritage Tourism. Existing Macau tourism guides are lacking the professional knowledge about cultural heritage. Inadequate human resources have perplexed Macau’s development for a long time.

Cultural Heritages Tourism is a new concept for Macau. The project of developing cultural heritages tourism was launched in 2005 after “Macau Historical
City” was included in the “World Heritage List”. The Macau government does not have enough experience in promoting or protecting cultural heritages. In November 2007, the Macau government had received a warning letter about how the Sungshan lighthouse landscape was threatened by the height of the surrounding buildings from the UNESCO World Heritage Center.

**Opportunities**

In July 2005, “Macau Historical City” was included in the "World Heritage List". This was a great chance for Macau to develop its cultural heritage tourism by its cultural heritage. With its world heritage, Macau could attract more tourists.

The cooperation between Mainland China and Macau has been growing stronger day by day. For example, the implementation of CEPA broadens the market and provides convenience for the Macau tourism and cultural development. At the same time, the "9 +2" Pan-Pearl River Delta regional cooperation helped facilitate a stronger tourism cooperation between Macau and Mainland China. A closer relationship with Mainland China will help Macau attract more tourists from Mainland China. The Chinese central government also released a series of policies to support Macau’s tourism, such as the Macau Free Tour. Increased income of Mainland residents made it easier for them to visit Macau. The Hong Kong-Zhuhai-Macau Bridge will also strengthen Macau’s location advantage.

**T-Threats**

Macau local cultural heritage is a new concept to Macau and its tourists, making a potential threat to its development. Because of Macau’s reputation as a gambling
center, the Macau cultural heritage image is hard to build.

Moreover, in neighboring regions, tourism competition is very fierce. Hong Kong is an international city which also combines Western and Eastern culture. Stronger cooperation between Taiwan and Mainland China has strengthened Taiwan’s tourism industry since 2005. In the Guangdong Province, there are also several world heritages and it is cheaper for Mainland China tourists to visit.

**SWOT DIAGRAM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strengths:</th>
<th>Weaknesses:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1: The unique historical background and Sino-Portuguese cultural features</td>
<td>W1: Limited natural resources, high centralized population, and low capacity to deal with pollutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2: Promotion of Macau’s pluralistic economy</td>
<td>W2: Overdependence of external environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3: Efforts of Macau government to promote Macau’s Cultural Heritages</td>
<td>W3: Inadequate human resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S4: Geographic location</td>
<td>W4: Inadequate experience in developing Cultural Heritages Tourism.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opportunities:</th>
<th>Threats:</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O1: “Macau Historical City” is included in the &quot;World Heritage List&quot;.</td>
<td>T1: People are unaware of Macau local cultural heritage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O2: The relationship between Mainland China and Macau is improving and increased support from Mainland China</td>
<td>T2: More and more competitive tourism in neighboring regions e.g. Taiwan, Hong Kong and Guangdong Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O3: Economic development of China</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O4: Hong Kong-Zhuhai-Macau Bridge strengthens the location advantage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are some others factors which are not listed in the Macau Cultural Heritage SWOT analysis model, such as the language used in Macau - Cantonese. It could be regarded as strength to attract Hong Kong tourists when competing with Taiwan tourism, but it could decrease the attraction to non-Cantonese speaking tourists.

**SUGGESTIONS**

After a brief overview of the Macau Cultural Heritage Tourism’s strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats, we can come up with some useful suggestions to Macau government by a combination of different aspects of the above model.

**Strength and Opportunity <SO>**

- Promote Macau’s unique culture with the reputation of World Heritage to attract more tourists (S1-O1).
- Strengthen the promotion in Mainland and increase the Mainland Chinese understanding through deeper cooperation with Mainland China (S3-O2).
- Utilize Macau’s convenient transportation network (S4, O4) and geographic advantage (S4) to attract more tourists from Mainland China.

**Weakness and Opportunity <WO>**

- Look for help about training professional tour guide in the field of cultural heritage from the World Heritage Committee, such as inviting experts to give lessons and asking them for supervision (W2-O1).
• Promote communication between Macau and Mainland China to gain tourism promotion experience from Mainland through stronger cooperation with Mainland China (W4-O2).

• Strength cooperation with Zhu Hai to make up for the deficiency of natural resources and land under the support of China central government(W1-O2). Cooperation on the Hengqin Island is a good example. In 2009, Chinese central government decided to reserve a piece of land on Hengqin Island covering approximately one square kilometer for Macau for the construction of the University of Macau’s new campus and authorizing Macau government to exercise jurisdiction over new campus site on Hengqin Island.

**Strength and Threat <ST>**

• Popularize the basic knowledge about Macau cultural heritage, such as issuing the commemorative stamps or coins, holding Macau Cultural Heritage Essay Contest, and increase Macau history course in primary schools, etc. (S3-T1).

• Highlight the uniqueness of Macau to compete with neighboring regions (S1-T2) e.g. Highlight Macau’s combined culture when competing with Mainland China and Taiwan, utilize Macau’s geographic advantage to attract tourists when competing with neighboring regions

• Increase attraction to nearby regions such as Hong Kong and Taiwan (S4-T2).

**Weakness and Threat <WT>**

• Improve Macau’s environment and facilities to design a more efficient tourism route (W1-T2).
- Recruit experts from nearby regions to engage in the troop of cultural heritage tour guides or to train local practitioners (W2-T2).

- Learn from the experience of other successful tourist resorts about protection of cultural heritage (W4-T1).

CONCLUSION

Diverse economic development is essential to sustainable development in Macau, and Cultural Heritage Tourism is a great option for Macau to change its vulnerable unitary economic structure. The Macau government should recognize adequate strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of Macau Cultural Heritage Tourism to develop strategies to promote. Macau should hold this opportunity of having a World Heritage and adequately utilize the resources of Mainland China to promote Macau Cultural Tourism. However, Macau faces a big challenge in fully utilize its strengths from this opportunity; if done correctly, it can mitigate Macau’s economic weakness. The excellent guidance of promotion from the government is needed in order to successfully create a positive image of Cultural Heritage Tourism.
REFERENCE

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http://www.discoverhongkong.com/eng/index.html
INTRODUCTION

Childhood overweight and obesity are increasing at alarming rates both nationally and globally, and these disorders pose lifelong threats to the health of our youth. Recent measures to raise awareness regarding the serious health threats caused by these disorders have been implemented at the state and municipal level and have helped to initiate responsible public policy at all levels of government. The dramatic rate at which the prevalence of overweight and obesity has increased requires continued attention, particularly among our youth, as more research continues to reveal the susceptibility of children and adolescents to the lifelong harmful effects of adiposity.

In the United States, obesity rates among children and adolescents have more than tripled since the 1970’s, and differ by race, ethnicity, gender, and age. Data from the National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (NHANES, 2009) show increases in overweight and obesity among all children and adolescents ages two to nineteen years since 1976. NHANES data also indicate racial and ethnic disparities among children and adolescents of different genders with the highest prevalence rates of obesity occurring among adolescent Mexican-American boys and non-Hispanic black girls. In California, state data indicate health disparities among children as well, particularly by gender, age, and socioeconomic status. This is especially the case in Los Angeles County, home to the largest concentration of children by county in the United States.

In Los Angeles County, more than 23 percent of public school students in the fifth, seventh, and ninth grades were obese in 2005 and an additional 20 percent was overweight that same year (California Department of Education (CDE), 2008). Today, these figures are slightly lower at 22.9 percent and 19.4 percent, respectively; however a large proportion of the county’s children and adolescents remain unhealthy. Per data published by the California Department of Education, Los Angeles County’s fifth, seventh, and ninth grade students showed a steady increase in overweight and obesity from 1999 to 2005, with a slight decrease from 2006 to 2008, a trend that likely began as newly proposed legislation was implemented at the state and local levels to combat obesity.
Although over the last three years there has been a leveling trend in obesity that appears to be consistent among public school students in Los Angeles County, figures for overweight and obesity remain unacceptably high and warrant continued efforts to help reduce the prevalence of these disorders. In addition to excessively high levels, overweight and obesity in Los Angeles County are unevenly distributed across population groups, showing marked differences by grade level, gender, socioeconomic status, and geographic location. As such, efforts must be made to identify such findings and to initiate public policy at the local level that targets high risk population groups and neighborhoods.

Largely due to physical inactivity, unhealthy food choices, and unsafe outdoor environments, childhood obesity now accounts for almost one in every five American children nationally (Centers for Disease Control (CDC), 2009). The different environments in which children live, play, and go to school may all impact a child’s access to a healthy lifestyle, particularly in low-income neighborhoods, as these areas are subject to higher rates of crime and safety concerns and may discourage children from participating in outdoor physical activities. Current literature also suggests that healthy food options are significantly limited in these areas due to the higher costs associated with more nutritious food versus foods high in added sugars, salt, and trans fats (Kaufman, 1999; Kumanyika and Grier, 2006). As a result, people living in economically distressed neighborhoods are more likely to face health disparities and are more susceptible to the long term negative health consequences associated with overweight and obesity.

In California, state law requires that all public school students in grades five, seven, and nine participate in the state department of education’s annual physical fitness testing program, a comprehensive, health related physical fitness battery designed to assist students in establishing lifetime habits of regular physical activity. According to the CDE, the Physical Fitness Test (PFT) provides information that can be used by students to assess and plan personal fitness programs, by teachers to design the curriculum for physical education programs, and by parents and guardians to understand their children’s fitness levels (CDE, 2009). More importantly, the PFT provides an opportunity for data to be collected by individual schools and the CDE on the health of their students. Aggregate results are reported to the Governor of California and the California Legislature, and are made available to the general public at different geographic resolutions. These results are used to monitor changes in the physical fitness of California students and may be utilized by both public and private entities for informational and research purposes.

For well over thirty years, this country has undergone a dramatic increase in the prevalence of overweight and obesity, and the health of our youth has borne the greatest impact. As a direct result, American children and adolescents are suffering from weight related chronic health conditions at young ages. Those in this category run a higher risk of becoming obese, with up to 80 percent of obese adolescents likely to become overweight or obese adults (Guo et al., 2002). With the highest concentration of children in the United States of America, Los Angeles County is especially vulnerable to this growing epidemic and is an ideal region to carry out a detailed investigation. As current research and the literature suggest, without proper intervention, the overweight and obesity epidemic in Los Angeles County will only continue (Los Angeles County Department of Public Health (LACDPH), 2008; CDC, 2009).
This paper serves as an important measure of public health surveillance by identifying spatial clusters of high risk populations of unhealthy children and adolescents throughout Los Angeles County. In this paper, inferential statistics will be employed to measure the relationship between the health of public school students in Los Angeles County and socioeconomic characteristics at the neighborhood level and gender difference of these health outcomes. Temporal trends and geographic patterns of the health of children and adolescents will also be examined using descriptive statistics and a cartographic analysis.

The research and findings produced by this paper may have direct implications on local policy implementation and school based nutrition programs and can help prevent or reduce the prevalence of overweight and obesity throughout Los Angeles County neighborhoods, schools, and at home. While focused on Los Angeles County, this approach may also be applied to comparable metropolitan areas, given that data are available, to help reveal high risk populations of unhealthy children and adolescents elsewhere.

In general, this paper will identify and assess the overall health of public school students in Los Angeles County and measure the impact that socioeconomic variables have had on them in recent years. More specifically, this study will examine the health of one specific cohort – the graduating high school class of 2011 – during three distinct time periods, capturing them as fifth, seventh, and ninth grade students. To do so, the authors will utilize two Physical Fitness Test areas as proxies for overall health and will analyze the results of these fitness areas for the cohort. The fitness areas that will be used are *Aerobic Capacity* and *Body Composition*, the two most closely associated with cardiovascular condition and body fat. The PFT results published for year 2004 will spotlight tests conducted on the class of 2011 cohort as fifth grade students while results published for years 2006 and 2008 will capture them as seventh and ninth grade students, respectively. Other fifth, seventh, and ninth grade student results captured those same years will also be examined.

In sum, the purpose of this study is to reveal statistically significant geographic patterns and temporal trends of the overall health of children and adolescents in Los Angeles County and to highlight the socioeconomic factors that are significantly correlated with, and can likely predict health outcomes in children and adolescents throughout the county. In turn, identifying where within the county these patterns are occurring will help to pinpoint target areas for the implementation of programs and mitigation efforts at the local level.

**LITERATURE REVIEW**

The health and fitness of American children have diminished considerably in recent years, a fact that has been demonstrated both globally and nationally as the number of overweight and obese persons under the age of eighteen years has more than tripled since the 1970’s (CDC, 2009). Poor health in children can lead to a host of health risks during their youth and into adulthood, particularly heart disease, the leading cause of death in the United States today. The CDC suggests that both overweight and obesity are labels for ranges of weight that are greater than what is generally considered healthy. The terms also identify ranges of weight
that have been shown to increase the likelihood of certain diseases and other health related problems. Although both labels merit serious consideration, the latter is of grave concern.

Obesity is a global epidemic that has grown exponentially within the last thirty years, particularly among children in the United States. Since 1980, obesity rates for American adults have doubled and rates for children have tripled (CDC, 2009). Though many factors contribute to childhood obesity, it is ultimately the direct result of an energy imbalance that involves consuming excessive calories and not expending enough energy to burn them off. Numerous studies suggest that a child’s risk for obesity is primarily influenced by the physical and social environment in which he or she lives and plays. A recent study conducted by the Los Angeles County Department of Public Health (LACDPH, 2008) found that a child’s risk for developing obesity is affected by several factors. These include the food environment at home, at school and in the neighborhood, the amount of time spent in sedentary activities versus being physically active, a child’s access to safe places to play, and whether or not the child resides in an economically distressed neighborhood.

**The Food Environment**

The food environment that a child is exposed to has a significant impact on a child’s health, as bad eating habits contribute to being overweight. Over the past couple of decades, dining out has become increasingly popular among American families and children have certainly felt the impact as they tend to consume more calories when meals are eaten in restaurants than at home (Zoumas-Morse et al., 2001). With the growing number of fast food restaurants making their way into American neighborhoods, children today have a higher potential for exposure to fast food than in the past, particularly in densely populated places. In Los Angeles County alone, an estimated 65 percent of public schools have at least one fast food restaurant within easy walking distance of the school (Simon et al., 2008). With a number of menu items offered at relatively low prices at these establishments, students have access to foods high in saturated fat, sodium, sugar, and high caloric content, both before and after school, and the consumption of such foods by students is evident. A recent Los Angeles County health survey found that 21 percent of children ages two to five years, 26 percent of children ages six to eleven years, and 29 percent of adolescents ages twelve to seventeen years, ate fast food in the past day (LACDPH, 2008).

Today, many of the advertising and marketing techniques employed by the fast food industry target young children via branding, which encourages children to recognize and differentiate particular products and logos. By two years of age, children may already have beliefs about specific brands, and two to six year olds can recognize familiar brand names, packaging, logos, and characters, and associate them with products (Robinson, 2007). The fast food industry spends billions of dollars every year on mass marketing, most of which is geared toward children and adolescents. A survey of American schoolchildren found that 96 percent could identify Ronald McDonald. Additionally, every month, more than 90 percent of them eat at McDonald’s restaurants (Scholsser, 2002).

The fast food industry has most certainly branded its mark across the globe, and it continues to do so as it makes its way into new landscapes, not only in industrial countries, but in
the developing world as well. Among large scale fast food restaurant chains, the largest, McDonald’s, operates over 31,000 restaurants in 119 countries, spanning over six continents. The global fast food restaurant serves more than 47 million customers daily, and in its most recent annual report it accounted for a total revenue of $23.5 billion for 2008 (McDonald’s, 2009). On the company’s website, the history page boasts that, “Kuwait City is pretty far from Des Plaines, Illinois [the home of McDonald’s headquarters], but that didn’t stop 15,000 customers from lining up here on opening day in 1994. The line at the drive thru was seven miles long, proving once again that ‘Good Times, Great Taste’ is understandable in any language” (McDonald’s, 2008).

Fast food corporations have made enormous profits, in part by focusing their marketing and advertising campaigns toward the younger demographics. As noted in the Institute of Medicine’s report on food marketing, “Children and youth represent an important demographic market because they are potential customers, they influence purchases made by parents and households, and they constitute the future adult market” (Institute of Medicine, 2006). By advertising to this target audience during children’s television shows and on cable television channels dedicated to children’s programming, the fast food industry has peaked the interest of young viewers and has successfully captured their undivided attention. A recent study found that 36 percent of advertisements during children’s programming were for fast food (Outley, 2006).

To make their products more captivating, the fast food industry employs the use of fictional characters and other recognizable figures to draw the interest of young viewers. In many instances, fast food corporations will contract with motion picture companies, toy manufacturers, and athletes to add familiar faces to their products, a practice that makes their food more enticing to young consumers. Nestle (2006) suggests that fast food marketing “intentionally targets children who are too young to distinguish advertising from [the] truth and induces them to eat high-calorie, low-nutrient, but highly profitable junk foods.” Doing so through children’s programming via broadcast networks is especially successful as the potential to reach millions of children is highly likely. It is estimated that in American households approximately 99 percent of children have access to at least one TV set. This allows most American children access to broadcast television programs and the commercials that accompany them (Page and Brewster, 2007).

Consequences of Sedentary Behavior

As technological advancements in television, personal computers, gaming consoles and handheld electronic devices have grown, so have sedentary activities at home as children have become increasingly accustomed to using such devices in lieu of the outdoor physical activities that were once so common. A significant amount of studies has suggested that obese children spend less time in moderate and vigorous physical activity than their non-obese counterparts. Anderson et al. (1998) reported that during a nationally representative cross-sectional survey of more than 4,000 children across the United States, 67 percent of these children watched at least two hours of television per day. Additionally, children who watched four or more hours of television each day had greater body fat and had a greater body mass index than those who watched less than two hours per day.
As children sit to watch television, play video games, or interact with other electronic devices, most do so in sedentary positions while snacking on unhealthy foods. Matheson et al. (2004) analyzed data involving what foods were consumed by third and fifth grade students during television viewing and found that a significant percentage of the calories that children obtain throughout the day are consumed with eating during television viewing. The study also found that in households in which the television is on during meals, children consume more red meat, pizza, snack foods and soda, and fewer fruits and vegetables.

**Prevention Methods**

While minimizing the time spent watching television by children may help to reduce the amount of calories they consume throughout the day, making healthier snacks and more nutritious meals available to them both at school and at home may have a significant impact on reducing their caloric intake. Today, many school districts are making an effort to reduce the amount of saturated fats, sugar, and unhealthy food options made available to their students by replacing high calorie cafeteria items with leaner meats, fruits, vegetables, and healthier drinks. While some school districts have already successfully implemented regulations to ban soda and junk food from campuses, others have yet to follow suit. The Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD), for instance, has instituted higher nutritional standards than the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) requires and has adopted several motions that improve the nutritional environment on school campuses (LAUSD, 2009a). Although these restrictions are not practiced by all school districts, by ensuring that healthier food choices are made available after school, parents and guardians can help mitigate the negative health consequences and risk factors associated with unhealthy diets. Ensuring that sugar-sweetened beverages are substituted with healthier drinks may also significantly reduce a large portion of calories consumed by children on a daily basis.

**Health Disparities by Socioeconomic Status and Geographic Area**

Keeping healthy snacks and foods at home and making them available to children in lieu of foods high in saturated fats and sugar content is seemingly practical, however healthier food items are typically more accessible to families in homes with higher household incomes. In contrast, families living in economically distressed neighborhoods are limited, in many instances, to smaller grocery food stores within close proximity, many of which sell lower quality items at lower prices, and make healthier foods available at much higher prices (Kaufman, 1999). According to a review on the relationship between poverty and obesity, it has been suggested that, “The reason healthier diets are beyond the reach of many people is that such diets cost more. On a per calorie basis, diets composed of whole grains, fish, and fresh vegetables and fruit are far more expensive than refined grains, added sugars and added fats. It’s not a question of being sensible when it comes to food choices, it’s about being limited to those foods that you can afford” (University of Washington, 2004).

One other factor that contributes to the prevalence of childhood overweight and obesity is the lack of safe outdoor environments in which children live, play, and attend school. Access to safe places to play, particularly outdoor recreation areas, is associated with being more physically active (Cohen et al, 2007). If a child lacks access to safe parks, playgrounds, and
recreation areas, outdoor play and exercise may become dangerous, thus children are discouraged from participating in physical activity. Unfortunately, families living in economically distressed neighborhoods are more likely to experience such scenarios, along with other disparities that may ultimately lead to negative health consequences. Gordon-Larsen (2006), in particular, has demonstrated the correlation between lower income neighborhoods and childhood obesity.

There are also causes for concern between health and academic progress in lower income neighborhoods, as recent studies have suggested a linkage between poor health and poor early achievement, particularly within minority groups. Crosnoe (2006) explored the role of health on early cognitive achievement of children among different ethnicities; it was determined that non-white children typically arrive at elementary school with poorer physical health than their white peers. The study concluded that general poor health complicates academic progress because poor health hampers brain development and disrupts class attendance, concentration, and participation. Additionally, racial disparities in health among children contribute to racial gaps in school readiness (Currie, 2005). As a result, not being prepared to learn at such a young age will affect the readiness and enthusiasm to learn in forthcoming years.

**Genetic and Individual Risk Factors**

In addition to physical and social factors, a child’s risk for obesity, in specific cases, may also be influenced by genetic factors. More than 50 years ago, the American medical community first learned about Prader-Willi Syndrome, the most common known genetic cause of life-threatening obesity in children (Prader-Willi Syndrome Association, 2009). Prader-Willi Syndrome is known to affect approximately one in every 15,000 children, and is likely to result in morbid obesity, among other health related consequences. Although the cause is complex, it results from an abnormality on the fifteenth chromosome, and occurs equally in children of both sexes and all races. Much like Prader-Willi Syndrome, Bardet-Biedl Syndrome is also a rare genetic disorder that can cause a host of physical problems, including obesity. Although these disorders, and several others, have been ascribed to genetics, it is important to note that the rapid rise in rates of overweight and obesity in children cannot be attributed solely to genetic factors.

Regardless of how children arrive at becoming overweight or obese, both are now occurring more frequently than in the past, and as a result, children are now being exposed to the negative health effects associated with these disorders at younger ages. A lack of physical activity in children puts them at risk for poor health in adulthood, increasing the possibility of developing chronic diseases such as type-2 diabetes, hypertension, and heart disease. Additionally, research has shown that a child’s self-esteem can be negatively affected on account of being overweight as early as in preschool, and can likely lead to depression, a psychiatric disorder that can be found at almost any age in children. Ross (1994) describes, "[b]ecause our feelings about ourselves are shaped by the attitudes of others, compared to people of normal weight, overweight individuals may suffer low self-esteem, have negative self-images, think others dislike them, and thus have high levels of depression."
Policy Implementations/Related Legislations

There is no doubt that the fast food industry has had a tremendous negative impact on the health of American children, both physically and mentally. The well being of young consumers has been directly affected by fast food restaurants offering processed foods high in calories, fat, and carbohydrates. As a result, harsher regulations on the fast food industry have imposed restrictions on how these restaurants prepare their food, encouraging legislators in the United States to ban the use of trans fats in an effort to curb the rapid growth of obesity among Americans, particularly children. In July 2008, California became the first state to ban trans fats from restaurants and baked goods, as Republican Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger sided with mostly democratic state legislators and signed California Assembly Bill 97 (AB 97) into law, which prohibits cooking with artificial trans fats in restaurants by January 1, 2010, and bars their presence in baked goods by January 1, 2011 (State of California Legislative Council, 2009). According to the National Conference of State Legislatures, other states will also follow suit as they too have pending legislation prohibiting the use of trans fats. These include twenty six other states in addition to California (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2009). While California was the first to ban the use of trans fats at the state level, two years prior to their decision, the city of New York was the first to ban their use municipally, as they approved an ordinance to eliminate the use of trans fats in restaurants by July 2007, and artificial trans fats from all foods by July 2008. Other municipalities have also proceeded with similar ordinances of their own.

Summary

Poor health and fitness and a lack of physical activity may lead to a number of negative health consequences in children, including childhood obesity, a disorder that presents different outcomes by race, ethnicity, gender, age, and socioeconomic status. Given that, Los Angeles County is particularly susceptible to this disorder as it is home to the largest concentration of children, ages 0-17, in the United States. It is also home to more than 140 cultures and well over 200 spoken languages and dialects.

Although social factors, environmental factors, and genetic factors can all influence the likelihood of obesity and other health related consequences in children, much can be done to prevent these consequences from occurring. Such prevention methods include increasing physical activity, reducing sedentary behavior, maintaining a low-fat, well balanced diet, replacing unhealthy snacks with fresh fruits and vegetables, and eliminating the consumption of drinks with high sugar content. Making a concerted effort to avoid eating at neighborhood restaurants, particularly fast food chains, may also prevent negative health outcomes in children.

1 As of May 25, 2009, State legislation, including bills proposed in 2007-2008 and enacted in 2006-2008, that would restrict or ban the use of trans fats includes: Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Illinois, Indiana, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, and West Virginia. Some bills would impose a statewide ban on trans fats in retail food establishments or chain restaurants. Other bills propose to limit or ban trans fats in foods served in school cafeterias, or to study trans fat alternatives.
Government intervention, in the form of policy implementation, can serve to impose restrictions at different levels of the public sector and can also help mitigate the negative health consequences associated with eating unhealthy food. By developing and implementing responsible public policy, and making schools and restaurants abide by such regulations, government can begin to curtail some of the factors responsible for the onset of overweight and obesity in children, primarily the use of trans fats and unhealthy additives in food. As such, school cafeterias that cater to students and restaurants that serve the general public can take part in promoting and serving healthier meals to children, helping them to significantly decrease the probability of becoming overweight or obese.

METHODOLOGY

This paper (1) uses descriptive statistics to examine the temporal trends of the overall health of school children in Los Angeles County; (2) explores the socioeconomic factors contributing to the overall health of these children and tests for associations between these variables using inferential statistics; (3) performs a gender study of the overall health of these children using inferential statistics; and (4) employs the use of a GIS to identify spatial patterns and geographic clusters with high concentrations of unhealthy school children throughout Los Angeles County. A research study of this nature is important, not only to highlight how socioeconomic variables affect the outcomes of overall health in children and adolescents, but to identify neighborhoods where higher than expected numbers of unhealthy children are located. These results may then be shared with local health officials and public health organizations to help allocate mitigation efforts and programs in high risk areas to help prevent the underlying causes of weight related negative health outcomes in children and adolescents.

Data for this paper were obtained from the California Department of Education (CDE) and include results for public school students in grades five, seven, and nine that participated in the state of California’s annual Physical Fitness Testing program. A database table was also obtained from the CDE that includes the names and addresses of all public schools located within Los Angeles County as of January, 2009. These data were geo-referenced and plotted as geographic features in a GIS to identify the locations of each of the schools in the database. This was accomplished by geocoding the records in the CDE schools database using Thomas Brothers’ 2009 street centerlines coverage as a reference (Thomas Brothers Maps, 2009).

Additional data for this paper were collected from the United States Census Bureau for census year 2000. These data include tract-level geographic boundaries for Los Angeles County along with demographic, social, and economic variables. Geographic boundaries representing Los Angeles County’s Service Planning Areas (SPAs) were obtained for this study as well, acquired from the Los Angeles County Department of Urban Research. The commercial mapping software application, ArcGIS 9.3, developed by Environmental Systems Research Institute (ESRI) was utilized for all GIS related tasks (ESRI, 2009). To maintain the highest level of spatial accuracy, all geographic data were created using the California State Plane projection, Zone V, using feet as the primary unit of measure. All Census and SPA data were re-projected using the information detailed above as well.
Multiple regression analysis is employed to test for significant associations between the health of the county’s students and a number of socioeconomic variables. Then this study employs the use of compare means t-tests to determine whether there is a statistically significant difference between the mean health scores of male and female students in Los Angeles County. As current literature on the health of American children and adolescents suggests, the authors expect to find that clusters of students living in economically distressed neighborhoods in Los Angeles County are likely to be less healthy than their more affluent counterparts. Therefore, the authors hypothesize a priori that there are significant directional associations between selected socioeconomic variables and unhealthy physical fitness test results for the county’s students. The commercial statistical analysis software application, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences 16.0 (SPSS, 2008), was utilized for all inferential statistics calculated in this paper.

Data Sources

The California Department of Education

The single most important data source of this paper comes from the California Department of Education, which provides results for the annual Physical Fitness Test (PFT) administered to all of the state’s fifth, seventh, and ninth grade public school students. In order to take advantage of the most current PFT data made available, this study investigates the results for the high school class of 2011 cohort by analyzing PFT results for years 2004, 2006, and 2008, which capture the cohort as fifth, seventh, and ninth grade students, respectively. Results for other fifth, seventh, and ninth grade students captured during these years will be examined as well.

The California Department of Education’s PFT was initiated by the state of California in 1976 to monitor the health of the state’s public school students, and was reestablished in 1995 as part of the California Assessment of Academic Achievement Act, which added Education Code Section 60800 (EC § 60800). Under the reestablished act, EC § 60800 requires that all California school districts administer the PFT annually, during the months of February through May, to all public school students in grades five, seven, and nine. Under this same section, the Education Code requires the CDE to collect PFT results from all students and provide aggregate results to the state’s school districts and the general public. The CDE is also required to report aggregate results to the Governor of California and the California Legislature. In addition to the CDE, school districts must also meet requirements under EC § 60800. These include providing students with their individual results after completing the PFT, either orally or in writing, and reporting the summary results of the PFT in their annual School Accountability Report Card (California Education Code, 2009).

The State of California’s Physical Fitness Test is based on the Fitnessgram®, developed by the Cooper Institute of Dallas, Texas, a renowned health institution focused on researching topics directly related to public health. The Fitnessgram® is a physical assessment comprised of six fitness areas, and uses objective criteria to evaluate performance for each area. The Cooper Institute established these criteria using current research and expert opinions and according to the CDE, these criteria represent a level of fitness that offers some protection against the diseases associated with physical inactivity (CDE, 2009). The six fitness test areas include: Aerobic
Capacity, Abdominal Strength and Endurance, Upper Body Strength and Endurance, Body Composition, Trunk Strength and Flexibility, and overall Flexibility. Under each fitness area, several options are made available for administering tests to students. The different options are detailed in Table 1.

Table 1: Fitnessgram® Fitness Areas and Test Options

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fitness Area</th>
<th>Test Option</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aerobic Capacity</td>
<td>• PACER (Progressive Aerobic Cardiovascular Endurance Run)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• One-Mile Run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Walk Test (only for ages thirteen or older)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdominal Strength and Endurance</td>
<td>• Curl-Up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Body Strength and Endurance</td>
<td>• Push-Up</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Modified Pull-Up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Flexed Arm Hang</td>
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<tr>
<td>Body Composition</td>
<td>• Skinfold Measurements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Body Mass Index</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Bioelectric Impedance Analyzer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trunk Extensor Strength and Flexibility</td>
<td>• Trunk Lift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flexibility</td>
<td>• Back-Saver Sit and Reach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Shoulder Stretch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: California Department of Education

Under each fitness area, the Fitnessgram® tests students to determine whether they are in a “Healthy Fitness Zone” (HFZ) for their specific age and gender. These zones were established by The Cooper Institute and criteria for meeting the zones vary from one test to the next. All tests use age and gender as a reference to represent the basic levels of good health and fitness in children and adolescents and results are reported using Healthy Fitness Zones as a benchmark for evaluating fitness performance. According to the CDE, these zones are criterion-referenced standards and represent minimum levels of fitness that offer protection against the diseases that result from sedentary behavior (CDE, 2008). The CDE considers a student who meets or exceeds the Healthy Fitness Zone as meeting the desired performance goal. Students in this category are considered to have acceptable health and are unlikely to be susceptible to weight related health risks. Alternatively, students that do no meet the Healthy Fitness Zone fall into the “Needs Improvement” performance area and are likely to be affected by potential health risks, particularly in adulthood.

While each of the Fitnessgram’s® six test areas serve to measure the level of fitness of California public school students, it is important to note that some are more specific than others in identifying overall health, strength, endurance, and body mass, and may be useful when used as proxies to help determine more serious health outcomes. For instance, the Aerobic Capacity fitness area measures the ability of the heart, lungs, and muscles to perform sustained physical activity (Welk and Meredith, 2008). Good aerobic capacity can significantly decrease the risk of
heart disease, high blood pressure, stroke, and diabetes and is thus an outstanding indicator of, or proxy for good health. Similarly, the *Body Composition* fitness area targets the various factors that contribute to an individual’s weight, namely by calculating the amount of one’s body fat. According to the Cooper Institute, this component of fitness is considered extremely important because excessive fat content is closely associated with weight related health complications (Cooper Institute, 2008). Similarly, this fitness area can also serve as a proxy for level of overall health.

Considering that both *Aerobic Capacity* and *Body Composition* most closely represent good overall health in children and adolescents, this paper employs the use of these two physical fitness test areas and excludes the use of all others. These two variables were selected because they provide good data for analyzing the relationship between geographic patterns and negative health outcomes in children and adolescents, and they also provide a good level of measurement to help highlight clusters of unhealthy public school students at the neighborhood level throughout Los Angeles County. These PFT data contain school demographic information, state issued county-district-school (CDS) codes, and test results in percentages for students falling within the Fitnessgram’s® Healthy Fitness Zone.

The CDE makes PFT data available to the general public for years 1999-2008, with the exception of year 2000, as data were not collected that year due to a budget constraint for the newly implemented program. This paper examines test results for the high school graduating class of 2011 cohort and compares trends in overall health for this group during three time periods. Year 2004 data capture the cohort’s test results as fifth graders while years 2006 and 2008 capture their results as seventh and ninth graders, respectively. Data that capture this cohort are employed for this paper because they are among the most current PFT data made available by the CDE, and they include a larger number of total results than data for previous years. Additionally, these data match closest to the newest version of the CDE schools database that was geocoded for this paper.

Data collected from the CDE was obtained on January 1, 2009 and included physical fitness test results for all fifth, seventh, and ninth grade public school students in the state of California, aggregated by school, for years 2004, 2006, and 2008. For the sake of this study, all PFT results for public schools located in Los Angeles County were extracted and saved as “.dbf” files in a relational database. In total, six .dbf files were generated, one for each of the years and assessment areas being observed. This effort resulted in a total of 5,184 year-schools being analyzed, 1,582 for 2004, 1,755 for 2006, and 1,847 for 2008. It is important to note that because all PFT data obtained from the CDE were joined to georeferenced place-based points derived from a 2009 California schools database, the number of schools being analyzed differed from one year to the next. This occurs due to mismatches between schools included in the 2009 database and schools that operated in previous years. Recent school closures or schools operating under different names or CDS codes are likely causes. Newly constructed schools contributed to this difference as well, specifically the larger total in latter years. Within the City of Los Angeles alone, the Los Angeles Unified School District has developed 76 new schools and has completed 59 school additions since the beginning of its New Construction Program in 1998. These projects were completed in segments, per annum, and are scheduled to continue until the program terminates with the construction of 131 new schools and more than 18,000
modernization projects (LAUSD, 2009b). Although the Los Angeles Unified School District is responsible for developing the largest number of new schools in Los Angeles County, other districts have also been assertive with their construction and modernization programs, adding new sites to their list of schools in recent years as well.

**The United States Census Bureau**

Los Angeles County census tract geographic boundaries and socioeconomic variables used in this study were obtained from the U.S. Census Bureau’s website for Census year 2000 (U.S. Census, 2000) and *Aerobic Capacity* and *Body Composition* database tables for years 2004, 2006, and 2008 were attached to them. Los Angeles County is comprised of 2,054 census tracts, however not all tracts have schools located within their boundaries. Census tracts containing only one school were assigned data for the subject school’s physical fitness test results while tracts containing multiple schools were assigned averages of physical fitness test results for all schools in the subject tract. This ensured that all census tracts contained the proper values for *Aerobic Capacity* and *Body Composition* in addition to census based demographic, social, and economic variables. Tracts where schools were not present were extracted from the dataset.

**Los Angeles County Service Planning Areas**

Los Angeles County is divided into eight “Service Planning Areas” (SPAs), primarily for health care planning and organization purposes. Although these planning areas serve a purpose in dividing the county up for health care reasons, they are often utilized by other county departments as physical boundaries, used to assess the needs of SPA residents for a number of different purposes. This paper employs the use of Los Angeles County’s SPAs to help identify the spatial patterns and geographic clusters of unhealthy children and adolescents at the neighborhood level.

Los Angeles County SPA geographic boundaries were obtained from the Los Angeles County Department of Urban Research and *Aerobic Capacity* and *Body Composition* database tables for years 2004, 2006, and 2008 were attached to them, along with associated U.S. Census data variables. SPA regions were assigned averages of physical fitness test results for all schools in the subject planning area and were assigned sums for all census variables as well. This ensured that all SPAs contained the proper values for *Aerobic Capacity* and *Body Composition* in addition to census based demographic, social, and economic variables.

**Hypothesis Testing**

**Multiple Linear Regression**

Prior to conducting any statistical analysis, the authors calculated the percentage of students, per grade level, that fell within the “Healthy Fitness Zone” for each census tract to allow for comparisons across tracts of different population sizes. Data for schools that did not match geocoded sites derived from the 2009 CDE schools database were excluded from this analysis.
In order to identify a relationship between socioeconomic variables and physical fitness test results for both *Aerobic Capacity* and *Body Composition*, the authors performed 18 different multiple regressions (2 dependent variables, 3 grades, and 3 years) to test for statistically significant association between the employed socioeconomic variables and test results at the census tract level.

All PFT results, aggregated by school, for *Aerobic Capacity* and *Body Composition* were spatially joined to Los Angeles County’s census tracts for years 2004, 2006, and 2008. Any tracts where schools were not present were extracted from the dataset, and as a result, there were a total of 1,117 census tracts containing schools for year 2004. Tracts containing schools for years 2006 and 2008 totaled 1,193, and 1,228, respectively. PFT results for *Aerobic Capacity* and *Body Composition* were spatially joined to Los Angeles County’s Service Planning Areas as well, resulting in eight regions, countywide, for all three time periods. Table 2 identifies the variables utilized in the regression for both *Aerobic Capacity* and *Body Composition*.

**Table 2: Variables Used in the Regression Analysis**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Variables</th>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grade 5 “percent In HFZ”</td>
<td>Median home value</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 7 “percent In HFZ”</td>
<td>Average family household size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 9 “percent In HFZ”</td>
<td>Median family household income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below poverty, married couple with children</td>
<td>Below poverty, male HOH with children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below poverty, male HOH with children</td>
<td>Below poverty, female HOH with children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renter occupied housing units</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: California Department of Education, U.S. Census, Authors

**Compare Means T-test**

In addition to the multiple linear regression that the authors employed to test for associations between the results of *Aerobic Capacity* and *Body Composition* and the various socioeconomic variables being examined, the authors also utilized a t-test to compare the mean health scores of the male and female students throughout Los Angeles County to determine whether statistically significant differences exist between genders. Similar to the method utilized for the multiple linear regression analysis, mean health scores for the county’s fifth, seventh, and ninth grade students were analyzed for the entire county and at the Service Planning Area level.

**ANALYSIS**

In this section of the paper, using statistics and maps, we (1) graphically describe the recent temporal trend of the overall health of school children in Los Angeles County; (2) report the results of multiple regressions used to test significant associations between socioeconomic variables and the overall health of the county’s school children; (3) examine the results of compare means t-tests employed to measure the difference in health scores between male and female students that participated in the state of California’s annual Physical Fitness Testing (PFT) program; and (4) illustrate the geographic patterns of these health outcomes using GIS and discuss their overall implications.
Temporal Trends of Aerobic Capacity and Body Composition

As the first step in initiating this study, the authors closely examined the results of both the Aerobic Capacity and Body Composition physical fitness tests to identify the health patterns of public school students throughout Los Angeles County. In this section, the authors examined the temporal trends for all students across all three time periods being observed for both Aerobic Capacity and Body Composition, paying particular attention to test year, grade level, and “Percent in HFZ.” Results for the Class of 2011 cohort are highlighted throughout this section, although results for other cohorts and grades are examined as well.

Aerobic Capacity

Figure 1 shows the results of the Aerobic Capacity portion of the PFT for fifth, seventh, and ninth grade students for years 2004, 2006, and 2008. Results for the Class of 2011 cohort are outlined in red. The results of the Aerobic Capacity physical fitness test reveal an overall increasing trend in health scores among all grades observed from year to year, and among the Class of 2011 cohort. For each year observed, HFZ results for fifth, seventh, and ninth grade students have improved from one year to the next, occurring most dramatically among ninth graders, followed by fifth graders, then seventh graders. From 2004 to 2008, ninth grade HFZ results improved from 39.7 percent to 56.8 percent, a 17.1 percent increase, while grades five and seven increased 7.0 percent and 6.3 percent, respectively. The Class of 2011 cohort shows a slight improvement with each passing year as well. This trend implies that the health of the county’s fifth, seventh, and ninth grade students is improving at their respective grade levels, in successive years. Improved health scores are likely due to the recent implementation of statewide and local laws, regulations, and ordinances that prohibit the use of trans fats and unhealthy additives in food. School districts have also implemented strict regulations throughout Los Angeles County, many of which have banned the sale of unhealthy beverages on school campuses and have made worthy efforts to reduce unhealthy food options to students.

Although Figure 1 reveals a pattern of progressive overall improvement in HFZ results among all years observed, HFZ results have declined from one grade level to the next, among yearly grouped results. During any given year, it appears that the aerobic capacity of public school students in Los Angeles County is highest in fifth grade and declines in later grades. As the literature that has been reviewed contends, this decline is likely due to a decrease in physical activity during adolescence and an increase in sedentary behavior brought about by television viewing and a growing interest in personal computers and handheld electronic devices. As students grow older, more have access to personal computers, televisions, and modern electronic peripherals, and as a result, more time is consumed interacting with such devices in lieu of physical activity, thus contributing to the decline in physical fitness percentages with each passing grade.
Figure 1: Temporal Trend of *Aerobic Capacity* HFZ Results
A continued decrease in the number of physical education courses offered across all grade levels in Los Angeles County may also contribute to the pattern of progressive decline in HFZ results among the county’s students. Increased access with age to fast food establishments has also impacted the decline in health scores in upper grades, as parents have less of an influence on what children eat as they mature and become more independent. Fast food restaurants within close proximity to school sites allow student access to foods high in calories and saturated fats both before and after school, and inexpensive menu items make these foods highly accessible. The effect of such foods on the health of Los Angeles County’s students is evident.

The students in neighborhoods where outdoor physical activity may pose a threat to their safety is another factor that may very well contribute to the decline in HFZ results among the county’s students. As the previously reviewed literature suggests, access to safe neighborhood recreation facilities, open space, and parks is associated with being more physically active. Without access to such facilities, physical activity decreases considerably, as does the overall health of affected youth.

**Body Composition**

Figure 2 reveals the temporal trends of Body Composition HFZ results with expected and surprising patterns. It shows the results of the Body Composition portion of the PFT for fifth, seventh, and ninth grade students for years 2004, 2006, and 2008; results for the Class of 2011 cohort are outlined in red.

As with Aerobic Capacity, the graph for Body Composition reveals an overall increasing trend in HFZ results among all years observed as well; however individual years show varied results per grade level. The increasing trend implies that the body composition of the county’s fifth, seventh, and ninth grade students is improving, particularly in most recent years. Despite this improvement, a decrease in health scores is evident from one grade to the next in 2004, with the lowest results present among ninth grade students.

In proceeding years, HFZ results for Body Composition increased considerably, most notably in grades seven and nine. This is likely due to normal adolescent growth patterns, a time at which both males and females mature and the main components of body composition all increase. As students mature in age, they do so physically as well, namely between seventh and ninth grades, during which time they experience the onset of puberty and undergo rapid growth. During this time, the human body endures dramatic hormonal fluctuations as well as rapid growth in body size, accompanied by marked changes in body composition (Siervogel et al., 2003). These changes are evident in the results presented in Figure 2.

In 2006, results for the Class of 2011 cohort dip slightly, however by 2008, the cohort’s health scores increase substantially, as do results for that year’s fifth and seventh grade students. These outcomes are consistent with the literature, as marked changes in body composition present themselves during the cohort’s pubescent years. Overall, the Body Composition temporal trend indicates that the outcomes of HFZ results are not uniform across all years being observed, however the general pattern suggests that health scores are improving in successive years.
Figure 4.2: Temporal Trend of Body Composition HFZ Results
Temporal Trend Summary

Both Aerobic Capacity and Body Composition show a general improvement in HFZ results across all years observed, however based on the results of both test areas, a significant portion of the county’s students did not meet the state of California’s minimum HFZ standards, including the Class of 2011 cohort. During the cohort’s most improved year, 2008, all Los Angeles County students reached their historical high in physical fitness test scores, yet HFZ results did not exceed 68 percent for either test at any given grade level. Subsequently, more than 30 percent of the county’s students failed to meet the state’s minimum health standards, a figure that remains harmfully high.

Figure 1 (Aerobic Capacity) reveals a pattern of declining cardiovascular fitness levels with each passing grade, although Figure 2 (Body Composition) reveals an increasing pattern from one grade to the next. This indicates that as students get older, their aerobic capacity declines, however target levels for body composition increase. These results appear to be in contrast to one another; however overall, current data show that improvements in health scores continue to be made from year to year.

Socioeconomic Factors Affecting Aerobic Capacity and Body Composition

After joining the Aerobic Capacity and Body Composition physical fitness test results to Los Angeles County’s census tracts, the authors conducted multiple regressions to test for association between “percent students in Health Fitness Zone” (either Aerobic Capacity or Body Composition) and six census-tract based socioeconomic variables. The regression model is

\[
Y = \alpha + \beta_1 X_1 + X_2 \beta_2 + X_3 \beta_3 + X_4 \beta_4 + X_5 \beta_5 + X_6 \beta_6 + \varepsilon
\]

where

\(Y\) is percent students (in 5th, 7th, or 9th grade) in health fitness zone (AC-HFZ or BC-HFZ),
\(X_1\) is ln (natural log) median home value\(^2\),
\(X_2\) is ln (natural log) median family household income\(^1\),
\(X_3\) is average family household size,
\(X_4\) is percent below poverty female household head with children,
\(X_5\) is percent below poverty male household head with children,
\(X_6\) is percent renters,
\(\alpha, \beta\) are parameters, and
\(\varepsilon\) is the error term.

\(^2\) Plotting of the dependant variable and this independent variable reveals a log-linear relationship.
Table 3: Multiple Regression Results, *Aerobic Capacity*

### 2004

**Dependent Variable = Percent Grade 5 Student in Aerobic Capacity Health Fitness Zone**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>t-value</th>
<th>p-value</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>Model Statistics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>constant</td>
<td>-0.839</td>
<td>-4.007</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td></td>
<td>N = 958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ln Median Home Value</td>
<td>0.117</td>
<td>6.964</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>0.246</td>
<td>F = 51.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Below Poverty Female Household Heads with Children</td>
<td>-0.021</td>
<td>-3.029</td>
<td>.003</td>
<td>-0.107</td>
<td>R² = .098</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Dependent Variable = Percent Grade 7 Student in Aerobic Capacity Health Fitness Zone**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>t-value</th>
<th>p-value</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>Model Statistics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>constant</td>
<td>-0.435</td>
<td>-1.027</td>
<td>.305</td>
<td></td>
<td>N = 314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ln Median Family Household Income</td>
<td>0.093</td>
<td>2.467</td>
<td>.014</td>
<td>0.199</td>
<td>F = 20.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Below Poverty Female Household Heads with Children</td>
<td>-0.036</td>
<td>-2.076</td>
<td>.039</td>
<td>-0.168</td>
<td>R² = .118</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Dependent Variable = Percent Grade 9 Student in Aerobic Capacity Health Fitness Zone**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>t-value</th>
<th>p-value</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>Model Statistics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>constant</td>
<td>-1.774</td>
<td>-5.002</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td></td>
<td>N = 193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ln Median Home Value</td>
<td>0.185</td>
<td>6.323</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>0.415</td>
<td>F = 22.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Renters</td>
<td>-0.004</td>
<td>-2.966</td>
<td>.003</td>
<td>-0.195</td>
<td>R² = .190</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2006

**Dependent Variable = Percent Grade 5 Student in Aerobic Capacity Health Fitness Zone**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>t-value</th>
<th>p-value</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>Model Statistics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>constant</td>
<td>-1.164</td>
<td>-6.874</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td></td>
<td>N = 1005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ln Median Home Value</td>
<td>0.144</td>
<td>10.411</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>0.312</td>
<td>F = 108.39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Dependent Variable = Percent Grade 7 Student in Aerobic Capacity Health Fitness Zone**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>t-value</th>
<th>p-value</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>Model Statistics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>constant</td>
<td>-0.540</td>
<td>-1.762</td>
<td>.079</td>
<td></td>
<td>N = 360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ln Median Home Value</td>
<td>0.096</td>
<td>3.895</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>0.218</td>
<td>F = 20.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Below Poverty Female Household Heads with Children</td>
<td>-0.038</td>
<td>-2.939</td>
<td>.004</td>
<td>-0.174</td>
<td>R² = .149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Renters</td>
<td>-0.003</td>
<td>-2.481</td>
<td>.014</td>
<td>-0.130</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3 (con't)

Dependent Variable = Percent Grade 9 Student in Aerobic Capacity Health Fitness Zone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>t-value</th>
<th>p-value</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>Model Statistics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-.986</td>
<td>-2.815</td>
<td>.005</td>
<td></td>
<td>N = 240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Median Home Value</td>
<td>.120</td>
<td>4.224</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.274</td>
<td>F = 16.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Below Poverty Female Household Heads with Children</td>
<td>-.025</td>
<td>-2.186</td>
<td>.030</td>
<td>-.142</td>
<td>R² = .122</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2008

Dependent Variable = Percent Grade 5 Student in Aerobic Capacity Health Fitness Zone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>t-value</th>
<th>p-value</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>Model Statistics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-1.164</td>
<td>-6.669</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td></td>
<td>N = 1032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Median Home Value</td>
<td>.085</td>
<td>4.178</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.181</td>
<td>F = 53.125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Median Family Household Income</td>
<td>.070</td>
<td>3.389</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.147</td>
<td>R² = .094</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dependent Variable = Percent Grade 7 Student in Aerobic Capacity Health Fitness Zone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>t-value</th>
<th>p-value</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>Model Statistics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>constant</td>
<td>-1.278</td>
<td>-5.143</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td></td>
<td>N = 378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Median Family Household Income</td>
<td>.172</td>
<td>7.498</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.360</td>
<td>F = 56.221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R² = .130</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dependent Variable = Percent Grade 9 Student in Aerobic Capacity Health Fitness Zone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>t-value</th>
<th>p-value</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>Model Statistics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>constant</td>
<td>-1.173</td>
<td>-3.425</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td></td>
<td>N = 269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Median Home Value</td>
<td>.146</td>
<td>5.181</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.298</td>
<td>F = 17.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Renters</td>
<td>-.004</td>
<td>-3.031</td>
<td>.003</td>
<td>-.174</td>
<td>R² = .116</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 4: Multiple Regression Results, Body Composition

#### 2004

**Dependent Variable = Percent Grade 5 Student in Body Composition Health Fitness Zone**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>t-value</th>
<th>p-value</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>Model Statistics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-.328</td>
<td>-2.960</td>
<td>.003</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>N = 958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ln Median Family Household Income</td>
<td>.099</td>
<td>11.064</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.387</td>
<td>F = 148.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Family Household Size</td>
<td>-.024</td>
<td>-4.173</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>-.146</td>
<td>R² = .237</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Dependent Variable = Percent Grade 7 Student in Body Composition Health Fitness Zone**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>t-value</th>
<th>p-value</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>Model Statistics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-.354</td>
<td>-1.804</td>
<td>.072</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>N = 314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ln Median Family Household Income</td>
<td>.100</td>
<td>6.359</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.395</td>
<td>F = 49.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Family Household Size</td>
<td>-.022</td>
<td>-2.232</td>
<td>.026</td>
<td>-.139</td>
<td>R² = .241</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Dependent Variable = Percent Grade 9 Student in Body Composition Health Fitness Zone**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>t-value</th>
<th>p-value</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>Model Statistics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-.719</td>
<td>-2.500</td>
<td>.013</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>N = 193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ln Median Home Value</td>
<td>.115</td>
<td>4.905</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.354</td>
<td>F = 20.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Below Poverty Female Household Heads with Children</td>
<td>-.026</td>
<td>-2.732</td>
<td>.007</td>
<td>-.200</td>
<td>R² = .242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Renters</td>
<td>-.002</td>
<td>-1.976</td>
<td>.050</td>
<td>-.132</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 2006

**Dependent Variable = Percent Grade 5 Student in Body Composition Health Fitness Zone**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>t-value</th>
<th>p-value</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>Model Statistics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-.826</td>
<td>-5.846</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>N = 1005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ln Median Family Household Income</td>
<td>.116</td>
<td>8.836</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.468</td>
<td>F = 127.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Family Household Size</td>
<td>-.023</td>
<td>-4.332</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>-.144</td>
<td>R² = .337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ln Median Home Value</td>
<td>.025</td>
<td>2.451</td>
<td>.014</td>
<td>.099</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Below Poverty Female Household Heads with Children</td>
<td>.010</td>
<td>2.387</td>
<td>.017</td>
<td>.095</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22
Table 4 (con't)

**Dependent Variable = Percent Grade 7 Student in Body Composition Health Fitness Zone**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>t-value</th>
<th>p-value</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>Model Statistics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>constant</td>
<td>.878</td>
<td>26.708</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.878</td>
<td>N = 360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Family Household Size</td>
<td>-.057</td>
<td>-6.088</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>-.324</td>
<td>F = 41.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Below Poverty Female Household Heads with Children</td>
<td>-.022</td>
<td>-3.295</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>-.175</td>
<td>R² = .187</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Dependent Variable = Percent Grade 9 Student in Body Composition Health Fitness Zone**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>t-value</th>
<th>p-value</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>Model Statistics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>constant</td>
<td>-.556</td>
<td>-2.709</td>
<td>.007</td>
<td>-.556</td>
<td>N = 240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Median Family Household Income</td>
<td>.112</td>
<td>5.876</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.355</td>
<td>F = 34.53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**2008**

**Dependent Variable = Percent Grade 5 Student in Body Composition Health Fitness Zone**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>t-value</th>
<th>p-value</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>Model Statistics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-.512</td>
<td>-4.594</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>-.512</td>
<td>N = 1032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Median Family Household Income</td>
<td>.076</td>
<td>7.919</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.312</td>
<td>F = 169.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Family Household Size</td>
<td>-.029</td>
<td>-5.581</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>-.184</td>
<td>R² = .330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Median Home Value</td>
<td>.038</td>
<td>4.098</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.158</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Dependent Variable = Percent Grade 7 Student in Body Composition Health Fitness Zone**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>t-value</th>
<th>p-value</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>Model Statistics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>constant</td>
<td>-.336</td>
<td>-1.930</td>
<td>.054</td>
<td>-.336</td>
<td>N = 378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Median Family Household Income</td>
<td>.070</td>
<td>4.583</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.300</td>
<td>F = 49.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Family Household Size</td>
<td>-.028</td>
<td>-3.360</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>-.185</td>
<td>R² = .285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Median Home Value</td>
<td>.028</td>
<td>2.072</td>
<td>.039</td>
<td>.129</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Dependent Variable = Percent Grade 9 Student in Body Composition Health Fitness Zone**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>t-value</th>
<th>p-value</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>Model Statistics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>constant</td>
<td>-.204</td>
<td>-1.001</td>
<td>.318</td>
<td>-.204</td>
<td>N = 269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Median Family Household Income</td>
<td>.092</td>
<td>5.503</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.342</td>
<td>F = 36.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Family Household Size</td>
<td>-.034</td>
<td>-3.032</td>
<td>.003</td>
<td>-.188</td>
<td>R² = .216</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As previously mentioned, there are altogether 18 estimated regression equations (see Table 3 and 4). The hypothesis of this analysis is that higher X₁, X₂, or lower X₃, X₄, X₅, X₆ is associated with higher Y (higher percentage of students "in HFZ" for aerobic capacity or body composition). All regressions were performed using forward stepwise procedure, in which insignificant and multicollinear variables are excluded from the final step of each regression, therefore all results are significant at 95% or better (p ≤ .05).

Aerobic Capacity

It is shown in Table 3 that four out the six socioeconomic variables used have significant associations with the dependent variable "percent students in aerobic capacity HFZ." The two independent variables that did not enter any of the regressions significantly were X₃, Average Family Household Size and X₅, percent below poverty male household head with children. The explanation for X₅ to be excluded is three-fold. First, most of the census tracts have either very low percentage or missing data for this variable. Secondly, this variable is highly correlated with X₄, percent below poverty female household head with children. In this case, in the process of elimination in stepwise regression for checking multicollinearity, this variable was excluded. Thirdly, this variable is simply not a significant predictor of healthy/unhealthy school children in Los Angeles County. A brief discussion of X₃ as an independent variable will follow in the next section.

A summary of the statistics in Table 3 reveals that the most significant factor affecting aerobic capacity is home value, followed by female household heads in poverty with children, income, and house ownership (in our case, percent renters as the surrogate of non-home ownership). All significant regression signs came out as expected a priori. In general, socioeconomic status (as measured by home value, income, and home ownership) is significantly associated with health outcomes of children, in this particular case, their aerobic capacity.

Body Composition

Table 4 shows the regression results using percent students in body composition HFZ as the dependent variable. The two most consistent and significant independent variables in these regressions are X₁, Median Family Household Income and X₃, Average Family Household Size, which, interesting enough, did not enter any of the regressions when aerobic capacity was the dependent variable (as shown in Table 3). In short, larger household size tends to affect school children's body composition adversely but not their aerobic capacity. In sum, it is shown that selected socioeconomic variables: home value, income, poverty, and home ownership are significant factors affecting overweight and obesity as hypothesized a priori.

Gender Differences

Los Angeles County

T-tests were used in this section to compare the mean health scores of male and female students in Los Angeles County schools for the years 2004, 2006, and 2008. The results are displayed in Tables 5 and 6, which include countywide results (for both Aerobic Capacity and
Body Composition) and results for the county’s individual Service Planning Areas (SPAs) respectively. All results are significant at the 0.05 confidence interval level and results for the Class of 2011 cohort are highlighted.

Based on the results of the countywide Aerobic Capacity compare means t-test, it is evident that there is a statistically significant difference between the mean health scores of male and female students in Los Angeles County, and that outcomes differ based on physical fitness test area, year, and grade. For years 2004, 2006, and 2008, female students in grades five and seven had a higher mean health score than males, however results for grade nine students reveal greater mean health scores for males across all years examined. These results suggest that during elementary and middle school grades, female students in Los Angeles County tend to be more physically fit than their male counterparts, yet by freshman year in high school, the mean aerobic capacity of male students surpasses that of females.

The results of the countywide compare means t-test for Body Composition reveal that during all years examined, the mean health scores of female students are significantly higher than the scores for males, suggesting that there is indeed a statistically significant difference in body composition between the two groups. In sum, fifth, seventh, and ninth grade female students consistently have healthier body compositions than male students in Los Angeles County schools.

Results by Service Planning Area (SPA)

Based on the results of the compare means t-test for Aerobic Capacity for individual Service Planning Areas (SPAs) in Los Angeles County, it appears that SPAs 2, 3, and 8 are similar to the countywide results in that the mean health scores of female students in grades five and seven are significantly greater than the mean health scores of males. Similarly, grade nine results for these SPAs reveal greater mean health scores for males across all years examined. The results for the Class of 2011 cohort reveal the same outcomes as well.

With the exception of fifth grade students in 2004 – coincidentally the cohort’s fifth grade class – results for SPA 7 are similar to the countywide Aerobic Capacity results as well. SPAs 1, 4, 5, and 6 reveal no distinct pattern, although results for most years and grade levels were statistically insignificant. Overall, it appears that the Aerobic Capacity results of the compare means t-test for Los Angeles County’s individual SPAs follow the same pattern as the countywide results. With the exception of SPA 1, the majority of fifth and seventh grade results reveal higher mean Aerobic Capacity scores for female students than males. Conversely, ninth grade results reveal greater mean health scores for males across all years examined.

Similar results were obtained for the countywide compare means t-tests on the Body Composition mean health scores of Los Angeles County’s students. Results for the county’s individual SPAs reveal a similar pattern, specifically for SPAs 2, 3, 7, and 8. With the exception of the Class of 2011 cohort’s ninth grade results for SPAs 7 and 8, all results for SPAs 2, 3, 7, and 8 reveal significantly higher scores for female students. One distinct characteristic that the county’s individual SPA results reveal is that all but one result show higher mean health scores for the body composition of female students, although not all are statistically significant. The
one exception occurs in SPA 1, as results for the ninth grade class of 2008 reveal an insignificant higher male health score. Although most results for SPAs 1, 4, 5, and 6 show significantly higher mean body composition health scores for female students across all years examined, a number of results for these SPAs and years reveal insignificant results, inconsistent with the previously reviewed countywide results.

Once again, results for the Class of 2011 cohort reveal similar patterns to those observed above across all SPAs and years examined. The cohort’s results, mostly statistically significant during their fifth and seventh grade years, reveal mostly insignificant results during their ninth grade year. Overall, it appears that the Body Composition results of the compare means t-test for the county’s individual Service Planning Areas follow a similar pattern to that of the countywide results, particularly for SPAs 2, 3, 7, and 8. All other SPAs reveal insignificant results.

Table 5: Compare Means T-test Results for Los Angeles County

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>PFT</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>LA County (p-value)</th>
<th>Female Mean</th>
<th>Male Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Aerobic Capacity</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>58.735</td>
<td>55.923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Aerobic Capacity</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>57.408</td>
<td>53.785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Aerobic Capacity</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>.000**</td>
<td>39.958</td>
<td>47.873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Aerobic Capacity</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>62.801</td>
<td>57.681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Aerobic Capacity</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>58.939</td>
<td>55.602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Aerobic Capacity</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>.000**</td>
<td>44.727</td>
<td>51.711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Aerobic Capacity</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>66.992</td>
<td>59.827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Aerobic Capacity</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>62.340</td>
<td>57.263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Aerobic Capacity</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>.000**</td>
<td>52.948</td>
<td>59.120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Body Composition</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>75.156</td>
<td>56.337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Body Composition</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>72.174</td>
<td>58.515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Body Composition</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>65.547</td>
<td>61.240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Body Composition</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>74.915</td>
<td>55.593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Body Composition</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>70.413</td>
<td>58.480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Body Composition</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>67.529</td>
<td>63.433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Body Composition</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>75.570</td>
<td>56.371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Body Composition</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>71.885</td>
<td>60.348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Body Composition</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>67.899</td>
<td>65.310</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: California Department of Education, Authors
Notes: * mean “HFZ” percentage: female > male
     ** mean “HFZ” percentage: male > female
### Table 6: Compare Means T-test Male and Female Results per Service Planning Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Test</th>
<th>SPA 1 (p-value)</th>
<th>SPA 2 (p-value)</th>
<th>SPA 3 (p-value)</th>
<th>SPA 4 (p-value)</th>
<th>SPA 5 (p-value)</th>
<th>SPA 6 (p-value)</th>
<th>SPA 7 (p-value)</th>
<th>SPA 8 (p-value)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>AC</td>
<td>.023**</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>2.83***</td>
<td>.008*</td>
<td>.125***</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>.000*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>AC</td>
<td>.700***</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>.001*</td>
<td>.043*</td>
<td>.064***</td>
<td>2.40***</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>.035*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>AC</td>
<td>.024**</td>
<td>.000**</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>.037**</td>
<td>.038**</td>
<td>.001**</td>
<td>.000**</td>
<td>.006**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>AC</td>
<td>.432***</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>.003*</td>
<td>.002*</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>.000*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>AC</td>
<td>.738***</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>.059***</td>
<td>.350***</td>
<td>.352***</td>
<td>.023*</td>
<td>.047*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>AC</td>
<td>.033**</td>
<td>.001**</td>
<td>.000**</td>
<td>.000**</td>
<td>.118***</td>
<td>.000**</td>
<td>.024**</td>
<td>.001**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>AC</td>
<td>.012*</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>.004*</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>.000*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>AC</td>
<td>.613***</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>.294**</td>
<td>.090***</td>
<td>.305***</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>.000*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>AC</td>
<td>.000**</td>
<td>.002**</td>
<td>.000**</td>
<td>.066***</td>
<td>.053***</td>
<td>.010**</td>
<td>.000**</td>
<td>.000**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: California Department of Education, Authors

Notes:  
* mean “HFZ” percentage: female > male  
** mean “HFZ” percentage: male > female  
*** insignificant difference between female and male

### Mapping

In the last section of this paper's analysis, a GIS was employed to map these variables to illustrate their spatial patterns. Although initially this paper examined six census based socioeconomic variables, only five (median home value, median family household income, average family household size, below poverty female head of household with children, and percent renter occupied housing units) were shown to have significant associations with Healthy Fitness Zone results. In turn, these five variables were mapped, and neighborhood patterns were revealed. These findings are discussed below.

Considering that this paper examines the results of two physical fitness test areas for all of the county’s fifth, seventh, and ninth grade public school students over three different time periods, the authors were obligated to review eighteen (2x3x3) sets of results, all of which were mapped out on a countywide scale using GIS. In order to facilitate the cumbersome task of having to compare each of these results to the county’s distribution of census based socioeconomic variables, the authors calculated averages for all “Percent In HFZ” results for each grade level, across all years examined, resulting in six maps. The first three maps show the average results of Aerobic Capacity for students in grades five, seven, and nine for years 2004, 2006, and 2008. The next three maps show the average results of Body Composition using the

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3 Due to lack of space, Figures 3 to 13 (maps) are available from the authors by requests.
same criteria. Figures 3 through 8 include the countywide maps for *Aerobic Capacity* and *Body Composition* at the SPA level.

Figure 9 shows the distribution of Median Family Household Income throughout Los Angeles County based on data drawn from the U.S. Census Bureau for year 2000. As the data reveal, it appears that the highest concentration of low income households are most prominent in the central portion of the county, an area that coincides with Service Planning Areas 4, 6, and 7. Consequently, these SPAs reveal the lowest concentration of students that scored “In” the HFZ for both *Aerobic Capacity* and *Body Composition* across all years examined, suggesting that students residing in these areas tend to be less healthy than neighboring students. One important association that these results reveal is a relationship between low HFZ results and low income households.

Figures 10 through 13 illustrate the countywide distribution of Average Family Household Size, Below Poverty Female Heads of Household with Children, Median Home Values, and Renter Occupied Housing Units, respectively. Interestingly, all display clusters in the central portion of Los Angeles County that reveal concentrations at the lowest or highest tier of their classifications. More specifically, Average Family Household Size, Below Poverty Female Heads of Household with Children, and Renter Occupied Housing Units reveal high concentrations within the county’s central region while Median Home Values reveal low concentrations in the same area. As stated above, and as presented in figures 3 through 8, this region of the county coincides with the lowest concentration of students that scored “In” the HFZ for both *Aerobic Capacity* and *Body Composition* across all years examined. Once again, the data reveal a noteworthy pattern, suggesting that fifth, seventh, and ninth grade students whose physical fitness test results were among the lowest in the county share a distinct association with the county’s clusters of low socioeconomic status, particularly within the central portion of Los Angeles County. These results illustrate a clear association between the county’s lower income areas and the least healthy of the county’s public school students.

**CONCLUSION**

This paper examined the increasing trend of negative health outcomes in children and adolescents in Los Angeles County and sought to identify the social and economic risk factors that have contributed to this phenomenon. More specifically, this paper utilized data maintained by the State of California on the health of its public school students at three distinct time periods to evaluate temporal changes in the health outcomes of children and adolescents in Los Angeles County. This paper utilized the results of the annual Physical Fitness Test for Los Angeles County that the state’s fifth, seventh, and ninth grade public school students are required to take, along with socioeconomic variables made available by the United States Census Bureau. Physical Fitness Test results were made available by the California Department of Education, along with data used to identify each of the county’s elementary, middle, and high school sites. Physical Fitness Test results for *Aerobic Capacity* and *Body Composition* were examined for years 2004, 2006, and 2008. These data allowed the authors to capture the progression of one particular cohort, the High School Class of 2011, as fifth, seventh, and ninth grade students, and more importantly, allowed the authors the opportunity to utilize the most current data made
available. Results for all other fifth, seventh, and ninth grade students were examined for these years as well.

There are a number of factors that may contribute to the increase in childhood overweight and obesity that Los Angeles County has undergone during the past few years, many of which were discussed earlier in this paper. In the United States, health disparities are well documented in minority populations and are especially prevalent in lower income neighborhoods. The results of the research that was conducted for this paper found similar results in Los Angeles County, particularly focused in its central region, a predominantly low-income area. These findings, along with the spatial patterns and geographic distributions that were identified, support the authors' hypothesis that low socioeconomic status is a risk factor contributing to negative health outcomes in children and adolescents throughout Los Angeles County.

Although this study did not consider race or ethnicity as factors by which to measure the overall health of children and adolescents in Los Angeles County, it did present findings based on gender, age, and socioeconomic status. In this study, Aerobic Capacity and Body Composition Physical Fitness Test results were used as proxies to measure the overall health and fat content of children and adolescents in Los Angeles County. These are two of the State of California’s six Physical Fitness Test areas that most closely represent good overall health in children and adolescents.

Over the years, the prevalence of overweight and obesity has increased significantly both nationally and locally, prompting great concern for the health of Americans, namely the nation’s youth. Though this concern is grave, both disorders are preventable with a proper diet and adequate physical activity. As such, efforts in the form of public policy have been initiated and implemented at all levels of government to help mitigate the harmful effects of overweight and obesity on a national scale. Local governments have joined this effort as well at both the state and municipal levels. In Los Angeles County, some school districts have implemented stricter regulations as well, making healthier food options available to their students and banning the sale of unhealthy snacks and beverages on campus. These efforts are likely responsible for the recent improvement in PFT results among the county’s public school students, although rates for overweight and obesity remain harmfulness high (LACDPH, 2008).

Today, one-third of all American adults are obese and over two-thirds have been told by a health care provider that they are overweight (Ogden et al., 2007). Rates for children are even more drastic as the prevalence of childhood obesity has more than tripled in the United States since 1976 (CDC, 2008). With the largest population of children by county in the United States of America, Los Angeles County provided an ideal case study for examining the health of children and adolescents. With this in mind, the authors sought to reveal the patterns and distributions of weight related health outcomes in Los Angeles County and sought to identify the social and economic risk factors that contributed to these outcomes. In both aspects, the authors are successful in re-established the link between undesirable health outcomes with low socioeconomic status by using inferential statistics (multiple regression analysis) and a cartographic correlation study. In addition, the authors also found statistically significant gender difference in these health outcomes in Los Angeles County schools, a statistics that can be utilized for policy implementation in the future.
Limitations and Research Agenda

Although the results of this paper support the authors' hypothesis and demonstrate findings and geographic patterns consistent with the literature, the authors were limited to the California Physical Fitness Test data made available to the general public, aggregated at the school level. Higher resolution data were requested by the authors, however due to state budget constraints and a high volume of data inquiries, the authors' request has yet to be fulfilled. Higher resolution data would have allowed for more detailed fitness test results, as these data consist of measurements that include Body Mass Index (BMI) figures at the student level. Coupled with HFZ results, these data would have permitted for students to be categorized as overweight or obese, and would have allowed for the authors to conduct this study on the prevalence of these disorders rather than just overall health. Although the data obtained and analyzed by the authors do give a clear illustration of the overall health of children and adolescent in Los Angeles County, due to the aggregation of the data at the school level in lieu of data representative of individual students, the overview and classification of students as simply “In” or “Out” of the Healthy Fitness Zone is somewhat broad.

Given the results revealed by the data that were analyzed for this paper, and the literature that supports these findings, it is evident that some of the efforts being made to prevent childhood overweight and obesity in Los Angeles County appear to be succeeding. Although the data reveal progressive improvements in the HFZ results of the county’s fifth, seventh, and ninth grade students, there remains ample room for improvement, particularly among students residing in the county’s lower income neighborhoods. By introducing youth programs and mitigation efforts in areas that target the county’s lowest income neighborhoods, Los Angeles County can begin to reverse the increasing trend of overweight and obesity, beginning with the county’s most susceptible youth, to prevent the underlying causes of these life threatening disorders prior to adulthood.

REFERENCES


Introduction

Numbering over 100,000, the Tz’utujil Maya of Guatemala live primarily around Lake Atitlán. One of the principal towns of the Tz’utujil is Santiago Atitlán in the Sololá department of Guatemala, a Maya community of nearly 40,000 residents nestled between imposing volcanoes on the shore of Lake Atitlán. The Tz’utujil have traditionally had a special relationship with birds; even the name of one of their two ruling elite lineages was AjTz’ikinJay, “People of the Bird House” (cf. Stanzione et al. 2003:321). In this paper, based on our field research in Santiago Atitlán in 2008, we will show the crucial importance birds play in many facets of traditional Tz’utujil society. We will specifically detail how birds function as messengers of both positive and negative omens through their songs and actions. Furthermore, we present data on the medicinal and magical qualities associated with birds. Through this investigation, birds will be shown to have various commonly overlooked roles in both the daily life and mythology of Tz’utujil Maya.
The Tz’utujil and House of Birds

Birds are intimately connected to the Tz’utujil people in a number of ways. First, as Prechtel (1999:104) has noted, “The Tzutujil are a tree and bird people,” with everyone being “metaphorically a Bird or a Tree, depending on what you’re trying to say.” What is more, the traditional name of Santiago Atitlán is Tz’ikin Jay (Bird House), probably in reference to the Ajtz’ikinjay (“People of the Bird House”), one of two ancient ruling lineages of the Tz’utujil mentioned previously. However, when asked, most Tz’utujil we questioned did not offer a consistent explanation for this local name. Some related that there used to be more birds in the town, and that the birds used to nest on the houses—most likely a folk etymology.

The general term for bird in Tz’utujil is tz’ikin. However, according to Campbell (2004:207), there is a current tendency to substitute chikop (originally meaning ‘small animal) for tz’ikin since the Spanish equivalent, pájaro, ‘bird’, has become stigmatized by the slang usage of the term for ‘male genitals’ and therefore taboo. In fact, in Tz’utujil, the term tz’ikin is polyvalent, meaning both ‘bird’ as well as ‘penis’ (Pérez Mendoza y Hernández Mendoza 2001:464; cf. Tarn and Prechtel 1997:383), the latter being more common in certain areas such as Momostenango.1 In fact, Cook notes that recently when the word tz’ikin (“tziquin”) was used on a local K’iche’ (a closely related language to Tz’utujil) radio broadcast, many listeners in Momostenango (where it also has the meaning of ‘penis’) were very upset and insisted that they use the Spanish word pájaro instead (Cook 2000:152, 245, note 10).

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1 In Kaqchikel the term tz’ikin similarly means both “bird” and “penis,” and is therefore rarely used in polite conversations, being mainly restricted to ritual situations (Maxwell and García Ixmatá 2008:33).
**Birds in the House of Birds**

As is true with all Maya groups, the Tz’utujil have developed a unique relationship with birds and other animals and their natural surroundings. The respect for animals is evident in an otherwise unique tradition among Maya groups that we documented in 2008. The Tz’utujil have two days when birds and animals are free to do what they want and do not have to fear being killed or bothered by humans. The first is June 24th, which is the Festival of San Juan, and the second is November 11th, which is the Día de San Martín.² On this day, cofradía (religious brotherhood) priests remove the sacred San Martin red cloth bundle from the wooden box in which it is kept. The act of taking it out and loosening the bundle means that the animals are similarly “free” and can “rest.” People do not go to their fields and work or bother animals in any way on these days. However, if someone disobeys and does not respect this tradition, they say they will meet a group of snakes, monkeys, a jaguar, or the like as a consequence.

Animals of all kinds are said to be responsible for certain natural phenomena. For the Tz’utujil, each month or even season has a special connection to specific animals. According to Prechtel (2005:115), “Insects and birds in particular become the markers of the micro-times of the annual natural cycle, and each beast is considered to “own” little pieces of the cycle.” They do this by ‘calling’ a particular time of year “into life.” Prechtel (2005:109) explains:

> A certain bird, for instance, calls the wind of January, and another the fuchsia flowers and fruits out of the pitaya cactus of July, and another the pollen haze of certain days in March, and so on. It is the songs and movements of the animals that are said to make the annual cycle of all the myriads of natural changes of the world come into view.

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² Allen Christensen has shown that the celebration of San Martin is a continuation of the pre-Conquest Dance of Tojil (the supreme god of the highland Maya lineages) in the month of Tz’ikin Q’ij.
In this way, birds do not just mark the passing or coming of various times, but literally call them into existence.

**Birds Motifs and Clothing**

Bright and colorful birds feature prominently as embroidered elements of traditional dress (or *traje*) in Santiago Atitlán (Figure 1a-b). This use of bird designs on their clothing is trait, according to Carlsen (1997:42), “that may extend to the pre-Columbian past, when the leading Tz’utujil-speaking polity was the Ajtz’iqinajay, the “Bird House.” However, local sources usually claim that the emphasis on bird decorations date only to the recent past half-century. These colorful local styles remain popular today. Unlike many Maya towns today where traje use is on the decline, especially among men, the Tz’utujil assign considerable value to the wearing of traje and take pride in their ornateness. Carlsen has noted that a 1988 survey showed 70% of males from 1-10, 55 percent from ages 10-25, and 95 percent of over-25 males wore traditional clothing (*traje*) (1997:42-43). Hand-woven pants for men with bird motifs are symbols of status and wealth (Figures 2-3). Indeed, a single pair of such pants can cost thousands of dollars and take months to finish. Both women’s traditional blouses (*po’i*) and men’s short trousers are often lavishly decorated with bird motifs embroidered in bright colors (Figures 4). While these may include images of local birds, they often feature colorful birds from around the world, in addition to seemingly made up birds and domestic birds including turkeys (a local symbol for wealth).

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3 However, a survey by Schilke (2005:16) found only 26 percent of males used traje, 17 percent wore mixed traje, and 57 percent had discontinued the use of traje, while 66 percent of females used traje, 22 percent wore mixed traje, and 12 percent wore neither.
Figure 1a-b. Tz’utujil woven cloths with various birds in Santiago Atitlán (Photos by Rob Fergus, 2008)
Figure 2. Tz’utujil pant leg showing owl and other bird motifs in Santiago Atitlán (Photo by Rob Fergus, 2008)

Figure 3. Male traje pants with elaborate bird designs in Santiago Atitlán (Photo by Rob Fergus, 2008)
The **Pok**

For the global conservation community, perhaps the most famous bird in the Tz’utujil area is the Atitlán Grebe (*Podilymbus gigas*), *pok* (sometimes *puak*) in Tz’utujil. Once endemic to Lake Atitlán, these diving fish-eating birds nested in the plentiful rushes that grow naturally along the lake shores. However, in the late 1950s, the number of grebes was in such obvious decline that on January 14th, 1959, then President Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes made the hunting or bothering of them or other water birds on Lake Atitlán illegal (LaBastille 1991:45). This had little effect, however, on the actions of the local
communities, whose leaders showed little or no interest in their preservations (LaBastille 1991). As a result, the Atitlán Grebe, last observed in 1989, is now extinct (Bell 2006:388). There are various reasons for its demise, but the heavy dumping of illegal garbage into the lake was certainly a contributing factor. Additionally, it was the introduction of the lubina (large-mouth bass Micropterus salmoides) into the lake that our Tz’utujil consultants tell us had a devastating effect on the nesting habits of the grebes. Local Atitecos also blame overhunting in the last century and the all-too-common cases where grebes would get stuck in fishing nets. Some local Tz’utujil insist that this was one the main reasons they disappeared.

According to some of our consultants, grebes were once considered to be sacred by the people and were never hunted. They respected them and actively worked to protect them. Grebes, when gathered together in high numbers, were useful not as food, but as indicators of the presence of large schools of fish. The Tz’utujil also say that the crater of the nearby volcano of San Pedro used to fill with water at times between November and April and that these the grebes would stay there during this time. However, since the Atitlán Grebes were flightless, or at least flight-inhibited, it is possible that these observations refer to the closely-related, but smaller Pied-billed Grebe (Podilymbus podiceps). Our local informants indicated that with the extinction of the grebes, the aq’oq’/akok coots have now replaced them on Lake Atitlán.

**Horned Guan**

With the demise of the pok and the rise of local ecotourism, world birdwatchers would now probably consider the Horned Guan (*Oreophasis derbianu*) as the most desirable
bird found in the Tz’utujil area. These large black turkey-like birds with a prominent red protuberance on their heads are found on the upper slopes of the local volcanoes. Several tour operators regularly conduct birdwatchers on hiking expeditions up the slopes look for these.

For the few local Atitecos who venture high on the local volcanoes, the Horned Guan (locally called “ciac tunuu”) is a herald of the rainy season, as it is heard in the mountains in late spring when the rains return to the area (Prechtel 2005:71). According to this belief, Horned Guans “haunt the spring mists of the deepest ravines,” and signal to the people that “the Rain of Grief and the Rain of Mother Waters is returning to call everything back to life” (Prechtel 2005:116).

In this role as caller of rains, the Horned Guan also has a special relationship with another bird that is intimately associated with bringing the spring rains: the hummingbird. In Tz’utujil myth, it is the hummingbird who brings an end to the dry season. We quote at length Prechtel’s (2005:109) discussion of this tradition:

In as much as the North Wind shoots the Earth’s water, dispersing it with the electric heat from the Heart of the Sky, it is the Hummingbird that is put into motion as well. The winds that rise off the Ocean are known to the Tzutujil as life-giving winds who oppose Q’iq’, but who cannot conquer him. The Hummingbird as child of the Hurricane is the youngest and gentlest of these sibling winds out of the south and as such are called Xcamiel.

When the Hummingbird “blows” back to the highlands with the body of his beloved, dismembered Water Sweetheart on his back, the Tzutujil understand this as a polite ritual code for how the life-giving Southern Wind “flies” (sic.) back up to the highlands with clouds on his back, causing the real, hard rains of spring, understood as the weeping of the world on his return to the girl’s home.

Fresh water therefore returns to her home on the back of the South Wind, dismembered into life-giving clouds, causing the world to weep the first rains of spring. Just as the fresh water rushed, confused and in love, to the Ocean, so gently and gradually the Hummingbird wind travels back up the same wild river course over the same hills and canyons to return the world’s soul back to the grief-stricken Earth. In Guatemala we can see this every spring.
As an important bird with a role and responsibility in the changing times and seasons, according to Prechtel, the Horned Guan has the “magical capacity” to use its “iridescence and songs to court into tangible life the characteristics of a certain time of year, like the sprout of a seed, which in their case means the summer rains” (Prechtel 2005:116).

**Practical function of birds**

As can already be intimated in the story of the Horned Guan, birds fulfill any number of practical roles in the daily lives of the Tz’utujil. For example, until fairly recent times when thatched houses were the norm, the *to’l*, (identified by our consultants as the Fork-tailed Flycatcher [*Tyrannus savanna*], but identified in other sources as a ground dove or swallow), was said to carry moss to the roofs of such houses. Eventually, this caused the roofs to harden and become stronger as the moss grew there, thereby adding stability and durability to the roof structures.

Birds are also occasionally used to judge the time of day. For instance, when the Grey-chested Dove (*Leptotila cassinii*, locally *trexk’uk’uum* or *trexk’uk’um*), a bird said to live primarily in the mountains, sings, it means it is either 3:00 a.m., 3:00 p.m., or noon.⁴

**Birds as Messengers or Omens**

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⁴The term *trexk’uk’uum* seems to extend to a larger variety of doves than just the Grey-chested Dove. One of our consultants identified it as an Inca Dove or a Blue Ground Dove. The *trexk’uk’uum* is said to have the same color as a *chilacayote*, a kind of squash (*Cucurbita ficifolia*), one type of which is known as *k’uum* in Tz’utujil—hence the name of the bird.
The Tz’utujil are adept at paying attention to signs and warnings found in their natural environment. As Orellana (1984:106) has noted, the Tz’utujil “continue to believe in “signs” (retal), events indicating that something unusual is occurring or is about to occur.” Birds are one of the primary vehicles for the transmission of such signs.5

Among the Tz’utujil, woodpeckers (piich’) are seen as messengers for a variety of coming events. For this reason they are known as the ‘mouthpieces of the sorcerers’. For example, they say that when a woodpecker cries when it is on your left, it is a sign that something bad or dangerous will happen. However, when it cries on your right, it is a sign of good things coming.6 In other situations, such as if someone in the mountains cutting wood hears a woodpecker cry, it is a bad sign that something dangerous could be about to happen, so that person should show extra caution in their activities. According to Tz’utujil custom, upon hearing the cry of the woodpecker, if the woodcutter immediately stops to pray to “Mother Earth” and kisses the ground, then they can continue working in safety. Thus, the call is a warning that needs to be headed. Finally, if a woodpecker calls three times in a row very quickly, it is a clear signal that something bad is coming soon on that road or that something terrible will happen in that person’s house. Accordingly, the Tz’utujil afford the name “ave veloz” (quick bird) to woodpeckers.

When the xooch, or Pygmy Owl, (Glaucidium Sp. “lechuza”) sings, it is considered to be an inauspicious sign. Thus, one of our consultants called it a “sanjorín,” or diviner. The Pygmy owl (also known, along with other owls, as xkin) is known as a

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5 Indeed, Prechtel notes that a bird’s song is called tzikij, which is the “same word [that] is used in prayers to mean “summoning into life,” and more commonly it also means “to call forth” or “to court” (Prechtel 2005:116).

6 Allen Christensen has also noted this same tradition among the Tz’utujil. He writes: “We had heard a woodpecker calling out on the left side of the trail about half-way up the mountain. Had it been on the right side, this would have been fine because the woodpecker is not a death caller. But the left side is more ominous” (2010:57-580).
“sanjorin” since its cry is a sure sign of trouble or problems somewhere nearby. It can therefore be warning to whomever hears it that they must exercise additional caution. For instance, it could signal their enemies are trying to harm them in some way. Additionally, it is often interpreted as a call of sadness since it means something bad will happen to someone, such as a robbery, an accident, a sickness, or a death. Furthermore, when someone is sick and several xkin are calling to each other on opposite sides of the house, it is a dreaded sign that a person there will die.

Another bird said to be a sanjorin is the xiik (a name given to several birds of prey, including the Black-hawk Eagle, Solitary Hawk, and Crested Caracara), called both a “gavilán” (hawk) and “águila” (eagle) by Tz’utujil when speaking Spanish.

Hummingbirds also seem to have some divinatory function. In certain oral traditions of the Tz’utujil, a young hummingbird is transformed into a shaman when it reached adulthood (Prechtel 2005:112).

**Rain and Drought Prognostication**

The ability to foretell the change of seasons becomes most relevant in relation to the rains. In the majority of Maya societies, the ability to predict the weather is of supreme importance. Through various means, the Maya work to anticipate changes in the weather in order to effectively control the timing of planting and harvesting. Planting too soon before the sufficiently large rains are at hand means a considerable loss in income, time, and often in available seeds for planting for the next season. Many Maya are expert at reading the skies and interpreting its signs in relation to the rains.
Other avenues are also open to them to predict the weather, principally signs from birds. Among the Tz’utujil, a number of birds in addition to the Horned Guan are thought to provide crucial information as to coming rains or an impending drought. One such bird is the *sk’il jab’,* or Clay-colored Thrush (*Turdus grayi*), which are common residents around Santiago Atitlán during the rainy season. The Tz’utujil say that during rain-making ceremonies if they hear Clay-colored Robins sing, it is a good sign that the rains will come. Thus, they are called “anunciadores de la lluvia” (announcers of the rains).

Another bird, known as Asacuan in Spanish, is called *b’ejyjab’in Tz’utujil* (lit. ‘announcer of the rain’). The Tz’utujil say its call also announces the coming of the rains. In addition, it can signal when the rains have finished. We were not able to identify this bird in the field; however, Juan Galindo (1836:134) states Asacuan of Central America is “a bird of the size of a pigeon, and *whose flight denotes the seasons*” (emphasis added).

The Barred Parakeet (*Bolborhynchus lineola*) and perhaps other related parakeets, referred to as *k’el* in Tz’utujil, is said to be a pest that travels in groups of 40-50 that eat the corn of the milpas. At the same time, however, they are valued for their ability to announce the rains that are coming in three to four days.

The *litzlitz*, or Bat Falcon (*Falco rufigularis* and perhaps several other small hawks),\(^7\) is said to be “el multiplicador de la lluvia” (the multiplier of the rains). According to Tz’utujil tradition, when it drinks from the Lake Atitlán, it only takes a single, short drink. This, they say, is a blessing on the weather when it briefly touches the water. It is a sure sign that the rains are on their way.

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\(^7\) Also identified by one informant, perhaps mistakenly, as the larger White-tailed Hawk (*Buteo albicaudatus*).
Not all birds bring the welcome news of pending rains. In some cases, they indicate the coming of a drought. The k’oom, or swallow, is one such bird. It can in fact foretell the two specific events. First, when they arrive in a group, it means that “el viento norte” (the north wind) is going to begin to blow in a day or two. At other times, however, when they similarly arrive in a group, it is a sign that people will now have to say “adios lluvia” (goodbye to the rain) because a dry spell is forthcoming.

Other birds can also foretell a drought simply by their presence. For example, when the k’uch, or vultures\(^8\) come out in groups, it is a sign that there will shortly be a stretch of dry weather.

Furthermore, it is said that when certain hawks circle just above the water of Lake Atitlán, it is a sign of the coming rains; however, when they fly high above Lake Atitlán, it means a dry spell is upon them (Vincent Stanzione, personal communication, 3/2010). The lower flying of the hawks is likely a consequence of the increased barometric pressure, giving this local tradition firm scientific basis.

**Birds as Medicine**

Birds can also have medicinal uses, though not necessarily through their ingestion. All varieties of hummingbirds, tz’unun, are said to be good for curing “mal de ojo” (an eye impediment). In addition, though we were not able to determine exactly how, hummingbirds are used to combat epileptic attacks.

One particularly interesting tradition that we have also noted among several other Maya groups is the roles that various noisy and gregarious small birds play in curing

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\(^8\) Also identified by one of our informants, perhaps erroneously as a Great Black Hawk (*Buteogallus urubitinga*)
warts. For the Tz’utujil, it is the Band-backed Wren (*Campylorhynchus zonatus*, locally *pich’lales* or *ilsay xujy*). This novel method for ridding oneself of warts involves finding a tree full of wrens. The person with warts stands under the tree. When the birds begin squawking and moving around, the person must start dancing with the birds. This will cause the birds to likewise become more animated. After participating in this dance with the birds, within three weeks time the warts on one’s arms or legs will disappear. Indeed, one of the names for the Band-backed Wren, *ilsay xujy*, literally translates as ‘one who takes away warts’.

**Specialized Functions and Beliefs**

Hummingbirds (all known as *tz’unun* in Tz’utujil) are said to like to “talk a lot,” despite their small size. Indeed, the Tz’utujil says that this is part of their “cocky” personality—small but “pigheaded.” Several of our consultants related to us that they are also said to help women fall in love with men, albeit in an unusual way. First, the man must capture and carbonize over a fire a pair of hummingbirds, and then grind them into a powder, all of except the innards. The resulting powder is then wrapped up in a piece of paper. The would-be suitor then keeps this paper in his pocket. At the opportune moment when he sees a girl whom he wants to fall in love with him, he reaches into his pocket, puts some of the powder on his fingers, and touches it onto the back of the girl. This act, they say, will magically cause her to fall madly in love with him.

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9 We have found this tradition among in our fieldwork among the Q’eqchi’ and Mopan, though the specific bird associated with this tradition can vary. For example, among the Mopan it is the *sorokocho’,* or Masked Tityra (*Tityra semifasciata*) (Hull and Fergus 2009:28).
The connection between hummingbirds and love more than likely relates to the common Mesoamerican myth of a hummingbird (or a grackle [zanate] in some traditions) that tried to court a beautiful maiden. In the Tz’utujil telling, the maiden is none other than the mother of Jesus Christ, known as Manawal Jesukrista’. According to Stanzione et al. (2003:78-79), it is said the mother of Christ was sweeping one day when she found a beautiful green hummingbird (tz’unun). She felt compassion for “the Sun’s bird” and picked it up and sang out “tz’unun, tz’unun, tz’unun.” She then put it in the folds of her dress near her breasts. Later when she checked on it, it was gone. She pondered why the hummingbird had come and what message it had brought from the Sun. Then she had a dream that she gave birth to the Sun’s child, “who would bear the dawn of a new era onto the face of the earth,” a reference to Jesus Christ. The next morning expressed her gratitude to the “Old Man in the Sky” for putting the “hummingbird seed” into her womb.

In another Tz’utujil tradition, some birds can bring dangerous results for Tz’utujil girls. We were told that hat young, pregnant girls cannot touch the eggs of the to’l, or their baby will be born very small since this bird is also small.

Bushy-crested Jays (Cyanocorax melanocyaneus), or xaar,10 are said to be “evil” birds (Stanzione et al. 2003:128) since “they always drop down into the newly planted fields, tearing out the tender shoots and seeds of the people’s newly sprouting maize plants.” In addition, Stanzione et al. (2003:128-129) note that “when they [jays] see the enemy they go crazy with their endless chatter and warning calls for the rest of their friends of the forest.” Jays are therefore sentinels who signal approaching enemies, i.e., humans, to other animals to give them time to escape. This quality of ruining humans’

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10Stanzione et al. (2003:128) give the name of the “Blue Jay” as xarr, which is a misspelling of xaar (cf. Pérez Mendoza y Hernández Mendoza (2001:497).
stealthy approach is likely responsible for the jay being cast as betrayers in the story of Manawal Jesukristo’ (Jesus Christ) (Stanzione et al. 2003:146-147). In this tale, it was the jays who gave away Christ’s position away to the enemies, the K’uluntun winaq, resulting in his capture and eventual killing. This act of treachery earned them tender maize sprouts and seeds as a reward from the K’uluntun winaq, but did nothing to dispel the dislike for these birds by humans. Indeed, according to traditionalist among the Tz’utujil, the constant chattering ‘xaar xaar xaar’ of the jays that showed the K’uluntun winaq where Jesus was hiding on the mountain stigmatized them as the “real traitors,” even more than Judas himself! (Stanzione et al. 2003:147)

Finally, the Lesser Roadrunner (Geococcyx velox), known variously as buuq, atrix buuq, or mandres buuq, works together with another bird in causing mischief in the milpas (fields). They say the ch’ak, or Great-tailed Grackle, signals to the Lesser Roadrunner where the seeds of the milpa are. Working in tandem, the Great-tailed Grackle pulls the part of the corn plant that has just sprouted but leaves the seed, which the Lesser Roadrunner then enters to eat. According to a well-known tradition, if you encounter a Lesser Roadrunner walking on the road, you must say hello to it. If you do not, you will surely be met by a snake on the trail that will bite you.

Conclusions

Much more work remains to be done to fully catalog Tz’utujil bird nomenclature and folklore. As compared to the more rural farmers of other Mayan groups, the mostly urbanized Tz’utujil of Santiago Atitlán that we have worked with so far seem to know fewer birds. Work with more rural Tz’utujiles in neighboring communities will
undoubtedly reveal an even larger store of bird lore. What we have shown here is that birds are clearly still important within Tz’utujil society. The Tz’utujil share with other Maya groups the belief that birds can be messengers or omens. In this way, they are supernatural in their abilities to know the future and foretell aspects of human life and the natural environment—sometimes positive, sometimes not. The importance of such signs in traditional Tz’utujil thought cannot be overestimated, being the principal source of prognostication for the any Tz’utujil, regardless of status or position. Most birds, however, are not held in such high regard as to be considered divine to the point of worship for the Tz’utujil; indeed, birds are regularly hunted for food, held as common pets, and sometimes loathed for the damage they do to crops. However, they are still feared and respected for their powers to signal coming events immediate and consistent sources of divine knowledge.

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**Internet Browser or Buyer: Developing a Profile of Internet Browsers and Buyers**

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**Introduction**

This exploratory study examined the attitudinal and intentional differences between Internet browsers and buyers towards Internet shopping. The comparison between the Internet browsers and buyers was made based on a theoretical intention and behavior model derived in part from Fishbein and Ajzen’s “Belief, Attitude, Intention and Behavior Theory” (1975) and Cowles, Kieker, and Little’s “E-tailing Theory” (2002), as well as a comprehensive literature review. The previous literature tested consumers’ online shopping behaviors based on a series of uncategorized individual factors. To test the theoretical intention and behavior model, this study categorized these individual factors into the following three general collective factors: (1) marketing factor; (2) consumer factor; and (3) technology factor. These three general collective factors were used parsimoniously to compare the attitude and intention of Internet buyers and browsers. In addition, the typical uncategorized individual factors, such as privacy and security, and demographic factors including Internet experience were also used to compare the attitude and intention of Internet buyers and browsers.

**Methodology**

Two hundred sixty-six college students in the U.S. served as purposive research subjects. Using Cronbach’s alpha scores, the reliability of the hypothesized factors was confirmed. To identify if a structure within the research variables did exist, the empirical data was analyzed using a Principle Axis Factor Analysis (PAFA). Factor scores for each factor were calculated using the regression method and factor score coefficients were created for each participant. Analysis of the hypotheses was performed using ANOVAs, t-tests, chi-squares, and logistic and linear regression. Based on the results, a profile of the two different groups of consumers- Internet buyers and Internet browsers -was developed.

**Findings**

The results indicate that it is possible to measure respondents’ consumer and marketing attitudes as a single factor. This offers greater parsimony in model building, thus improving statistical testing. Not only do
the items hold together as a scale but they also moderately correlate with each other. One score can replace the 20 underlying individual items found within the consumer area or the 14 items in the marketing area. The profiles of Internet browsers and Internet buyers were developed. In the study sample frame, in terms of demographic background including Internet experience, Internet browsers and Internet buyers did not exhibit major differences. They were mostly over 20 years old, holding one to two credit cards, residing off-campus, having more than seven years of experience using computers and more than four years of experience using the Internet, (98%) having private Internet access and using the Internet for communication, entertainment and search, and shopping three to ten hours per week. Even though Internet browsers exhibited positive attitudes toward the use of the Internet as an alternative shopping tool, still all three of the parsimonious attitude scores of consumer, marketing, and technology factors were lower than those of Internet buyers. Internet browsers’ intention score to buy online was also lower than those of Internet buyers.

**Conclusions and Implications**

There may be several things the e-tailer can try to motivate the Internet browser to become an Internet buyer. First the e-tailer can build trust. Trust develops over time and becomes an antecedent to commitment, the initial step in converting an online shopper into a buyer. It also may be that, even though the literature suggests that Internet browsers agree with the relative advantages of Internet shopping, they still prefer to make the purchase at brick and mortar stores or they were unable to finalize the transaction. For the first reason, a substantial discount for buying online may encourage them to make that first purchase. The second reason could be the result of several technology issues. If this is the case, the merchant must first obtain more data regarding the problem. Setting up an easy email site to report such technology problems might be a good first step. The browsers might also hesitate to purchase products online because of financial security concerns. Another reason could be tactility-related, or the ability to examine a product by seeing and touching before purchasing. Perhaps this issue can be overcome with liberal return policies. Such return, and the corresponding delivery problems, might be overcome by incentives, building an alliance with a delivery service company, shortening the shipping time and lowering or eliminating both the delivery and return shipping charges, or setting a certain amount of purchase for free delivery, thus also bolstering the e-tailers’ sales. Internet retailers should provide convenience, secure transactions, and a complete description as well as ample visual presentations of merchandise. Retailers
should also provide an enjoyable atmosphere to make Internet shopping advantageous over other retail outlets. Results of the study suggest that successful e-tailers will respond to the individual needs of each group if they desire to move them from browsers to buyers.
The Impact of Disposable Fashion on Sustainability

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Purpose and Rational

One of the consumption characteristics of the young consumer in the 21st century is the increasing importance of disposable fashion. Disposable fashion, as its name suggests, describes a low quality, yet cheap and trendy, apparel product which is only worn a few times, demoted in value, and then quickly discarded by the consumer. Despite the low quality, young consumers are attracted by the cheap, chic, and fast fashion. The study was developed to explore the consumption behavior of young consumers in the United States towards disposable fashion and its attendant impact on sustainability. The implications of disposable fashion on the environment and sustainability are significant as disposable fashion results in substantially increased consumption of apparel product and in turn, the raw materials and manufacturing resources necessary to manufacture the item of clothing. In addition, the increased consumption results in the disposal of more clothes, which also further burdens waste management resources such as landfills. The purpose of the current study was to determine the causal relationship of price, impulse purchasing, and disposal behavior by examining the following three causal relationships: (1) the attachment to apparel product and the results of short-term use and disposal behavior (H1); (2) impulse purchasing and short term-use and disposal behavior (H2); and (3) the price of apparel products and impulse purchasing (H3).

Methodology

The relationship analysis was made based on the previous literature and the ground theory of Fishbein and Ajzen’s “Belief, Attitude, Intention and Behavior Theory” (1975). One hundred and eighty-five students participated in the research study. A self-administrated survey was used to ask college students their degree of attachment to an apparel product, the likelihood of an impulse purchasing possibility, and the price effectiveness. The degree of attachment, likelihood of an
impulse purchasing, and the pricing factor were measured by attitude and intention questions with 7 points -Likert scale. The degree of demotion and disposal of the clothes was measured by behavioral experience questions. For the data analysis, descriptive statistics were used for demographic information analyses. ANOVA and t-test were used for analyzing the causal relationship of attachment to apparel product, price of apparel product, impulse purchasing, and length of consumers’ apparel product usage. Regression methods were used to analyze the consumers’ post-purchase usage and disposal behaviors. (See attached Graphic 1 for research framework)

Findings

The findings of the study suggested that price is the most influential factor for consumers’ purchasing decision making as well as the likelihood of discarding the product (H3). The price factor is also the main cause of impulse purchasing by the consumer. There was no significant relationship between price and impulse purchasing variables and the likelihood of short-term use and disposal of the product (H2). However, there was a direct relationship exhibited between attachment to the product and likelihood of short-term use and disposal behavior (H1). If a consumer is more attached to a fashion product, there is less likelihood that the consumer will quickly demote and discard the product and purchase another item.

Conclusions and Implications for Research and Practice

“Because it is so cheap, I have to buy it” or “because it is so cheap (or so expensive), I can discard it any time (or have to use it for a long time)”, this is a common phenomena exhibited among young consumers. The new generation of consumers is exhibiting vulnerable clothing consumption behavior and embracing the disposable culture. The purpose of the study was to examine the consumption behavior of young consumers in the United States towards disposable fashion and its implications for sustainability. By understanding this consumption behavior, our leadership goal is to help stimulate quality fashion which will create greater attachment to consumers and result in longer usage and greater sustainability.
Graphic 1. Research Frame work

Impulse purchasing

Attachment to Apparel product

H2

Planed purchasing

Apparel products’ Price

H3

Apparel Products’ Short term use and discarding

H1

Apparel products’ long term use

H1

H2
LOCAL DRIVERS OF LAND-USE CHANGE: STUDY OF AN ARID REGION IN PRE-COLONIAL INDIA

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Abstract
The changing patterns of economy due to historical factors have led to increase in demand for food and arable land. The local drivers of land-use change cause environmental changes that in turn feed back upon the human population. In this process traditional methods of land use and water conservation are modified. The local changes may have greater impact on the decisions which individuals make that affect soil erosion and land degradation. People respond to local circumstances and to local economic opportunities in ways that most suit the needs of their families and households. The local drivers of change offer lessons in understanding how people make their land-use decisions. An understanding of people’s past experience, present needs and views of future could help the policy makers to improve environmental management to implement policies that are likely to be acceptable to the communities at large. Taking Marwar in Western Rajasthan as geo-political entity the proposed paper would try to study the land-use tradition of the region and find out the changes in adaptation pattern in the due process of time. The study would also try to understand how the agrarian, pastoral and marginalized communities sought to define and work out their relations with the big land holders and the state.

KEY WORDS: Land-use tradition; water management; land revenue; migration
People all around the world have been seeking new economic opportunities for survival. This leads to a situation when people have to manipulate the land use pattern with which they have been familiar and attuned to for centuries. As a consequence, well adapted local techniques for land use are ignored. Local population and the cultivators in particular are often in situations where they are not left with long-term stake in the land that they occupy and farm. The lack of security in terms of production and extraction of major part of revenue by the state also cloud the ways in which people use and care for land. It also affects the maintenance of soil fertility. One of the major players in this process is the historical factors attached to the region. The local changes may have greater impact on the decisions which individuals make that affect soil erosion and land degradation. People respond to local circumstances and to local economic opportunities in ways that most suit the needs of their families and households.

Taking Marwar in Western Rajasthan as geo-political entity the proposed paper tries to study the land-use tradition of the region and find out the changes in adaptation pattern in the due process of time.

**Ecological Environment of Marwar in Western Rajasthan**

The Thar Desert makes up the western plains of Rajasthan, which spreads from the western slopes of the Aravali up to Sind. These areas have very little vegetation consisting mainly of thorny bushes and are sparsely populated. Climatological studies have found abnormal rainfall in this region as common. Monsoon failures occur during 40 per cent of years, and normal rainfall during monsoon occurs only during 26 per cent of the weeks when it is expected. Droughts leading to agricultural failures have occurred throughout the historical period of settlement. The annual rainfall averages from 250
mm to 350 mm and so crop cultivation in this part is carried out for subsistence production of food and fodder, along with livestock rearing. The water tables in Western Rajasthan are low and range from 60 to more than 100 meters and ground water tends to be saline, brackish, and unfit for drinking or irrigation. The soil of this region is light-textured, gray-brown desert soil, which are alkaline and saline and thus is not suitable to agricultural production. The soil type is sandy in majority of the region except near water sources where we find light alluvium type soil. Such soil type is highly susceptible to wind erosion. The wind erosion in many areas tends to destroy the newly-germinated crops. The little vegetation that is possible in this area throughout the year is that of khejri and we get reference to khejri in many historical documents. Luni is the only major river of semi-permanent nature in this area and flows during the rainy season only. The river has decided Marwar’s settlement pattern to a large extent. The soil of the western portion beyond the Luni river is arid and sandy, whereas the eastern part is relatively fertile and well watered.
**Traditional Land Use and Crop Pattern**

One of the contemporary surveyors of the seventeenth century, Munhta Nainsi⁴ has given account of the number of villages in each *tappa*. We find that the largest concentration of villages was in the most fertile zone of Marwar i.e. in the eastern, central and south eastern tracks. The western and the north-western terrain is sandy, and therefore, the villages are sparsely located. The settlement pattern and the concentration of population in this region was also guided by the availability of water supply in the form of wells, tanks and step-wells (*baoris*), which provided irrigation to the fields. The water-table was also high in the densely populated areas.
Rabi and Kharif are the two major harvests in Marwar which was a low rainfall area. Rabi was grown in spring and kharif in autumn. As the populace in Marwar were prone to suffer long dry spells, they preferred to cultivate the drought-resistant varieties of crops that could tolerate high level of moisture stress.

Cotton was main rabi crop here. Since cotton is somewhat salt and drought tolerant, this makes it an attractive crop for arid and semi-arid regions.

Wheat, barley, bajra, jwar, moth and oilseeds were the kharif crops grown in Marwar. Cultivators also used to leave fallow for one or two years to let it gain fertility.

Thus, the land-use tradition in Marwar till late eighteenth century was in congruence with the local environment.

**Water Management**

Important method of water conservation was *kund* or *kundi* found in many parts of Western India. It was a mechanism based on the direct accumulation of rainwater and was primarily used for drinking purposes. *Kundis* were constructed to cater both for domestic and public purposes. The roof of the house was used as a catchments area to collect rainwater. Before the onset of rains the roof was cleaned and washed with the first subsequent rains were directed to the underground water tank. showers. The underground tanks functioned as reservoirs and provided water in times of scarcity. Even now there are innumerable *kundis* in houses all over Rajasthan. Locally available lime mortar was used for the construction of kundi/tanka because it was able to restrict seepage. Easy mechanism and minimal maintenance made it the most viable source of water. The open field *kundi* was also used to harvest rainwater. The roof of the underground tank itself
functioned as catchments area. An opening was made to enable the move into the tank as well as to draw the water. At times, even the state promoted construction of such techniques. The bigger form of *kundi* is known as *tanka*. Even today the water is still drawn from the medieval times *tanka* to cater to the needs of tourists and inhabitants of the fort cities in Rajasthan.

We have a lot of archival records mentioning the state extending financial and material support for the construction and maintenance of water appropriation mechanisms. Those peasants who dug up new wells were also offered concessions in land revenue. The state also provided loans to peasants in order to enable them to buy *lao-charas* (rope and leather) so that they could operate wells to irrigate crops. Generally, the peasantry took care of the water needs by adapting various indigenous methods of water management, which evolved in response to the given environmental conditions. Better management of water along with drought resistant agricultural production had been a characteristic of pre-colonial India.

Thus, the general perception that states in traditional societies played a very limited role with respect to water management for settlement purposes culture has been countered. Despite the harsh weather conditions people were able to come out with their own techniques of water conservation.
Local Drivers of Land-use Change

The 18th century was a period of decline of the Mughal empire. Taking advantage of the declining power of the Mughals, the Marathas started their gradual movement and activity in the north and captured Gujarat and Malwa. They frequently raided Rajasthan and even reached up to Delhi. In Rajasthan they collected *chauth* and *Khandani* from the Rajput rajas. With the increasing power of the Marathas and the declining authority of the Rajputs, mainly due to internal feuds, these raids for revenue collection became more frequent and adversely affected the economy and land-use pattern of the states like Marwar.

One major factor that operated now was the loss of Rajasthan as the favored province of an ‘all-India Empire’ under the Mughals. With the latter’s disappearance, the external revenues ceased to flow in, and internal pressure for revenue correspondingly increased, with its own self defeating consequences. Thus, on the one hand the income of the state was on decline, whereas the expenditure of Marwar increased by leaps and bounds due to continuous war with the Marathas, internal disturbance and huge Maratha demands.

During the seventeenth century, peasants were already paying equal to their actual maximum capacity to pay. Any deviation upward meant extra burden on the peasantry.⁵
In the later half of the eighteenth century, due to constant Maratha demands the rulers of Marwar were not left with any option and extracted more from the peasantry through their *pattadars* (revenue officers). This tendency to extract more from the peasantry ultimately affected the fertility of the cultivable land in Marwar. Peasants were now forced to make intensive use of land.

The overall pressure on the economy was relatively greater in comparison to eastern Rajasthan owing to the geographical location of the state. The state fell in semi-arid and arid zone of Western Rajasthan and the agricultural land available here was very limited. These agricultural lands had a limited production capacity owing to the total dependence on rain and non-introduction of new agricultural technology during these years.

The effect on economy could have been disastrous in an arid zone like Marwar. In the ultimate analysis we observe that the human factor in the form of exploitative Rajput ruling houses led to the economic disintegration of the agrarian system of Rajasthan and the consequent land degradation. The ruling authorities lost the control over land-use and were anxious more for land distribution and revenue extraction. This tendency proved disastrous for an arid region like Rajasthan, where famines were more frequent. Here the impact of greater exploitation could become visible only in few decades as compared to the doab region and rain-fed areas where the effect of exploitation without infrastructure development was felt after much longer period of time.

**Change in Crop Pattern**

Wheat was one of the most popular crops in Marwar in the seventeenth century, but by the beginning of the twentieth century it remained confined to only richly irrigated fields. We find a drastic reduction in percentage of wheat cultivation out of the total net cropped
area from 40-35% to almost 20-15%. Probably, wheat cultivation required more effort and expense from the cultivators, whereas a major part of the produce was taken away by the state as revenue. Therefore, in the twentieth century a new crop-pattern is observed. Peasants preferred to produce bajra and jwar, which needed little attention and also allowed them to cultivate the field every year. The percentage of production of pulses like moth also decreased substantially. All these changes had become essential due to increase in the demand of revenue by the state over the years due to local political developments discussed above.

It has to be noted that this was a region, especially Western Rajasthan, where one had limited cultivable land available to the peasantry. Further, the region had only a brief period of moisture availability to sow the seeds. And so the peasants had the tendency to exploit this limited period of moisture availability for agriculture. This created the main erosive hazard to the fertility of the soil because of human activity. Since the peasants were under constant pressure they had no option but to either till the soil or to desert the area. The moisture less soil was disturbed by these ‘forced ploughing’ and because of scarcity of water, surface soil used to get dried out and led to greater wind erosion of the soil. Soil is one of the main processes of land degradation and consists of physical detachment of soil particles by wind. This was a very common feature of Rajasthan and it led to the deterioration of the overall productive potential of the soil. In turn, soil degradation might have resulted in decrease of the productive land ultimately forcing the farmers to encroach upon unsuitable and vulnerable lands- wastelands, slopes and other marginal areas, and the ‘village commons’.
During the period of our study the cultivators made more and more constant use of land for cropping and thus disturbed the earlier practice of leaving it fallow for replenishing its fertility. This possibly resulted in the use of land beyond its ecological capabilities and as a consequence its productivity must have been affected.\(^7\) Further in Marwar area there was a tendency to shifting cultivation and during the 18\(^{th}\) century there was shrinkage in this practice as well.\(^8\) The settlement Reports of 1930’s also suggest that after three years of cropping, the land was left fallow for the next three years indicating that this was a common practice in the arid zone of Marwar.\(^9\) We must note that during the 18\(^{th}\) century when pressure of revenue increased due the frequent Maratha demands the concept of leaving the land fallow was gradually being forgotten and so the impact on the fertility of the soil was negative.

**People’s Concern as Reflected in Folklores**

The land-use change and its impact on the productivity and crop pattern are fully reflected in the folk tradition of Rajasthan. The predictor of nature and weather forecaster suddenly gains significance in Marwar. The importance of a man with such an ability can be gauged from the fact that from the day of conception a mother would make pious intent to rear her child as a predictor.\(^{10}\) She used to put water in a pitcher by a tree throughout her pregnancy period so that the birds and animals could drink from it. After the birth of the child he was given the first drink from that pitcher. If the child survived after consuming the drink, he was believed to have commanded the languages of the local animals and birds. People had probably this belief that animals and birds have the ability to understand nature better and well in advance.

**Migration**
By the beginning of the nineteenth century the political, social and economic factors also combined to aggravate the situation. We have frequent reference to relief provided by the local *thikanedars* before the second half of the 18th century, but later on most of these *thikanedars* even collected more than the normal. The *pattadars* were asked by the rulers of Marwar to pay a lump sum amount other than regular revenue. On the one hand, the strain of the East India Company’s exploitation weakened the economy and reduced the power of resistance of the people against famines, on the other hand as a ruling authority it did not frame any major policy of famine relief and prevention.

The community has its own way of responding to the situation. They often took to pastorlism. However, when situation did not seem to improve and famine like situation occurred they prefer to desert the region. The most typical response to drought and famine situations in Marwar was to migrate. In the famine of 1868-69 there was a massive migration of one and half million people from Marwar. In the famine of 1891-92 199,600 people (which was 8% of the total population of Marwar) left with 661,906 head of livestock. Another possible response was intensification of agriculture, which by using the existing technologies led to detrimental environmental consequences and put a question mark on the sustainability of the land.

**Conclusion**

The traditional methods of land-use break down with the pressure and requirement of the state for greater revenue. And this has leads to many undesirable and unexpected changes on the environments, which are many a time irreversible. The interaction of human activities with natural environment causes land-use change. Highly variable and
unpredictable ecosystem conditions, like that of Marwar, amplify the pressures arising from high demands on land resources. Till the time the long drawn equilibrium between community traditions and the harsh environment is not disturbed, there is not much change in land-use pattern. The moment this equilibrium is broken through agricultural intensification the impact is crucial to human survival in the region.

The various ways in which the cultivators use the natural diversity of the environment for production includes not only their choice of crops but also their management of the soil, the biota and water. The cultivators have local social and ecological adaptations which lead to greater resilience. However, under the strains of local environmental, economic and social forces, individual cultivators are often unable to make full adaptations to both social and ecological situations. They have the tendency to adopt coping strategies to maximise family well-being in the short term, even if such strategies lead to soil erosion and fertility decline in the long term.

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Harnessing technology to enhance communication in the English classroom: a Study from Saudi Arabia

Abstract

The advancement of modern technology in recent years has brought about the use of computers in language learning and teaching. Email communication, as one form of computer-mediated communication (CMC), has become a useful pedagogical tool in language instruction. Some studies have suggested that email communication has positive effects on increasing language learners' responsibility, facilitating cultural learning and social interactions, and improving writing skills and linguistic complexity. However, many of the studies on email communication in second/foreign language contexts are either non-research-based studies, whose positive effects need to be examined by further studies, or research-based studies, which only focus on email communication products of some designed email activities or language learners' perceptions of engaging in such activities. A very few studies have addressed the effects of regular email communication in English, and only on in Saudi Arabia based on an extensive review of the literature. This study was conducted at an EFL teaching college in a KSA university in the South-western region of Saudi Arabia. The study explored the EFL learners' perceptions of the effects of regular email communication in English on their English learning, their cultural learning, and the development of personal relationships. Results of the study suggested that these foreign language learners thought that regular English emails provided them with opportunities to learn and practice English, and created a comfortable environment to express themselves. Regular email communication in English not only facilitated their language learning in terms of vocabulary, understanding and thinking in English, and developing writing conventions. The results have implications for employing regular email communication as a supplement approach beyond classroom instruction to facilitate and promote students' language learning.
Introduction

The advancement of modern technology in recent years has brought about the use of computers in language learning and teaching. Harnessing the internet for learning purposes has been a favourable idea for many researchers in the area of ESOL methodology; some of the research studies so far conducted, or underway in this area, have dealt with e-mailing for online searching, while some others compared traditional delivery methods against the Internet-based delivery method (Pennington, 1996; Levy, 1997; Warschauer & Healey, 1998; Mekheimer, 2005; Ma, 2006; Zaid, forthcoming 2011). In e-learning, or Internet-based instruction (IBI), or Web-based learning (WBL), and so on with the names, the essential factor is the Internet. Theoretically, the Internet is defined by Herring (1999) as an international network, linking millions of computers across countries. The research will consider as part of the Internet, the World Wide Web (the Web), which Abbott (2002a) describes as the part of the Internet which can be accessed through a computer programme known as a browser, E-mail, a short and more frequently used term for electronic mail, is one way computer-mediated communications are being carried out, if not the most common Internet applications ever known and used. E-mail, which Banes and Walter (1997; 2002) describe as being a way to ‘post’ or ‘receive’ letters electronically to one or more people and chat, messaging and video-conferencing. Teachers have shown an increasing interest in encouraging their students to practice writing by communicating with other students via email, rather than just communicating with their own teachers over email. The study is an attempt at harnessing this interest so that the students can have meaningful communication in their cooperative learning teams and develop a consistent and systematic approach to searching the online search engines for content interesting and useful to them academically and in their personal life. This should provide an environment which will inspire the students to enjoy communicative literacies and to give of their best, as well as fostering global and metacognitive awareness for language teaching and possibly even for initiating fruitful online searching skills.
Furthermore, utilization of the Internet in what's called 'distance learning, or Internet-based learning or e-learning' is becoming a widely used delivery alternative at universities worldwide. In this context, Wegner, et al. (1999:99) write: "In many instances, the change to an Internet-based delivery system has been instituted with little or no consideration of the impact on student learning". However, Serwatka (2003), notes that …

Because of the popularity of the Internet, and, by extension, the World Wide Web, e-learning has taken a detour from its roots in correspondence courses and teleconferencing. The breadth of this detour would have been hard to predict when Web-based courses began to appear in 1993 {in the United States and over the world}... With this population in mind, the growth in demand for Internet distance learning courses is not surprising. Such courses meet the requirements of these students, allowing them to complete degrees begun years before or to take courses to enhance their employment or improve their skills.

One key issue in e-learning is communication between participants, for which there are two basic types of technological solutions: asynchronous and synchronous (Warschauer, 1996). In the asynchronous approach, the interaction between parties does not require them to be engaged at the same point in time. In synchronous communications the interaction between participants requires simultaneous engagement of the participants. Examples of technologies for asynchronous communications are hypertext publication (namely www), e-mail, mailing lists, newsgroups /bulletin boards and file download (ftp). For synchronous communications the more often used technologies are: chat/IRC, whiteboard, audio-video streaming and videoconference. These new instructional media are being empirically tested for classroom applications, and some more web-based learning models are being proposed for instructional effectiveness.

Many educators regard e-mail, the most common Internet application, as an effective tool that promotes both intercultural communication and, above all, language learning and/or language acquisition (Stein and Stein, 1995). Crudely put, it is surmised that e-mail technology can positively help students bridge the gap between “skill-getting
and skill-using”, borrowing the expression from Rivers (1975). Omaggio-Hadley (1993) observed that the use of computers and computer-assisted instructional programmes in teaching foreign and second language composition is one relatively recent development in writing instruction, and it is so much so that preliminary experiments affirm this apt observation. Earlier, Smith, et al. (1999: 80-81) found upon comparing two writing instruction methods - one computer-mediated and the other traditional, that the computer users improved significantly in their ability to read and express oral and written ideas.

Studies by Neu and Scarcella (1991), Phinney (1991), and Thaipakdee (1992) found that students had positive attitudes towards writing with computers and less apprehension about writing, and more assertively, a development of better attitudes towards writing with computers corresponded with better writing.

By the same token, Tao (1995) reviewed the literature to investigate the pros and cons of “the still nebulous area of e-mail implications” in literacy learning. Tao (ibid.:7) found that:

(1) in reducing the social cues and enriching functions of easy editing, storing, and manipulating, e-mail lends itself to more user-control; and user responsibility;

(2) e-mail is capable of bringing traditionally peripheral persons into the instructional mainstream;

(3) e-mail offers users chances to develop positive attitudes but can also touch off some undesirable behaviors;

(4) due to its reduced sense of presence, e-mail communication exhibits some sense of anonymity and depersonalization;

(5) e-mail is direct, straight forward and more self-centred, and

(6) anecdotal reports suggest that e-mail might have effects on social behaviors such as collaboration and motivation, metacognitive aspects central to the learning process especially in writing.

Tao and Reinking (1996) have categorized research literature regarding e-mail into three areas: (1) using e-mail as a research tool; (2) focusing on user perception and
adoption of e-mail in instructional settings; and (3) assessing the effects of e-mail communication on users.

Navigating the literature for the applications of e-mailing to FL training, Stein and Stein (1995, p. 3) found out the following three rationales that function as the theoretical framework of e-mail training.

Rationale 1: The e-mail training and assignments are embedded in the context of the overall language class objectives.

Rationale 2: Throughout the e-mail training, the instructor provides the participants with scaffolds of how to compose a message, how to send a message, how to receive a message and how to save a message by downloading it or printing it.

Rationale 3: E-mail instruction works best with training with awareness. Further e-mail applications e.g. delete a message, a folder, change user password, send the same message to multiple users (with cc), are then introduced as students become expert e-mail users.

A few studies have been conducted in the United States delving into the impact of the electronic mail and the uncovered promises that it may have for writers in English (Anderson and Lee, 1995; Lee, 1994; Mabrito, 1991; McKay, 1989; Traw, 1994; Warschauer, 1996; 1997; 1999; Warschuer & Healey, 1998). Some of these studies had studied the influence of e-mail on cooperative learning and interaction in literacy (Allen, 1995; Smolenskey, et al., 1990; Kern, 1995; Fey, 1994; Reiss, 1996), while other studies had emphasized the effect of e-mailing on cognitive development as related to language (Kauffmann, 1998).

As tacitly voiced in Tao (1995:22), e-mail impact on the cognitive aspects of literacy acquisition and instruction still remains unclear. This study is thus set to seek empirical testimony for the most important role of e-mailing in enhancing the basic writing skills through using grammar checkers, spelling checkers, dictionaries, etc. available in the compose box, and intercultural communication in EFL learning.
However, many of the studies on email communication are non-research-based studies; therefore, the reported positive effects on language learning need to be examined by further studies. Some of the limited research-based studies either focused exclusively on the email communication products or predominantly addressed the students' perceptions of engaging in email communication, and few research designs balanced these two aspects.

Moreover, some research-based studies involved the participants in the designed email activities to explore the efficacy of email communication while a large number of email communications that language learners are exposed to are under non-experimental circumstances.

Most of the literature reviewed is in the foreign language context where the target language that language learners are learning is not the official language; and little research of email communication focuses on second language learners who are immersed in an environment where the target language that these learners are learning is the official and dominant language.

Therefore, the present study, focusing both on email communication products and perceptions of engaging in email communication, aimed to have a clear understanding of how English-as-a-foreign language (EFL) learners perceive the effects of regular email communication in English on their English learning, on their cultural learning, and on the development of personal relationships.

This study is conducted in a South-western province in Saudi Arabia, in the English Department of the College of Languages and Translation, King Khalid University (KKU). In order to facilitate students' academic study and social life, all the departments, faculties and various associations affiliated with KKU have set up their own email list to circulate information and announcements. All the students at KKU can conveniently engage in email interactions with professors, staff, classmates or friends; their professors are either semi-native-English speakers or non-native-English speakers, including a broad spectrum of nationalities. The four participants of this study are international students who are learning English as a foreign language, all are men.
Purpose

The present study focused both on the emails which EFL learners composed on a regular basis and their perceptions of engaging in regular English email communication. Employing discourse analysis and in-depth interviews, the study aimed to answer the following research questions:

1. How do EFL learners think of the environment provided by regular email communication in English for their English learning?

2. What English language learning do EFL learners perceive has occurred from regular email communication in English?

3. How does regular email communication in English facilitate EFL learners' cultural learning and the development of personal relationships with their friends?

Theoretical Foundation

Computer-mediated communications have developed over the time, utilising the latest in information and communication technologies, such as e-mail, listserves, computer conferencing, ftp, gopher, Word Wide Webs, virtual reality, and combinations of some of them have made computer-mediated communications one of the most promising and fastest growing industries in the field of communications and information industries.

E(lectronic) mail is an electronic communications system that is used to send information from one person/site to another (one-to-one communication) or from one person to many people at the same time”. (Cross and Raizman, 1986, p.3).

D'Souza (1992) provided a definition of e-mail approximate to and commensurate with the way educators and social scientists think of the term:

E-mail uses computer text–processing and communication tools to provide a high-speed information exchange service. The text feature stands out prominently when educators and social scientists ever consider the definition of electronic mail (p.22).
Several researchers have defined email from a socio-educational perspective as a medium that contains the messages sent via computers on a person-to-person basis, and also refers to such popular text-based features as listserv, computer conferencing, and newsgroups (Seguin & Seguin, 1995; Smith, 1994; D'Souza, 1991; Lowry, Koneman, Osman-Jouchoux, & Wilson, 1994; Sproull & Kiesler, 1986).

The above definitions of e-mail are roughly divided into three categories. The first appears to be broad in its technical aspects but narrow in the way the receiver and sender are to keep their respective roles. The second seems to have included only computer-mediated communications but considers sending and receiving and formats (such as graphics and tables) of information being within the definitional range of e-mail. The third one narrows down to the text-based information being via computer.

One can here provide a definition for e-mail surmised from the way it is used in educational setting:

"e-mail, the most common Internet application, is a medium and means of communicating and e-learning where lots of facilities are utilised such as file (including audio, video, text, graphics) transfer, text processing and communication tools for exchange of educational services, (a)synchronous learning, and evaluation of all types; it may also extend to being used as a training medium for developing writing skills via keyboarding, chatting rooms and learning of netiquette".

In considering the e-mail’s relevance to literacy development in EFL, it would be far too conservative to perceive e-mail in the traditional way mail has been defined namely - non-interactive and self containing units or messages. In the field of literacy education, some work has been done in the same direction (Anderson & Lee, 1995). However in comparison to some pioneering work which has been done in regard to redefining literacy in the electronic era (e.g., Bolter, 1991) and to exploring the ever-increasing educational resources available on the internet (e.g., Harris, 1994), Literacy research in e-mail and its impacts on literacy acquisition seems at most scanty and hardly begun.
One of the most prominent features of e-mail communication lies in its ease of editing, storing, duplicating, and delivering or distributing (Huff, Sproull & Kiesler, 1986). This feature, when combined with its suppressing of social cues, lends itself to the flexibility both in the content scope in which e-mail functions and in the direction information flows.

The content of the e-mail ranges widely from seeking information (sending a request) to establishing relationship (e.g. partnership) (Kinkead, 1987; McCormick & McCormick, 1992). McCormick and McCormick (1992) have analyzed undergraduates pieces of e-mail messages (645 pieces in number) and found that students’ messages via e-mail are of a wide range, running from news-sharing to the exchange of crude flirtatious comments and put-downs. Their analysis reveals that students writing certain type of message can be correlated with a particular time period during the semester and among certain groups. For example, undergraduates seem more likely engaged in sending computer programs to each other when the end of the semester is approaching. Put–down messages are found more frequently among the acquainted than the unacquainted.

E-mail allows the users to be engaged in a more conversational style (See Kinkead, 1987) or writing more lengthy intimate or romantic messages (McCormick & McCormick, 1992). Kinkead's description (1987) shows that instructors are usually engaged in the same wide range of e-mail usage as students. Upon being introduced to e-mail, instructors are utilizing e-mail to share knowledge of computer operation, peer editing, grading and even coordinating some evening events; email exchanges induced enhancement in clarity of messages through employing cohesive devices, simple language and maintaining coherence in email messages (Biesenbach-Lucas, Meloni and Weasenforth, 2000). This flexibility has certainly integrated many features of telephone, face-to-face and regular mail in social interactions.

In the field of second language acquisition research, there is an argument that interaction with an authentic audience is a necessary condition for second language learning (Johnston, 1999). The availability of an authentic audience affects the rate and extent of language learning. The audience is not only an important element in language use but also a vital part of language learning. Johnston defined "authentic audience" as
"an audience that is concerned exclusively with the meaning of the speaker's messages" (p. 60). In the email communication context, email receivers may play the role of "authentic audience" because they pay attention to the content of email messages. Therefore, language learners may benefit from the email communication integrated into language learning and instruction because it realizes the interactions with the authentic audience.

In e-mail communication, the flow of the messages is not uni-directional but could be bi-directional. Hiltz (1986) has observed the enabling factor of computer conferencing by allowing each individual a chance of responding to a question. This would not be possible in traditional classroom discussions when a question is usually answered by only a few students.

Romiszowski and de Haas (1989) describe their experience in conducting computer conferencing among students and only to find that the topic they have designed is overshadowed by other topics unexpectedly initiated by students themselves. One of the benefits of e-mail communication highlighted by McComb (1994) is the possibility for students to function and access instructor independently and at the same time retaining their class or group participatory functions.

Therefore, many language teachers embrace email communication in their instruction because it follows some of the principles expressed in second language acquisition theories. Email communication presents a natural language environment with an authentic audience; it promotes collaborative communication among peers, and it realizes social interactions (Kelrn, 1996). The implementation of email communication in language instruction has attracted the interest of some researchers and language practitioners in investigating its efficacy.

The e-mail communication not merely the conventional hierarchical structure of communication, but opens some horizontally- flowing communication possibilities (Fey, 1994). The horizontal communications among students make students open themselves up to their classmates which would be impossible without this particular communication
tool. The flow of information enabled by the e-mail communication one’s peers and colleagues have some very positive implications.

In this context, Poling (1994) describes his personal experience in using email in communicating with his students. He found that the advantages strongly outweigh the disadvantages of using email and urges teachers to use it as an effective classroom communication supplement. Atamian and DeMoville (1998) used email as a substitute for office hours; all student–instructor interactions, apart from in-class dialogue, had been carried via email. They found that students felt that this setup made the teacher more accessible, were very satisfied with it and recommended using it in the future. Relevantly, too, Boles (1999) studied the effect of the use of email on learning and group interactions. The majority of his students (89%) agreed that the use of email has improved student–instructor interactions. Similar findings in this direction were reported by Hannon (2001).

Some of the cognitive impacts on individuals and communities are being speculated and conjectured (McComb, 1994; Nilan, 1993). The basic assumption is that of McLuhan’s concept of the relationship between the communication means and human cognitive or learning styles. Some few studies investigated a potential relationship between learning style and online learning or use of e-mail, reporting the suitability of the online medium as an instructional environment. For instance, in Butler (2004), the largest percentage of students in the sample displayed a dual learning style, indicating flexibility with the method of online instruction, but favored the forms of online pedagogy of individual assignments and threaded discussions. The subjects demonstrated strong preferences for asynchronous log-ons (99%), a high degree of interaction within the course, and also noted a high degree of satisfaction with their online programs (95%). Convenience was the most frequent reason reported (92%) as to why a web course was selected. There were several correlations found between learning styles and preferred methods of online instruction, which were partially attributed to the learning styles traits as described by Gregorc (1985). However, the strong preferences for instructional activities emphasizing convenience and time management and interactivity (threaded discussions).
Other research studies reported preferences for online learning as matching subjects' learning styles, but many asserted that online line learning and / or e-mailing is not effectual on changing or moderating learning styles (Leavitt, 2004, Seiler, 2004, Tolan-Halleck, 2004).

However, other researchers reporting similar findings concluded that researchers need to explore various factors such as learning styles, attitudes, professional development, and confidence levels which influence technology use. It is critical that education leaders address issues identified by this research to realize technology's potential to influence teaching and learning (Hubbard, 2004; Winke and Goertler, 2008; Oleks, 2004).

There are several studies that looked at the role of computer-mediated communication (CMC), which includes email, in improving teaching. Lewis, Treves, and Shaindlin (1997) reported on their experiences with an online course given to post-graduate professional students. They argue that a teaching technology can be most beneficial when it is used to support the expression and representation of student thoughts. Mowrer (1996) provides a context analysis of student–instructor communications during a one-semester course in an electronic forum. He stresses the point that “only a few students voice their views during traditional classroom discussions”. Kussmaul, Dunn, Bagley, and Watnik (1996) argue that much effort is spent on how the technology could be used rather than on when and why it should be used. They think that learning the when and why could provide a strong incentive for teachers, who are not interested in the technology itself, to learn how to use it.

On the other hand, researchers do come up with abundant proofs for the e-mail communication’s social (such as collaboration) and affective (such as motivation) effects on the users. According to Curry (1991), motivational levels are maintained once the learner establishes preferred environmental and social conditions for learning. Factors contributing to motivation include a general sense of self-efficacy and self-control. However, there may be an element of biological need for different environmental elements such as quiet, heat, and/or light. Preferences for particular physical
environmental and social conditions are factors that can be altered in the learning situation, possibly having direct bearing on learner motivation.

Research also indicated that while high scoring students are unaffected by the use of email, it is low scorers who benefit most (Smith, et al., 1999). This suggests that the use of email as a supplement helps increase the overall performance of a class, something that should encourage instructors to make use of emails. Further, McComb (1994) has argued that critical learning occurs when students are engaged in critical reflection on their personal, political, and social lives. E-mail communication seems to promote a “pedagogy that encourages students to be active creators of, rather than passive to, society” (p. 157). In other words, learning activities, from this perspective, come from students concerns and interests, and occur in reflection and interactions. Both Romiszowski, et al. (1989) and Anderson et al. (1995) suggest that the reflective thinking does happen with their students in e-mail interactions. Nilan, 1993) proposes that thinking habits and patterns change with the expanding networking. Feldman’s description (1987) of members' negotiation of interpretation of a piece of information within the organization seems to have confirmed this. Members within the organization are sharing their interpretations with other people.

Though a universally shared belief is not expected from (p.97), many researchers find that it takes the e-mail group longer time to reach consensus (Hiltz, et al, 1986; Kiesler, et al, 1984). They give many conjectures as to why this is the case. It might be due to the fuller exploration of some minority opinions which could not receive the same probing otherwise (Siegel, et al, 1986). It might also be due to the less structured manner of e-mail proposals (Wegner, Holloway, Garton, 1999, pp.442-443). Another possible reason for a longer time for decision-making might lie in e-mail communication’s capacity of letting the users or senders think before responding (see Fey, 1992,p.226; Spitze, 1989,p.197). In other words, consensus reached over a longer period of time may signify that the pattern of decision-making is being changed by e-mail communication: individuals are willing to spend more time in stating their views and considering other’s point. That might result in high-quality decision made by e-mail users (Garcon & Wellman, 1995, p. 443; Rice, 1987, p. 80).
Besides, Selfe’s (1990) suggestion of a different notion of text in computer writing and genre perspective interacting with and shaped by the e-mail medium have also more than hinted at the possibility of cognitive impacts. Selfe (1990) argues that the fluid and dynamic nature of the reader (p.128). Yates and Orlikowski (1992) suggested that e-mail massages should reflect and impact our perception of the human / media interactions within specific social contexts.

However, all this is still to be substantiated with solid researches which are still few in the field of literacy and e-mail. D'Souza’s study (1991) finds that a group of students taking a business information system course via e-mail outperformed those who preferred the traditional format of the course in the overall exam and the posttests. However, the reasons behind this is not pursued and left unexplained.

Adrianson and Hjelmquist (1993) reported their study done in Sweden which finds that more experienced e-mail communication users seem to be able to retain more text ideas via e-mail communication while the inexperienced users retain the text more via a face-to-face communication. Due to the design of the study, the emphasis is not on the original communicating of the ideas via different means but the recall of the ideas through different means of computer communication and face to face communications. Therefore, this study can only speak at most about the proficiency level of the users of different means, but not the cognitive impacts per se.

E-mail’s impacts on the cognitive aspects of literacy acquisition and instruction remain unclear. Yet, changes of increasing reflective thinking (Anderson, et al., 1995; Romiszowski, et al, 1989), ameliorating understanding of one’s social environments (Feldman, 1987), and studying appropriate text models of genres (Yates, et al, 1999) have the promises for new implications for literacy instruction through e-mail communication.

As for the social effects of e-mailing, collaboration appears to be the most commented outcome of e-mail researches (Fey, 1994; Mabrito, 1991; Schwartz, 1990, Self, 1990; Spitze, 1989; Traw, 1994). Many studies agree that e-mail communication seems to lend itself well to collaborations of various kinds. Collaborations of any kind involve interactions with other people within society. Since social interactions have been
believed to affect literacy acquisition (Vygotsky, 1978), the possibility of collaboration offered by e-mail communication provides a viable means for understanding e-mail’s potentials in promoting literacy acquisition.

Schwartz (1990) has reported an observational study about the collaboration going on among three high schools across vastly different regions. E-mail has been used mainly as a tool to facilitate communications among students who would otherwise never know each other. Descriptive observations have been produced to bear proof to students' improvement in understanding each other through e-mail communication. This type of collaboration among students in sharing their perceptions and enhancing understanding of others provides the true context for meaningful writing. They are not collaborating on the level of helping each provides the true context for meaningful write, but on the level where they assist each other to understand other cultures.

This kind of distance collaboration is reported used for decision-making tasks (Wild & Winniford, 1993) carried out in two similar introductory courses offered at to different universities: one in Hawaii and other in Texas. Students at these two vastly distant and different locations seem to have made their unique contributions to the decision-making tasks (p. 196). Many students felt that their writing skills have been improved through this kind of remote collaboration via e-mail (p. 199). One teacher has observed that overall efforts of students and individual reports seem to be a higher quality than those of the previous semesters (p. 198).

Collaboration between university students and school students is reported by Traw (1994). University students in a literacy class have collaborated with elementary school students in developing a theme unit teaching plan. E-mail has been the channel through which they communicate with each other. The collaboration is found to be fruitful for both groups of students. For university students, the benefits are two-fold. The university students, by incorporating the input from their elementary school collaborators, are able to produce better teaching plan for their unit. Besides, they have also got a first-hand experience of elementary students' development state and their reading tastes. For elementary students, they have been introduced to new books of good quality, and they have got a boost of self-confidence and self-esteem (p. 30).
Fey (1994) describes the collaboration of a batch of non-traditional students in her college writing class, their collaboration occurs at two levels. On the one level, they share experiences with each other through e-mail communication. Their dialogues thus carried on via e-mail help them to develop ideas and themes for writing (or finding their voice in) their essays.

On another level, they critique each other’s writing ideas and themes to make their thoughts straight or clarifying their found voice. Adopting a feminist viewpoint, Fey (1994) observes that the usually silent voices of women and the academically underrepresented are gradually speaking out frankly and loudly through collaborative atmosphere made possible by e-mail. These voices find their way into each other’s final essay production (p. 235) and contribute to their literacy development (p. 237). Anderson and Lee’s (1995) study has specifically required the collaboration among master level students in critiquing each other’s drafts of their seminar presentations. They are encouraged to use e-mail communication to accomplish this. The study finds students exhibit collaborative spirits by sharing and requesting for help and building a sense of community. They believe that students are also engaged in more reflection (pp. 231-232) and literacy risk-taking (pp. 232-233).

A study done by Mabrito (1991) on high and low apprehensive college writers’ participation in group discussions via e-mail communication has shown that traditionally reticent writers in normal classroom situations and to contribute significantly more ideas in collaboration via e-mail. E-mail communication is perceived to be able to elicit the contribution of those traditionally silent voices by providing the high apprehensive writers “a productive and non-threatening forum for sharing their writing with other students and responding to other students text” (p. 529).

From a feminist point of view, Selfe (1990) has suggested that participation and collaboration in general via e-mail communication is not the essence of our new vision of this communication; instead …

"we would also want to ensure that increased participation on computer networks or within a computer-supported classroom can, in turn, encourage new, different, even revolutionary patterns of information exchange and
conversations those that allow individuals with traditionally marginal relationships to an academic discourse community to bring themselves to the centre of that community exchanges” (pp. 124-125).

Spitez (1989) provides some anecdotal account of another kind of collaboration via e-mail: that between faculty members and students in helping students essay writing (p. 195). Collaboration via e-mail among faculty members and researchers is also mentioned by some researchers (see Selfe, 1990, p.124).

Literature concerning e-mail is ripe with statements of motivational effects of e-mail (e.g. Hiltz, 1986; Spitz, 1989; Traw, 1994; Sabieh, 2002; Tella, 1992; Ma, 2006). However, no substantial studies have been done in regard to the motivational aspects of e-mail communication. Many researchers believe that e-mail communication has had equalizing effect upon the social, economic, and intellectual status of e-mail users (See Garcon & Wellman, 1995; 1995; Hawisher & Moran, 1993; McComb, 1994; Selfe, 1990). Garton and Wellman (1995) have summarized e-mail researches in communication and organization. They suggest that e-mail tend to encourage low social status users to speak out, encourage equal participation of all members, and suppress the difference even between experts and novices (pp. 440-441). These findings are generally what have been stated by educational researchers as well. For instance, Selfe (1990) states her belief that e-mail communication promotes “more egalitarian discussion” and provides “marginal community members a medium through which their contributions might become increasingly central” in instructional setting (p.127).

McComb (1994) has explicitly remarked the altered relationship between teachers and students; the power relationship between students; and teachers are more equalized (p.160).

**E-mail as a method of information gathering:**

Many e-mail researchers have mentioned the sharing of news and ideas (Feldman, 1987) among e-mail users. Whether the purpose or consequence of sharing is to entertain or inform users seem to be doing this information dissemination via e-mail, anyhow (e.g.
Coombs. 1993. p.24). Some speculations are being made as to the information sharing and gathering (D’Souza, 1992; Robinson, 1994). Both D’Souza and Robinson suggest that users need to be carried out to decide whether there are any significant differences between information gathering or sharing when they are using e-mail as opposed to them when using regular channels of communication. The motivational mechanism here concerns using e-mail for this end is not clear at all. The relevance to literacy acquisition of voluntary sharing and gathering information might be indisputable. However, one crucial question follows this knowledge: Can help teachers capitalize on the motivational factor of this e-mail feature to facilitate students’ literacy growth?

Actually, anecdotal evidence is available from previous research such as that by Stein and Stein (1995). More evidentially, yet still anecdotally, qualitative data from the study at issue, represented in the current researcher’s observations and subjects feedback as will be shown later in the findings chapter indicate an incremental effect in the motivation of students to learn writing via e-mailing and web searching because e-mailing is speedy, less formal, asynchronous/synchronous, and text-based, allows both dyadic and multiple connection, and lends easily to storage and manipulation, supporting data from previous research on this point (Garton & Wellman, 1995; Sproull & Kiesler, 1986; Steinfield, 1986).

Restrictions of e-mailing:

Researchers have articulated certain features which make the e-mail form of writing different from conventional writing. There are two aspects to this: convention and flexibility. Unlike conventional mail forms such as personal letters or business letters, e-mail messages read more like memos or notes and have now obtained their own discourse formalities or their own conventions (Wilkins, 1991).

Many researchers have noticed such breaking down or blurring of the conventional forms (Hawisher & Moran, 1993; Selfe, 1989; Siegel, Drovesky, Kiesler & McGuier, 1986; Sproull & Kiesler, 1986; Yates & Orlikowski, 1992). Sproull & Kiesler (1986) find that people focus more on themselves than on others in message salutations and closing.
Rhetorically, e-mail messages become more straightforward (Holmes, 1995). They convey the intended information in less subtle form (see Goode & Johnson, 1991; Paramskas, 1993). Yates and Orlikowski (1992) suggest that e-mail messages could be studied from a genre perspective to take into consideration both the conventions and variations. Some unique written styles and symbols are now universally accepted to make up for its less subtle messages.

In organizations, theoretically this would benefit the flow of information given the availability of e-mail systems to their members and consequently improve the performance of the members (Grohowski et al, 1990). Yet, due to the absence of social cues such as gestures, facial expressions, dresses, tones, there is little evidence that managers in general would prefer the e-mail communication (Adkins & Brashers, 1995; Trevion et al, 1990), though such communications are found to be permeating organizations (Sproull & Kiesler, 1986).

Some negative impact possibilities of e-mail have also been noticed by researchers Hawisher & Moran, 1993; Lowry et al, 1994; Pierce et al, 1994). They all find that e-mail discussions can lack consistency, become disjoint, and be sometimes hard to follow. This perception about the disorderly aspect of e-mail communication, however, has not been empirically examined and substantiated to date.

In sum, e-mail seems to have promise of involving the marginal members of traditional educational institutes and facilitating students participation as a whole. As some literacy researchers (see Heath, 1991) point out, literacy is embedded in social and cultural contexts in other words, as an involvement (Brandt, 1990); literacy development in the EFL classroom always occurs in social and cultural interactions.

Therefore, in examining the literacy participation of traditionally marginal members, researchers would benefit by paying attention to the motivational factor of involvement through e-mail in various social and cultural situations and when members of traditionally different status are involved interaction patterns of the differently – formed communities would shed light on our understanding of literacy activities. On a practical dimension, this understanding will also help classroom teachers find better ways
to motivate students to be involved in meaningful literacy acts without losing sight of different literacy challenge to individual students.

**Methodology of Research**

**Method**

Because the focus of this study is to explore the EFL learners' perceptions of the effects of regular email communication in English, **qualitative research** is the most appropriate approach to answer the research questions of this study (Patton, 2002).

**Instrumentation**

Two research instruments were utilized for this study: the *discourse analysis checklist*, developed by the researcher (with insights from Georgakopoulou & Goutsos, 1997 & Cutting, 2002) for email analysis and the interview guide for the *in-depth interview*.

This checklist focused on analyzing the cultural and language aspects of email samples from the participants, and it also served to help the researcher find specific examples which might reveal the effects of regular email communication in English on the participants' English learning, cultural learning and the development of personal relationships. Georgakopoulou and Goutsos (1997) categorized the contexts as four types: context of situation, context of culture, context as co-text and cognitive context.

**Procedures**

The findings of the email samples then helped formulate further interview questions to discover what the effects of regular email communication in English were and how the participants perceived the effects.

As the researcher intended to see how the participants viewed the effects of regular email communication in English on the development of personal relationships, the context of situation, which was defined by Georgakopoulou and Goutsos, was detailed and concrete enough to analyze the email samples. It helped the researcher to define the particular signs and symbols used in email communications and messengers,
and punctuation, and also helped me to find out the difference between the personal emails and academic-related ones.

The context of culture categorized by Georgakopoulou and Goutsos directed me to focus on the topics of the emails and the speech community the participants were in. Speech community, in linguistics, refers to "any regionally or socially definable human group which can be identified by the use of a shared spoken language and language variety" (Crystal, 2003, p. 427). Analyzing the email samples from this perspective helped me trace down the vocabulary that the participants used and shared between participants and their recipients, and to further ask the participants what they thought of vocabulary learning through regular email communication in English.

The discourse analysis of the participants' email samples served two functions: first, to have a clear understanding of participants' perceptions of the effects of regular email communication in English; and second, to find concrete examples which might be related to the effects of regular email communication in English, and the participants could refer to these examples when they answered my interview questions.

The interview guide for the in-depth interview consisted of two sections: the first section pertained to the participants' background information; the second section was about their thoughts and ideas of the experience of engaging in regular email communication in English. The first section, which included five questions, aimed to obtain the participants' background information, such as academic levels, years of formal education in Saudi universities, years of English education, and years of using email communication in English. These questions helped me shape a general profile of the participants' background information.

The second section of the interview guide asked the questions pertaining to the participants' experience of engaging in regular email communication in English. Based on the prior investigation of the relevant literature review, I developed 15 questions centering on the purpose of this study and arranged them into three groups corresponding to the three research questions. Questions 1-5 were designed to investigate the participants' views on the environment provided by regular email communication for
their English learning. Questions 6-10 were to find out the English language learning the participants thought occurred through this email communication. Questions 11-15 were to understand the cultural learning and the development of personal relationships facilitated by regular email communication.

**Results**

*Volume of email exchanges*

The four students in the study were the most profuse email users and active learners on Blackboard®; the figures below shows how they utilized email for communication in learning English across lectures, course description, assignments and board discussions.
There were a total of 763 email messages that these four students sent and responded to during the last four months. Most of these email messages were related to course assignments. There were a total of about 385 messages. This number, however, may depend on many factors. Some courses require more email exchanges and assignments than other courses, and some course instructors are active using course email while others are not. In the previous semester, for example, the students' activity using email was hectically more vibrant than this semester when the study was launched.

**Authorship of e-mail exchanges**

Analysing email authorship, Figure 2 shows that the majority of the messages (98%) were related to course teaching matters. Administrative type of messages (e.g., requesting a class list from registrar’s office or arranging exam room bookings) accounted for the remaining 2%. Considering the nature of the email list, it is not surprising to find that the instructor accounted for more than half of the messages (57%).
The instructors sent 443 messages of which 301 are replies. The students sent 663 messages. About 311 of these messages were answers to assignments messages that are student-generated messages (the other messages are replies to the instructors’ messages).
The figure above shows the distribution of messages along the four months of the term. During the month of March, there was hectic use of email because at this juncture, graded exercises are usually submitted to students as assignments, and they have to respond to them. The least month was April because the term had drawn to the end, and students concentrated on the regular tasks of traditional learning and preparation for the exams.

Some of these messages may be time-consuming and effortful on the part of the students, and the assignments usually required several email exchanges between students and their instructors by way of interaction with regard to corrections and feedback. For example, in several messages the students would direct the instructor to a certain problem in the textbook demanding explanation. In other instances a student may be sending a computer file as an attachment with a note describing how desperate he feels after hours of trying to find out what’s wrong with his model or the way the software is being handled. Teachers, on their part, had had to respond back and exchange email communications with their students.

*Context analysis of Email Exchanges*

The analysis is rough because it was difficult to go through all messages text to classify them; rather, we focused mainly on a message’s subject to classify its content. The messages exchanged were clearly student-centered: 663 messages (95.3%) dealt with issues that are either generated by students or directed to students. About half of the messages (47.5%) were reply messages. This shows that the list was not used solely for announcements. It may also indicate that the instructors messages are sometimes driving the students to communicate their concerns. As is showed in figure 1, the course component that generated the largest number of messages is the assignments.

*Effects of Email Communication on Participants' English Learning*

From the interview data, it was clear that the participants realized that regular email communication in English had both positive and adverse effects on their English learning. The positive effects can be grouped into four aspects: learning vocabulary and punctuation, improvement in understanding English and thinking in English, increasing
attention to language appropriateness and accuracy, and providing an environment for their English learning.

All four participants explained that they paid attention to language appropriateness and accuracy when they composed emails. They usually took into consideration the different recipients and purposes of emails, thus, they could adjust their writing rules accordingly. The rules that they employed to maintain the language appropriateness and accuracy can be summarized as two groups: academic-related emails versus personal emails.

No matter what specific rule the participants used for writing emails, whether it was the care in checking every detail of academic-related emails or the focus on conveying ideas and intentions in personal emails; whether it was the tendency to use formal expressions in academic-related emails or the flexibility of word choice in personal emails and to native-English-speaker recipients, the purpose here seems to be the same-to try to make emails appropriate in writing and clear to understand. The thought of knowing someone would read the messages, or the sense of audience, to some extent, increased the writers' attention to the language appropriateness and accuracy of their writings. As a result, such increased attention provided the participants with a platform to make attempts to improve their English learning.

Effects on the Cultural Learning and the Development of Personal Relationships

Interview data and discourse analysis show that email in English provided the participants with a chance to learn about some cultural knowledge, and also offered a means to build and maintain friendly relationships with their peers and their instructors. All of the three participants except Amshawh expressed the fact that they gained some cultural learning in the regular English email communication environment, such as the knowledge of life in English-speaking countries, cultural differences, knowledge of holidays and customs, and culturally-loaded idioms.

Al-Qahtani, Al-Ahmari and Al-Ahmari all thought that they learned some knowledge about how to use English in semi-native milieus. They learnt about not only
the culture of the English language, but about indigenous cultures of Indians, Bengalis, and other Arabs teaching them.

The four students, in the interviews, were asked whether they maintain email communications with native-speakers off campus, and three of them (except Amshawah) answered they had maintained email exchanges with native-speaking friends in the US, the UK and Australia, that they came across in chat rooms. This explains how Amshawah had made no progress in cultural learning. However, when

asked about his English learning improvement, he said that he had learnt a lot from Netiquette and other protocols used in email communications. Although Amshawh said that he could not think of any cultural learning through regular English emails communication, much of the culturally loaded vocabulary he acquired via email communications can be regarded as the examples of his cultural learning because both of the phrases have cultural connotations. It was interesting to note that Amshawah said he could not maintain friendships with native-English speakers over email.

Besides the effects on their cultural learning, the participants thought emails between friends who are either native-English speakers or non-native-English speakers, helped them, to some extent, not only maintain and enhance personal relationships, but also to build friendly relationships.

*Clarity and cohesion in email messages*

The discourse analysis of all the academic-related and personal email samples and the interview data with the four participants revealed that the participants developed and employed certain devices to make their messages much clearer. The devices were mainly summarized as writing conventions and emotional colouring.

Writing conventions were the rules participants recognized and followed to achieve the accuracy and clarity of their email messages. The discourse analysis of Writing Conventions and the Co-textual Context of the email samples identified three rules used by the participants: short paragraphs, connection words, and repetition of terminology.
The discourse analysis of the Co-textual Context of the email samples also found that repetition was the major device the four cases used to keep their academic-related emails cohesive. They thought that the most important aspect of writing related with academic problems was clarity.

All the participants stated that it was the reflections on their own email writing and email reading that made them come to establish and follow some rules to achieve message clarity. These writing conventions, therefore, could be understood as the positive effects on the participants' English learning through regular email communication.

From the discourse analysis of the Context of Situation of all the email samples, the researcher found three kinds of methods: emoticons, punctuation, and capitalization and italicization. The employment of these emoticons might be due to the fact that the participants attempted to express their feelings more accurately. The plain text of email messages at times was inadequate for the exact expression of their emotions. Therefore, the participants wanted to "put some colours" to supplement the inadequacy of the plain text of email messages. Like the emoticons, some punctuation also served as the assistance for the participants to make their expressions and feelings more concisely.

The participants' various methods for colouring the plain text of emails could be understood as a means to compensate for their English proficiency. The concern that they did not achieve a high level of proficiency in English writing made them resort to some possible ways in order to have a clearer and better expression of their ideas. The emotional colouring was an example of the compensation the participants made out of such concern.

**Discussion**

The findings of discourse analysis of the participants' email samples and of the interviews with the participants revealed that regular email communication in English had positive effects on the participants' English language learning, their cultural learning, and the development of personal relationships with friends. These findings provided responses to the three research questions of this study.
With regard to the first question, it is clear from the findings that of the four participants thought they took the opportunities of regular email communication to learn from native-English speakers' emails and practice what they learned in the writing of their own messages. They paid attention to many aspects of native-English speakers' emails such as vocabulary, sentence structure, and the tone of expression. In other words, the native-English speakers' emails were a source for the participants to learn correct and appropriate expressions in English.

With regard to the second research question, the findings of this study showed that regular email communication in English had positive effects on the participants' English learning in terms of vocabulary learning, punctuation, understanding and thinking in English, and writing conventions for achieving clarity.

With regard to the third research question, the findings of this study revealed that the participants had different cultural learning in the regular English email communication environment, and they thought emails, to some extent, helped them maintain and build friendly relationships.

The findings of this study showed that all the participants thought that regular email communication in English provided them with not only an avenue to learn from native, semi-native and non-native English speakers' emails, but also a chance to practice what they learned from such emails as well as acquire many aspects of the culture of the English language. In this regard, the native-English speakers' emails became a source of language input for the participants' English learning, and the communication between the participants and their native-English-speaker recipients fostered the process of participants' language learning.

Email communication has the characteristic of asynchrony (Tao & Reinking, 1996). The asynchrony of email communication does not pose time constraints on email users, and email communication reduces the pressure that they may bear in face-to-face communication. For language learners in the email communication environment, it frees them from the time limitations; thus they can communicate their thoughts at their own pace, leading to further opportunities for expression (Warschauer, 1996). Turkey Motlaq
expressed the idea that he preferred to write emails compared to communicating with someone face-to-face because he could have more time to organize his thoughts and thus express his ideas clearly.

Besides providing the sufficient time to compose emails, email communication could also ease the language learners' tension which they have in the face-to-face environment. Awwad Al-Ahmari said he felt comfortable to contact others by writing emails. Being less stressed in the email communication environment might be the reason for his comfort, as Kern (1995) argued that the electronic environment, in comparison to face-to-face environment, could reduce students' anxiety in participating in interaction.

One area of the effects of regular English email communication on English language learning that the participants felt was writing conventions for achieving clarity.

The participants developed rules of short paragraphs, connection words and repetition of terminology to maximize the clarity of their expressions. This finding is consistent with the results of the study conducted by Biesenbach-Lucas, Meloni and Weasenforth (2000).

**Conclusions and recommendations**

Apparently, it is now clear that email offers a means of communication to students and instructors where they can channel information that would otherwise (in a classical classroom setting) be regrettably lost.

The results of this study showed that regular email communication could provide EFL learners with a good and beneficial language learning environment. The results have implications for integrating email communication into teaching English as a foreign language curriculum and instruction.

The curriculum planners may design email activities to realize the interactions between EFL learners and semi-native-English speakers and between EFL learners and their instructors. EFL teachers can use regular email communication as a supplement approach beyond classroom instruction to facilitate and promote students' English
learning. The data from the case studies showed that there is more potential for student-instructor communication.

Nowadays one can hardly imagine a course where no email exchanges occur between the instructor and students. EFL pedagogists should be interested in cases where the instructor intentionally uses email as a teaching supplement. In addition, they consider only the case where email is used as a means for transmitting information as opposed to as a means for discussion. But, though analysis of the messages can be very useful it is nevertheless time consuming, still the following points can be made use of pedagogically:

- Get students to write standard subjects.
- Save messages to folders that reflect their topics and keep in mind that some messages may cover more than one topic.
- Choose an email software that allows you to perform message searching. For example, Netscape Messenger allows the user to search the messages by subject, sender, body text, date, age, etc.

Finally, in a world that is becoming more information oriented, e-mail technology should be used as a supplement to computer-based learning in the EFL context. It is an appropriate method to get students to communicate about their learning on the one hand, and it can be a method for developing reading and writing mechanics on the other hand.
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We would like to thank all those who attended the 2010 Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences. We look forward to seeing you at the 10th Annual Conference to be held in 2011. Please check the website this July for dates and further details.

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